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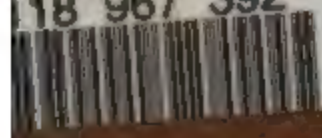
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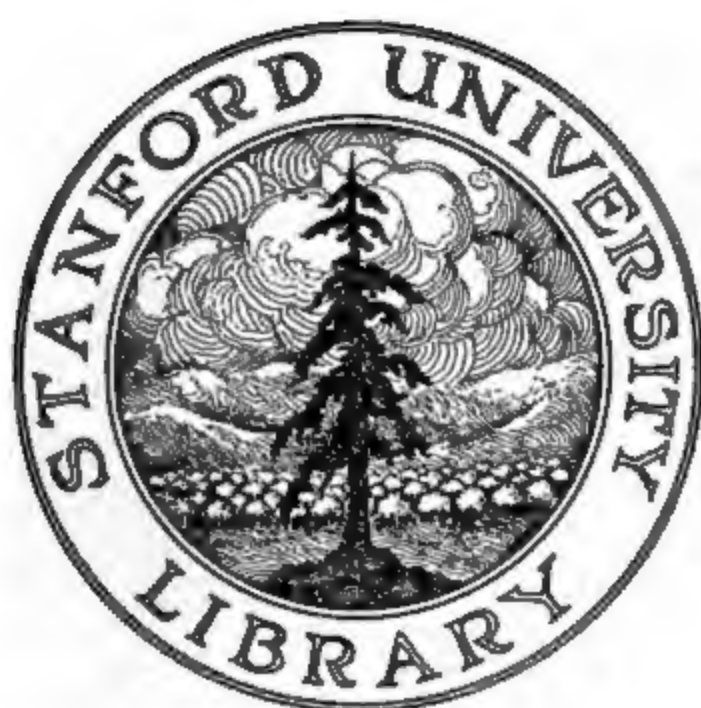
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GIFT OF

*John Garber Palache
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the late Judge John Garber*

HISTORY OF ENGLAND

by Sharon Turner

DURING

THE MIDDLE AGES.

VOL. II.

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HISTORY
OF
ENGLAND

DURING
THE MIDDLE AGES.



VOL. II.

FROM THE
ACCESSION OF EDWARD THE FIRST, TO THE FIRST PART
OF THE REIGN OF HENRY THE SIXTH.

THIRD EDITION.

BY
SHARON TURNER, F.S.A. R.A.S.I.

PRINTED FOR
LONGMAN, REES, ORME, BROWN AND GREEN,
PATERNOSTER ROW, LONDON.

1830.

**James & Luke G. Hansard & Sons,
near Lincoln's-Inn Fields, London.**

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HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

BOOK II.

CHAP. I.

Sketch of the State of Europe from the Eleventh Century to the Fourteenth.

THE political state of Europe at the Norman conquest, exhibited the infancy of the nations, which became afterwards the most celebrated in its history. From this period, progression appeared in every part of the Continent.

CHAP.
I.

But altho, from the constitutional uniformity of human nature, the attainments of any one state are possible to all, and are evidences of the melioration which may be generally acquired, yet the progress of each must correspond with its temporary means and opportunities of advancing. The desire, which every individual possesses, of bettering his condition, and the constant efforts which all are making for this purpose, impart to society an universal and perpetual tendency to improve. Every part struggling to advance, the whole is inevitably impelled

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II.

STATE OF
EUROPE,
FROM THE
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forward. The theatre of life is not indeed a smooth and level surface; we do not glide through our favorite paths like the vessel with her swelling canvas through the yielding ocean; impediments and counteracting agencies continually occur; and therefore, though the advancing tendency be incessant and insuppressible, the result must be the complicated effect of the impulse and the obstruction. Yet the obvious improvements of society from its condition in the eleventh century, are proofs that the meliorating energy has been the superior power, tho its operation has varied according to the differences of position, intercourse, national relations, local advantages, habits, territorial extent, external exigencies, and interior polity, of every country. The population of one age is never under the same circumstances with that which has preceded or which follows. The retarding and accelerating agencies, are therefore always varying, as well as their consequences, in every nation and at every period.

Hence the historical and intellectual map of Europe must be expected to display from time to time very multifarious, dissimilar, and changeable appearances—Some states were urged by evolving circumstances into activity and prominence, and then receded into comparative and often more useful obscurity; some were eclipsed, to emerge with brighter splendor; some waned, from their political vices, into feebleness and oblivion; and some, like England, advanced with steady progress, obtaining perpetual accessions of civilization, and scattering them productively around. Spain, Italy, and France, as well as England, have in different æras led the march of European civilization. Germany has emulously followed;

and others in succession have contributed their aids to the great social progress ; till Europe has advanced to a moral and intellectual elevation which the ancients could not reach ; from which she has never retroceded, and which may now be deemed a basis from which human nature will be ever soaring to nobler heights.

The present sketch cannot be allowed to depict all these mutabilities and improvements. The selection of a few leading circumstances in the history of the principal nations of the Continent is all that can be inserted here, without a disproportionate digression. But these may provide the mind of the reader with that general view of the horizon of Europe, during the period to which this Work is confined, which will enable him to proceed through our English annals with more just conceptions of their bearings and relations : and of the contemporary state and civilizing progress of our continental neighbors ; with more distinct views of the causes of some of the greater events ; and with clearer anticipations of their exterior results, and of our comparative position.

Beginning our survey of Europe from NORWAY, Norway. the country from which our Norman ancestors had sprung, we may remark, that the expedition of Sigurdr to Palestine in 1109, was the last effusion of its ancient heroism. In this voyage, the youthful warrior, for he was scarcely nineteen, touching at Portugal, defeated the Mohamedans at Cintra and Lisbon ;¹ conflicted with the Moors in Africa, and in the Isles of Ivica and Minorca ;² reached the Holy

¹ Snorre has preserved the verses of the Scald Halldor on these exploits, who names the towns ' Sintre ' and ' Lissibon. ' vol. 3. p. 234, 235.

² Snorre calls Africa Serkland. The Scald names the Moors blamanna and serkiom, or blackland and blackmen. The modern appellations of the islands appear in the Scalds verses, Ivitzo and Manork. p. 238.

BOOK

II.

STATE OF
EUROPE,
FROM THE
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Land, captured Sidon; and, on his return, after visiting Constantinople, passed by land through Hungary to Sleswick, and rejoined in safety his brothers in Norway, with whom he shared the regal sway.³ After his death in 1130, until 1300, Norway was ravaged by competitors for its petty crown. Successively slaughtered, new combatants were set up by the turbulent provinces to revive the contest; till Norway, exhausted by civil bloodshed, to which its domestic customs led,⁴ sank with a diminished population into that state of feeble quiet, from which it has never emerged; which was most compatible with its own moral good, and with the general comfort of its neighbors and of Europe.⁵ It soon afterwards became appended to Sweden, from which, at a subsequent period, it was abstracted by Denmark.

Denmark.

The principal wars of this country during the twelfth century, were with the Slavonic nations between the Elbe and Oder, whose depression was auxiliary to their civilization. The DANISH sovereign who first distinguished himself at this period, was

³ Snorre, 241. Theodoric, the contemporary of Sievard, says that he sank into an inferior prince, from some noxious potation. Hist. Norv. 63. The next note probably shews what this really was. The Scald Einar, who sings Sievard's actions, calls Acre *Akraboag*; Jerusalem, *Jorsala*; and Sidon, *Sætt*. Snorre, 241, 242.

⁴ We have these manners described by a Norwegian author, who lived 1187. 'In all the cities of the kingdom the uniform custom of inebriety prevails, which breaks all their alliances of peace, instigates even the mild to deeds of cruelty, and makes crimes to be thought a joke. Their drinking *without measure* produces this evil, because the citizens, excited by wine, seize their arms and rush to wickedness. They take no care to refrain their hands from shedding the blood of the innocent; and therefore you will find more horrible actions among them than in any other country.' De Prof Dan. in terram Sanct. Kirchm. 746.

⁵ Snorre, 294, to the end of his History. Krantz Norwegia, 414-418. This author gives an instance of the poverty of Norway; by its dried fish it purchased part of its necessities of subsistence. One of its kings quarrelling with the German merchants who visited the coast, they blocked up its ports, and starved the country into submission. This was about 1280.

Waldemar, who, after a severe exertion, conquered and destroyed the rich pagan city of Jomsberg.⁶ He, and his son Canute, pursued the Slavonian tribes with hostilities that gradually debilitated them;⁷ and Waldemar II. who acceded in 1202, adopting the military politics of his predecessors, extended his dominion along the Baltic, from Holstein to Russia.⁸ Taken prisoner by stratagem, he occasioned the impoverishment of Denmark by the money exacted for his ransom. Most of his acquisitions were torn from him. Denmark was disappointed in her proud hope of acquiring the sceptre of the North, for which she was unfit; and this king died in 1241, an instance of the mutability of human prosperity.⁹ Inferior sovereigns, murders, civil feuds, and unimportant warfares, fill up the Danish history to the end of the century, displaying the imperfections of the social character of Denmark, and precluding it from attaining any important rank among the princes of the Continent.¹⁰ Its ancient fierceness dwindled, from the internal calamities which it produced, into comparative debility. As a better national character arose,

⁶ See vol. 1, p. 36. Saxo is fullest and most authentic in his history of his friend and patron Waldemar. 269-373.

⁷ With the reign of Canute VI. Saxo closes his elaborate History, which, with all its faults, has the merit of exhibiting a genius to which Denmark, always scanty in its intellectual produce, has not since produced an equal.

⁸ Pontanus Hist. Dan. 296-309.

⁹ His misfortune was owing to his own misconduct. The duke of Schwerin, going to the holy land, committed his wife to the care of Waldemar, who abused his trust. The duke, in revenge, on his return watched him when he was hunting, seized, bound, and carried him off. Vilfeldius ap. Pontanus, p. 309.

¹⁰ The Danish king Eric, in his *Historia gentis Danorum*, a brief but not ill-selected series of annals, thus remarks: 'In Waldemar the Second, fell the crown of the Danish head. After him, from intestine wars and mutual destruction, the Danes became the derision of the nations around. They not only lost the territories which their fathers had gloriously acquired, but miserably wounded their own country.' p. 305. ed. Linden.

it began in the fourteenth century to revive under Waldemar III.¹¹ and attained a substantial importance, when Norway became united to it by hereditary succession, and when Margaret, the princess whose marriage with Hacon, king of Norway, had occasioned the connexion, was also invited by the Swedes to be their sovereign. This able woman formed the grand project of uniting the three crowns of Scandinavia upon one head;¹² and in 1396, the estates of Norway, Sweden, and Denmark, met at Colmar to effectuate it. The great union was agreed to, and Europe might have soon felt the consequences of the hardiest sons of Scandinavia associated in one kingdom, and warring under one banner; but neither of these kingdoms had sufficient virtue or intellect to make the incorporation permanent; and, from the Swedish spirit of turbulence or independence, and the Danish love of power and oppression, it soon became but a statesman's dream.¹³

Sweden.

The history of SWEDEN, emerging from the habits, and still struggling with the effects, of its ancient ferocity, has the same barbarous features which the two last-mentioned kingdoms displayed during the twelfth and succeeding centuries. Its provinces of Gothland at first contended with the other Swedes,

¹¹ He had many wars with the Hanse Towns, and died 1375. His grandson Olaus V. succeeded him, the son of his daughter Margaret by the king of Norway. Pont. Hist. l. 8. p. 463-511. Olave died 1387.

¹² Pontanus narrates her reign in his ninth book, 513-544. Returning from Sleswick into Denmark, she died suddenly on board the ship, either from some pestilential contagion, or, as the Danish historian gravely remarks, from the disagreeable marine effluvia, 'because the sensibility of the fair sex to odours is more subtle than ours.' p. 544.

¹³ Puffendorf refers the decline of the Danes to their nobility devoting themselves to the enjoyment of their revenues, and to their habit of employing Germans for their soldiers instead of their own population. The king also, jealous of his nobles, encouraged their aversion to military exploits. Introd. Hist. Europe, c. 9. p. 345.

for the right of appointing to the crown. At some times the Danes invaded, though not successfully, and at others, internal factions arose. The competitors for royalty murdered each other, and the offspring, whose claims were in opposition to their own. The greater families increased the evil by their turbulence; and Sweden, thus attenuated by the same spirit of violence and mischief which had weakened Norway and Denmark, made no progress in its political rank, and but little in its social improvements, till the fourteenth century closed.¹⁴ Their interior commotions, however, kept them externally quiet, and they gradually disciplined themselves into order, frugality, temperance, and decorous life.

It may be said of all these three nations, that too many of their ancient customs, too much of their former fame and spirit, popular poetry, venerated traditions, and national pride, remained among them, for their population to be tranquil. Wherever they looked around, rocks and stones, engraved with the names and exploits of their ancestors, appeared. Tumuli on every shore raised their green summits, to remind them of the battles and of the glory of preceding times. Family histories and the spoils acquired by ancient piracy, carefully preserved as the relics of departed greatness, were every where goading the descendants to be discontented with their inferiority and inactivity. Too ignorant and too proud, for Christianity to have its proper influence, it is probable that, by diverging into internal conflicts, they employed and consumed that spirit which might otherwise have again afflicted Europe. Their domestic misery was their own production; but it

¹⁴ Loccenius Hist. Suec. p. 72-96.

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benefited the rest of the world, by preventing the Baltic from becoming a region of Scandinavian Algerines. They conflicted at home, till the recollection of their popular Vikingr was eradicated by the new themes of activity and turbulent reputation which arose in their civil feuds; till their scalds became unpatronized and disused in the new habits, sufferings and vicissitudes of the great; till Papal Christianity gave their character some useful features, even by its superstitions; and till due experience taught them to value the domestic comforts and social order of peaceful and unambitious life. As the fourteenth century ended, Sweden had effected a visible advance. The union of the Northern crowns under Margaret of Denmark, though it failed to combine them in a state of permanent peace, yet kept them tranquil for several years; and Eric, her sister's son, whom she had raised to the Swedish throne, succeeded to the three sceptres, and was important enough to obtain in marriage the daughter¹⁵ of our Henry IV. A fierce warlike competition between Sweden and Denmark, in the fifteenth century, operated to the benefit of both. The foreign war terminated their domestic conflicts, increased their national patriotism, and excited and consolidated their internal resources, energies, and strength. Sweden became an independent monarchy, and darted afterwards into a political importance, advantageous to her own people, and to all Europe.

Finland.

The barbarous population of the contiguous country of FINLAND had long annoyed the Swedes by their depredations. In the middle of the twelfth century, they were subdued in a battle so destructive,

¹⁵ Eric's reign may be read in Pontanus, 547-616.

that the Swedish conqueror lamented it with tears. They were compelled to adopt his religion, but with surly acquiescence ; and the archbishop who was instructing them, was murdered by the chieftain on whom he was imposing penance.¹⁶ From that time, Finland continued to be an appendage to the Swedish crown.

The regions extending from the ELBE to the EIDER and the BALTIC, were in the first part of the twelfth century under the government of the Slavi, whose princes or tribes maintained wars, rarely intermitted, with the Danes, Holsatians, Saxons, and Poles. Peculiarly tenacious of their idolatry, venerating, like the ancient Egyptians, their priests more than their kings ;¹⁷ differing with each other in their idols, mythology, and worship,¹⁸ but united in an implacable hatred of Christianity ; they eagerly plunged into warfare with their converted neighbors.¹⁹ The extermination which they labored to deal around, was retorted upon themselves. Their territories were gradually curtailed ; and a large portion of the country, from their own desolations, and the retaliations that followed, became a desert. To replenish these with a better population, large emigrations were invited from the Batavian and Flemish provinces. The new settlers built many

¹⁶ Loccenius Hist. Suec. p. 76.

¹⁷ Helmoldus, pp. 31. 90. They exacted tribute for their temple from the nations they conquered, and sent to it all the silver and gold which they took. Ib. p. 31.

¹⁸ Aldenberg worshipped Prove, but without an image ; the Polabi, Siwa ; and the Obotriti, Radigast ; who had all priests and a complicated worship. The people of Rugen had Zuantewith, whose oracles were much venerated. They dreaded an evil being, whom they called Zeer-neboch, or the black deity. Helmoldus, 43, 44.—At Pleinen, the idol was Podaga. They made some of their deities with two, three, or more heads. But they admitted one Supreme Being, who attended only to heaven, and thought that their earthly deities, to whom they consecrated groves, were his offspring. Ib. 68.

¹⁹ Helmoldus, p. 44.

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cities, founded many churches, and rose to wealth and consequence with a rapidity that surprised their contemporaries. Saxony and other parts of Germany added their colonists, who also raised towns and cities in the desolate tracts.²⁰ The zeal of the German clergy assisted to people and civilize these districts. One archbishop re-established three sees, at Mecklenburg, Raciburg, and Oldenburg, which the Slavi had destroyed, and which for eighty-four years had remained uninhabited.²¹

The predatory habits of the rest of the Slavi were coerced; and in the thirteenth century, German nobility are seen arising in these districts, whose titles or sovereignties we recognize in modern days.²² Lübeck, for a long time the only spot amid the Slavi where Christianity could find an asylum, tho often attacked, and sometimes burnt, yet arose with new splendor from its ashes. It became gradually an emporium of the Baltic, and an independent republic. Merchants emigrated to it from the neighboring cities; and the prince who last rebuilt it, made its laws, and sent messengers to all the cities and princes of the North, inviting their commercial intercourse, and promising safety and friendship.²³

Poland.

In the twelfth century, the Oder was the western boundary of POLAND; and the approach to this river, out of Germany, was then thought to be impracti-

²⁰ Helmoldus informs us of these curious facts, pp. 74 & 92. A colony of the Frisians is mentioned, p. 51.

²¹ Chron. Slav. incert. Austr. p. 283.

²² The partition of the territories of Henry the Lion, the great but unfortunate duke of Saxony, multiplied the noble proprietors in these parts. He married the daughter of our Henry II. with whom he was obliged to take refuge in 1184. His youngest son, William, was born in England, from whom the present illustrious house of Brunswick is descended. Pütter's Germanic Empire, vol. 1. pp. 207-219.

²³ Helmold. pp. 30. 47. 50. 60, 61. 72. It was a free imperial city 1182.

cable, from the vast forests that lay near it, and which had long limited and deterred the progress of the German emperors. Forests also separated it from Bohemia, and marked its frontier towards Hungary.²⁴ But its population was kept in barbarism by this protecting seclusion. Predatory excursions by land, and piracy on the ocean, were their principal habits; and, with such pursuits, it was not unnatural that they should be thought deficient in fidelity to their princes, and in kindness to their relations. Their climate, cold and ungenial from wood and marsh, did not reward their unskilful agriculture; and in some parts, to live by hunting was preferred to the domestic labors of husbandry.²⁵ Christianity had obtained a footing in the country, with bishops and a clergy; but the Christianity and the clergy of all nations in their barbarous state, are but the means of good struggling with a general mass of evil, and long partaking of its mischiefs. In the middle of the twelfth century, the real improvement of Poland was begun by a military enterprise, which connected it with the German empire. Frederic Barbarossa, the most able of the continental sovereigns, in 1157, was incited to attack it. He led the German forces to the forests so long believed to be impenetrable; he passed the Oder, where the passage had been thought an impossible achievement; he terrified by his progress not only the Poles, but also the Prussians, Pomeranians, and Russians, whom they had called to their assistance; and notwithstanding they destroyed their own towns

²⁴ Otto Frisien. Chron. p. 151. Radevic. Hist. Fred. pp. 477, 478. This ancient canon makes the Vistula the eastern boundary of Poland, and Russia its northern.

²⁵ Radev. 477.

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and defences as they retired, with the hope of checking his progress, he penetrated to Posnan, and laid waste the country on his part, till its duke, Boleslaus, submitted and solicited peace; after granting which, Frederic withdrew.²⁶ Poland was often engaged in wars with the Prussians, and in the thirteenth century was severely harassed by the great Tartar irruption on the eastern frontier of Europe. It lost the command of Pomerania; and its province of Silesia, in the beginning of the fourteenth century, became united to Bohemia. But from its territorial extent, its augmented population, and the activity and spirit of union among its inhabitants, it became so internally strong, that its sovereign, Casimir the Great, who acceded in 1333, conquered all Russia, and annexed it to Poland, imparting to it the same laws and liberties. He equally benefited his own country, by introducing into it the laws and constitutions of Magdeburg.²⁷ Thus as any one nation made advances in civilization, these were gradually communicated to its neighbors, and the general level of society was kept every where rising.

Russia.

The RUSSIAN population had begun to form itself into a distinct and separate nation on the western boundary of its present empire. From the White Sea and the Lake of Ladoga to the Dnieper, and along the course of that river to its discharge into the Black Sea, the principal seats of the Russian nation appear to have been first established; having the commercial Novogrod, its predominating city in the north, and Kiow the residence of its superior chief, and therefore its metropolis, in the south. Occasional intercourse of marriage, negotiations, war,

²⁶ Radev. 478.²⁷ Puffendorf Introd. c. 10.

religion and trade, scattered some gleams of Grecian civilization amid its rude tribes,²⁸ who gradually became connected and formed into a nation, though perhaps not all originating from the same source. But as Poland and Hungary had become united into nations and kingdoms, and even Bulgaria had attained this distinction, their confines and superior civilization established a line of demarcation, which, by limiting the Russian Slavi on the west, kept them distinct on this frontier, and made it their interest to confederate for safety and successful war. The distinction produced by the improvement of their western neighbors, their own progress effected on the north and east: The Lithuanians were more barbarous than the Russians; and the Turks or Tartars, besides a similar inferiority, were also kept apart by their Paganism and Mohamedanism. Necessary confederations to repel these various neighbors, who often attacked them, led the scattered Russian tribes into the feelings, customs and relations, of a common nation. The adoption of Christianity, and of a clergy radiating from one ecclesiastical centre, and subordinate to one head,²⁹ increased the spirit and habits of national union; and tho the frequent division of their population, under different chiefs, tended to sever their relation-

²⁸ Their Vladimir the Great, in 1015, obtained architects and workmen from Greece, who built several churches and palaces, to the great displeasure of the old Russians, who beheld with horror the introduction of strange arts. From his baptism, in 988, Christianity became the established religion in Russia. L'Evesque Hist. Russ. p. 162.

²⁹ The great influence of the clergy in Russia may be dated from the edict attributed to Vladimir, tho somewhat later, which puts under their legal jurisdiction almost all the civil and criminal transactions of life—a provision as useful to a barbarous, as injurious to an improved age. See it described by L'Evesque, 164–168. Vladimir established the first schools in Russia.

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ship, and to make them diverge into separate kingdoms, yet these were so often reduced, by the ambition and talents of some of their princes, into one monarchy, that their national unity was never broken. The son, Jaroslaf, greatly increased the power and reputation of the infant Russia, and was ambitious of family alliances with distant sovereigns;³⁰ but he broke its national strength by dividing it, on his death in 1054, among his sons in distinct principalities. By imitating this testamentary distribution, or by giving, during their lives, large grants of territory to their children, they prevented a large empire from arising, and occasioned many civil wars,³¹ which exhausted the country, altho some of these quarrels tended to scatter this peculiar population over a larger surface. Becoming, from this cause, inferior to their neighbors in national strength, the contiguous states grew up to their independent greatness without disturbance from Russian conquests; for if Russia had continued the progress which Jaroslaf had begun, neither Poland, Sweden, Greece, Hungary, nor Germany, might have retained their distinct states, nor have benefited the world, as each has done, by its own peculiar improvements. Russia, twice attempted in the middle ages by the Popes,³² might have sunk into the dominion of the

³⁰ His eldest son married the daughter of Harold I. king of England; his second, the sister of Casimir, king of Poland; his third, a sister of the prince archbishop of Treves; and his fourth, the daughter of the emperor of Constantinople. The king of Norway had his eldest daughter; Henry I. king of France, his second; and the king of Hungary, his third.

³¹ L'Evesque justly remarks, 'Thus Russia became divided among a crowd of little sovereignties, of which many were but villages; and the chiefs were not mere lords, as in the rest of Europe, but princes of the blood of Rurik.' p. 163.

³² By Gregory VII. in 1075; and by Urban II. in 1093. L'Evesque, pp. 212, 213. One of the most ancient literary documents preserved in Russia is a code of laws ascribed to Jaroslaf.

papal hierarchy, and have never attained that originality of character, institutions, and political position, in which we now behold her with admiration at her progress, and a friendly hope of its beneficial acceleration. Her chief struggles in the twelfth century were against the Polovtsi, literally the hunters, a Tartar nation living between the Don and the Jaik, and perpetually depredating, but who were at last subdued. The Poles and Hungarians frequently bickered with her, and her own princes were often in civil conflicts. But one of her princes, about 1150, gave her the important improvement of building several cities, to which he invited settlers from Hungary, Bulgaria, and other places, who greatly increased the population and resources of the country.²³ Among these he began the foundation of the celebrated Moscow, at first a pleasant mansion, near which a city began under his auspices to arise.²⁴ The next sovereign, discerning the inconveniences of Kiow for the chief city of Russia, made Volodimir his capital, which long remained so.²⁵ But the country continued to be weakened as a nation, by the numerous rival sovereignties which divided and exhausted it, till 1223, when the great invasion of the Mongul Tartars, who, under Gengiz Khan, rolled like a torrent from China into Europe, added

²³ This was Georges, or Joury I. who reigned, with some vicissitudes, from 1149 to 1157.

²⁴ Being affronted by a bojar, who was residing at this spot, the Russian sovereign confiscated his property, and, struck by the beauty of his hamlet, where two streams fell into the Moskva, he surrounded it with a rampart of wood, and peopled it with inhabitants from Volodimir and some neighboring villages. Such was the casual origin of Moscow. L'Evesque, 340.

²⁵ On the decline of Kiow, which Adam of Bremen had remarked for its emulation of Constantinople (Hist. Eccl. p. 24.) see L'Evesque, 343-346.

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Russia to the number of their conquests. The line of its ancient dynasties was subdued. Its princes became subordinate and tributary to the succeeding khan of the Tartars. His will was the general law; his voice decided their contests. Their national spirit was broken, and their national predominance destroyed.³⁶ Some cities confederated to emancipate themselves from the Tartar yoke, and succeeded; but the rest of the country continued in the servitude, increasing in population from the Tartar tribes,³⁷ and deriving some mental benefit from their predominance; for the Mongul Tartars had letters, some arts, and a spirit of religious toleration that might have instructed the whole Christian world.³⁸ Perhaps their greatest use was the abolition of the petty sovereignties that were distracting Russia, and preventing it from becoming one compacted and improving nation. When its northern part, Archangel, was discovered, and its czar visited by Englishmen a few years before Elizabeth acceded,³⁹ the foundations of this great country were being firmly laid. Its strength and power and improvements have been ever since extending and increasing, till it has become as formidable and dangerous to the Turkish empire as that was to Europe in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.⁴⁰

³⁶ In this manner the principality of Kiow alone lost 60,000 of its subjects. L'Evesque, vol. 2. p. 26.

³⁷ The Tartar princes built several cities in Russia. Ib. 78.

³⁸ The respectful treatment of the khan of the Tartars, in 1313, of the Russian metropolitan; and the important privileges which he granted or confirmed to the Russian clergy, whose prayers, though a Mohamedan, he solicited; are stated from Russian documents by L'Evesque, vol. 2, pp. 137-139.

³⁹ See Modern Hist. Engl. vol. 3. p. 298.

⁴⁰ Count Diebitsch deserves an historical commemoration as the first Russian or European general that has passed the Balkan mountains since the Padishah established his mosques and seraglio in Constantinople. This difficult and venturous enterprise was accomplished completely by

medanism, curtailed by the Russian sword, declining as the Ottoman dominions lessen, and yet quietly evacuate Europe, if a Grecian nation be established in sufficient independence. These events are now at issue, and seem evolving; the summer and autumn of 1829 will be long distinguished by the momentous results, which cannot be promotive of the progression of the human mind, and we will hope, of human nature; tho mental and social happiness are not always united.⁴¹

the twelfth century began, the disturbed reign of Henry IV. was drawing to its close. Almost driven from his throne by the revolting princes of the empire, and by popes struggling for useful and ambitious projects, he surmounted their opposition, to meet in his latter days the more afflicting calamities of his son; and died in 1106, having witnessed the repeated desolation of the finest parts of France, and the moral and political commotions which the intestine warfares had thrown its

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24 July 1829, and Adrianople surrendered to him on 20 August in opposition. Both incidents equally new in Turkish history, and to Turkish power, and therefore eventually to Islamism itself.

The distinguished poets of Russia may be said to have begun with KANTEMIR, who died in 1744; but LOMONOSOV far eclipsed him, and gave to his native language the true harmony and symmetry of Greek; versification and a pruned regularity. Contemporary with him, 1777, was SUMAROKOV, more known for the universality of his productions than for their genius, for he attempted every species of poetry.

In 1778, BOGDANOVICH published his fanciful *Dushenka*. LOMONOSOV, who died in 1807, has aimed at epic poetry in his *Rossiada*, but with only a partial success; but DERZHAVIN is thought to have more than equalled the ablest of his predecessors. Others of much merit have succeeded, who are described in Grech's *Opuit Kratkoi Istории Literaturui*, or *Sketch of Russian Literature*, which deserves, but has not yet received, an English translation. The modern history of Russian literature commences with the dynasty of Romanov: public education then began. 'The clergy brought with them from the universities of Italy and Poland a taste for polite learning, and in 1682 an academy was founded at Moscow for the study of theology, philosophy, and the liberal sciences.' *Foreign Review*, No. 4, p. 281.

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conflicting population. In the insolence of his youth he had expressed his regret, that no one seemed disposed to make him exercise his strength ; and he imputed the tranquillity of his great subjects to their sloth and sensuality.⁴² He lived to experience the evils of their turbulent activity. Their struggles effected the important revolution, of making all the German dignities hereditary rights. The dukes, margraves, and counts, were no longer governors dependent upon the crown, and transferrible by its bounty or caprice ; their titles and territorial property became permanent possessions, and descended to their families in regular inheritance.⁴³ This innovation reduced the imperial crown to a splendid nominal honor, circumscribed its ambition, and filled Germany with independent states. To provide checks to the great nobility, the emperors pursued the policy of establishing free cities in every part ; and thus the growth of an original population was secured, nursed in moderated liberty, and gradually improved by every new accession of civilization which their own ingenuity and continual intercourse with their neighbors could obtain.

The superior talents of Henry V. made his reign more prosperous than his father's. The continuance of the papal attacks on their emperors, roused the pride and disturbed the comforts of the German nobility.⁴⁴ Henry availed himself of their dissatisfaction, to invade Italy with 30,000 knights, whose

⁴² Otto Fris. de Gest. Fred. c. 4. p. 408.

⁴³ Pütter Germ. Emp. l. 2. c. 9. p. 184-198. ' Instead of the ancient division of Germany into cantons (gau) there appeared in the twelfth century an infinite number of hereditary counties and lordships ; and the family names of the possessors of them, which were derived from the ancient residences, soon became equally hereditary.' Ib. p. 187.

⁴⁴ Otto Fris. c. 1. p. 407.

pments blazed in the darkness of midnight
 flaming torch on every tent. He boldly ad-
 d to Rome, and seized the person of the Pope,
 hstanding the resistance of the citizens.⁴⁵ But
 s at last obliged to yield the investiture of the
 alities of the German bishops, by the ring and
 r, to the Pope;⁴⁶ reserving to the throne the
 of giving them their temporal fiefs, by the de-
 of a sceptre. He married the daughter of our
 sh sovereign Henry I. whom he left a widow
 25, and whose struggles with Stephen have
 already recorded.⁴⁷ He multiplied the free-
 f Germany, by enfranchising all those in the
 : state in cities, who were artisans; and he
 them to the rank of citizens;⁴⁸ an important
 on of political wisdom and benevolent power.
 : reign of Lotharius II. his successor, made the
 e for ten years the scene of conflict with the
 of Suabia. He lost an army in an invasion of
 nia; and so many Saxons were destroyed in
 ests, on the disaster, that a national animosity
 re fixed between Saxony and Bohemia.⁴⁹ The
 of Poland did him homage for Pomerania and
 ; and he compelled the king of Denmark, in
 of his feudal subjection, to carry the sword
 his crown.⁵⁰ His campaign in Italy obtained
 ter command of Apulia and Campania, than
 receding emperor had enjoyed.⁵¹

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o Fris. Chron. l. 7. p. 147.

ter, l. 2. c. 8. p. 172.—The emperors never regained this pre-
 Ib.

t. Engl. vol. i.

ler's Revol. Germ. Empire, p. 47. 1st ed.

o de Gest. c. 21. p. 418.

⁵⁰ Otto Chron. p. 149.

expelled Roger from the dutchy of these provinces, and gave it to
 l: this produced a quarrel with the Pope, who claimed its feudal
 nty. The grant was usually made by presenting a banner to the

The conversion of Germany into an elective empire had been one of the results of its interior conflicts, and of the papal interference. This right of election by the German princes⁵² had been exerted in the appointment of Lotharius. It was repeated on the elevation of Conrade III. in 1139, whose intercourse with the Grecian emperor must have benefited the Germanic continent.⁵³

In 1152 he was succeeded in the empire by Frederic Barbarossa; a prince, whose personal talents, peculiar ambition, distant expeditions, and active reign, diverted the restlessness of his countrymen from the desolations of domestic depredation, established an intimate connection between the German and Italian mind, to their mutual benefit, and placed the Pope and the Emperor in political collisions, which were auspicious to the religious liberties of the empire.⁵⁴ After his death, on his crusade in Cilicia in 1191, his son, Henry IV. obtained the empire. This was the sovereign who detained our Richard Cœur de Lion in captivity, who married the heiress of Sicily, and who three times assailed Italy with an overwhelming force, and even meditated the conquest of Greece.⁵⁵ His death in 1197, released the Pope and the Peninsula from an enemy, whose power was increased by his military talents; and the war of twelve years which followed, for the German sovereignty, gave Italy an interval of independence

selected chieftain. To appease the Pope on this occasion, it was agreed that he and the emperor should both have their hands on the banner when it was given to Reginald. Otto Chron. p. 151.

⁵² See Pütter, c. 10. p. 199–202.

⁵³ See their letters and intercourse, in Otto de Gestis Fred. p. 419.

⁵⁴ On this important reign, the original contemporary accounts of Otto Frisingensis, Otto S. Blas, and Radevicus, may be seen in the Germ. Histor. Urtisii 1585. ⁵⁵ Otto S. Bl. p. 222.

and prosperity. Its cities sent their golden keys and respectful presents to Otho IV. the successful competitor, who was crowned at Rome in 1209. His reign was distinguished by his great defeat in Flanders, which preserved the independence of France;⁵⁶ and he was succeeded in 1220, by **FREDERIC II.** whose inheritance of Sicily connected Germany with that interesting island at the time when the vernacular poetry of Italy was first receiving its birth. This Emperor confirmed the ecclesiastical and secular states in their territorial prerogatives.⁵⁷ His crusade to Palestine seems to have arisen from a secret intercourse and connection with the Sultan of Egypt,⁵⁸ who at last disappointed his ambition in its projects as to Jerusalem.⁵⁹ But worldly celebrity, not religion, had led him to the venerated land,⁶⁰ and he

⁵⁶ The monk of Padua ascribes this war to a sportive promise or wager of the king of France, to give the city of Paris to Otho if he ever got the imperial crown. Otho becoming Emperor, claimed the performance by arms. Monac. Pad. Chron. p. 582.

⁵⁷ Pütter, c. 12. p. 233.

⁵⁸ M. Reinaud has written the History of Frederic's Crusade, from Arabian MSS. Ibn Alatir narrates, that the sultan of Egypt solicited his assistance, when his brother, the Mussulman chief of Damascus, was uniting with the sultan of Charisme against him. Makrisi reports that secret ties had existed between the sultan and Frederic, when the former invited him to a joint attack on his brother, on the promise of giving to him Jerusalem and Palestine as soon as conquered. The emir, Fakr-eddin, was made his negotiating ambassador. But the brother's unexpected death having released the sultan from his apprehensions, he rather feared than wished Frederic's appointed crusade. Rein. Hist.

⁵⁹ When the emperor arrived in Palestine, the sultan had seized Jerusalem from his brother's child; and Frederic, amid their friendly civilities, demanded it according to the secret compact. The sultan hesitated. Dehebi has preserved Frederic's answer: 'I am your friend. You are not ignorant how much I am above all the princes of the West. It was you who engaged me to come here. The king and the pope knew of my expedition. If I should return without obtaining any thing, I shall lose all consideration in their eyes. Is not this Jerusalem the place which gave birth to Christianity? Have not you now destroyed it? It is reduced to the last state of weakness. Pray give it to me in its present condition, that when I go back I may be able to lift up my head among the kings. I relinquish beforehand all the tributes I might draw from it.' Rein. Hist.

⁶⁰ Makrisi adds, that he told the emir, Fakr-eddin 'I should not so

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excited the suspicion of Europe not unjustly, that an hypocrisy approaching to impiety, was a degrading feature of his character.⁶¹ This moral anomaly may have originated from the peculiarity of his early nurture and tuition, which had mixed him too much with Mohamedan society to have given time or space for a christian or sound intellectual education.⁶²

much insist on this cession, if I were not afraid of losing all credit in the West. My object in coming here was not to liberate the Holy City, nor any thing like it. I only wished to stand high in the esteem of the Franks.' The sultan was very unwilling to give up the city, but he dreaded the hostilities of Frederic. 'At least,' he exclaimed, 'they shall only have churches and houses in ruins.' It was settled that Jerusalem should remain as it was; no fortifications were to be constructed; the Mussulmen were to go to it as they pleased, to keep the mosque of Omar and the sacred chapel, and to have the free use of their religion. Peace was then signed for ten years five months and forty days, from 24 Feb. 1229. Rein. Hist.

⁶¹ Frederic visited Jerusalem before he left the East, and is thus described by Ibn Giouzi, an Arabian contemporary writer, cited in the Chronicle of Yafei. 'The emperor was ruddy and bald. His sight was weak. If he had been a slave, he would not have been worth 200 drachmas. His discourse shewed that he did not believe his Christian religion. When he spoke of it, it was to sneer at it. Having cast his eyes on the inscription in letters of gold, which Saladin has placed above the venerated chapel, which said, 'Saladin purged the Holy City from those who worshipped many gods;' he had it explained to him, and then asking why the windows had gratings, he was told it was to keep out the birds. He answered, 'Yes! you have driven away the sparrows; but instead of them, you have got hogs,'—meaning the Christians. When the emir, enforcing the sultan's order to avoid what might displease Frederic, rebuked the Muezzins for uttering on the minarets the passages in the Koran against the Christians, Frederic, hearing of it, told him, 'you have done wrong. Why, for my sake, omit your duty, your law, or your religion? By heaven! if you come with me to my states——' The Arabic MS. quoted by Reinaud, breaks off thus abruptly from mutilation; but we may infer the sentiment, from the feeling which the incident was introduced to illustrate.

⁶² Colonel Fitzclarence has printed his observations on the employment of Mohamedan mercenaries in Christian armies, in the Asiatic Journal, Feb. 1827. From these we perceive, that as Frederic II. had been brought up among the Saracens, and as the Arabic was almost his maternal language, he loved and protected the Mussulman religion. He permitted the Mohamedans to pursue it publicly in his dominions; they served in his armies; the call of their imauns to prayer was heard in his camp. Some of the chief offices, both civil and military, in his court, were filled by them; they even married Christian wives; and such an assimilation was taking place at that time, that some Spanish bishops became Mussulmen. Manfred, the successor of Frederic in the Two Sicilies, pursued

Frederic's contests for the Italian sovereignty were as arduous as those of his first namesake. By 1242, he had acquired almost the whole of Italy, and he strove by every means to depress the papal power, to divest it of its temporal possessions, and to diminish the pride of the clergy.⁶³ The active Pope at last procured another emperor to be elected in opposition to him. Their personal contest, and the German domination of Italy, ceased by the death of Frederic in 1250. A long vacancy and many competitions ensued, for the imperial crown;⁶⁴ till the house of Hapsburg, obtaining it in 1273, began a new and wise system of internal and external policy, abandoning Italy and foreign war.⁶⁵

The fourteenth century exhibited many wasteful struggles for the empire. Charles, the king of Bohemia, who attained it, and who died in 1378, conceded to France the little kingdom of Arles, annexed Silesia to Bohemia, increased the privileges of the German cities, to counterbalance the power of the great princes; and caused the famous Golden Bull

the same plan of indifferent toleration. It was impossible for a state of things like this to continue without a great degeneracy in the Christian mind, and therefore we cannot regret that it was disliked and ended by the future kings.

⁶³ This is the language of the Monk of Padua, p. 590; and the same objects, about the same period, seem to have influenced also the governments of France and England.

⁶⁴ In 1247 the count of Holland was chosen Emperor; and the *Magnum Chronicon Belicum* has preserved a detailed account of the ceremony of his imperial coronation, pp. 243-246. If emperors of Germany have been ambitious of universal dominion, can we be surprised at it, when we find that one part of the ceremony was, 'Then the duke of Bavaria, the count of the palace or cup-bearer, gave him a golden globe, saying, 'Take this spherical globe, and *subdue all nations* of the earth to the Roman Empire, that you may be called the glorious Augustus.' *Mag. Chron. Belg.* 245.

⁶⁵ Though often invited to Italy, he abstained from the enterprise, giving the answer of the Fox—'The footsteps deter me.' He was the first that introduced the use of the German tongue in all public courts and private transactions, instead of the Latin. *Puffend. Introd.* c. 8.

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to be compiled, which, settling the rules for the election of succeeding emperors, prevented their future dissensions on this interesting subject. Germany had now fully acquired its singular constitution;⁶⁶ and rapidly improving in its internal culture and political strength,⁶⁷ became, in the following centuries, of the greatest importance to the progress of the general civilization of Europe. Separated from Italy, after an active intercourse with that improved peninsula, it was thrown back upon its own native peculiarities and resources; and it grew up from these into an original character of mind and morals, which has even excited the panegyric of the critical and cynical Machiavel.⁶⁸ His opinion is the more interesting, because, in ascribing their merit to their political seclusion,⁶⁹ he contributes to illustrate one of the great processes of national melioration. When

⁶⁶ Altho taken as a whole it was one Empire, yet it was rather a compound body of states, the individual members of which formed each of them particular states, independent, but subordinate as parts to the whole, and connected by one common head. There were also towns and cities which were subject to none of the princes or states, but acknowledged the emperor alone as their territorial lord. Pütter, c. 12. p. 239.

⁶⁷ Bebelius, who addressed his panegyric on Germany to Maximilian, in 1501, maintains, that though Tacitus, Seneca, and others, had described Germany as barbarous, sterile, gloomy, and uncultivated, yet in his day it had become so full of cities, castles and mansions; so fertile, so agricultural; so connected by roads, population, and intercourse, that it might be justly said that Greece had emigrated to Germany. Hist. Germ. Var. Basle, t. 1. p. 275. His rhetorical image may be hyperbolical, but his description shows the universal improvement of Germany.

⁶⁸ 'Germany is the place, of the whole world, where the footsteps of the old Roman virtue and fidelity are conspicuous, and that fidelity is the reason why so many cities live happily in liberty; for they are so careful and studious of their laws, that this circumstance preserves them from servitude, and from being overrun by their enemies.' Machiav. Disc. c. 52. p. 324. Engl. ed.

⁶⁹ 'Integrity and justice are no where to be found but in Germany; and this arises from their having little or no commerce with their neighbors; neither trading into foreign parts, nor admitting foreigners among them. Hence they prevent a communication of the corrupt manners of the French, Spaniards, and Italians, who are vicious enough to debauch the whole world.' Machiav. Disc. c. 52. p. 325.

intercourse with a more civilized state can benefit a ruder one, it is impelled into incidents that establish a temporary communication. Thus the Germans were carried by ambitious emperors into Italy and Sicily, and an age of vernacular poetry and mental cultivation was the consequence.⁷⁰ When the continuance of the connection would have been pernicious, it was terminated. Germany lost the sovereignty of Italy, and was driven back into its own soil, to grow up there with its own hardy virtues, and into a native character and integrity peculiarly its own. One of the greatest obstacles to improvement in Germany, was its right of private wars; but the barbarous custom was at length abolished by law in the year 1495.⁷¹

The commercial phenomenon of the middle ages, was the HANSE confederation. Its origin is obscure. But the piratical habits of the North, accustoming its various peoples to bold and distant navigation, produced early a spirit of commerce on the Baltic, which rapidly superseded the habits of the sea-kings and vikings.⁷² Birca in Sweden, even in the ninth century, was celebrated for its traffic. Bergen in

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⁷⁰ 'Soon after this, the most splendid period of Teutonic poetry and romance commenced. For the space of a century and a half, beginning about the middle of the twelfth, and ending with the reign of Rudolph of Hapsburg, emperors, kings, princes, nobles, monks and menial minstrels, vied with each other in producing and translating lays of love, romances, *fabliaux*, chronicles, fables and sacred legends. The names and works of above three hundred minstrels of that period have been preserved.' *Illustrations of Northern Antiquities*, p. 7. ed. Edinb. 1814.

⁷¹ By a clause in the *Landfriede*, an edict made by Fred. I. to every one was reserved the right of doing justice to himself by force, provided he gave three days notice to his adversary, and declared himself his enemy. *Pütter*, c. 10. p. 206.—'It may be safely asserted, that in the fourteenth and following century, there was scarcely a habitable tract of land, of a few square miles, to be found, which was not almost incessantly involved in troubles, and distracted by the horrors of private war.' *Ib.* l. 3. c. 3. p. 294.

⁷² See *Hist. Anglo-Sax.* vol. ii. p. 296.

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Norway, Novgorod and Kiow in Russia, and the pagan republic of Jomsberg,⁷³ besides other towns on the Baltic, were also distinguished. When Jomsberg fell, Lübeck rapidly emerged into commercial activity and wealth. The habit spread. Flanders, long the object of the Northman desolations, became also one of the seats of European commerce. The free cities of Italy imbibed the same spirit; Lucca, Florence, Pisa, Genoa, and Venice, spread the Mediterranean with their vessels; and many of them had factors, settlements, warehouses and shops, in England.⁷⁴ In the first part of the thirteenth century, some or most of these trading towns, especially those between the Bay of Biscay and the Arctic Circle, united into a confederation for mutual defence, and for the promotion, perhaps for the monopoly, of their commercial pursuits, under the name of the Hanse Towns.⁷⁵ In the time of Waldemar III. who died in 1375, the Hanse towns, who combined against him, amounted to seventy-seven in number.⁷⁶ They exercised a judicial superintendence over the conduct of their members, and punished them by a species of commercial excommunication.⁷⁷ They formed fleets, supported wars, and attempted invasions when provoked.⁷⁸ After the fifteenth century,

⁷³ See this History, vol. i. p. 37.

⁷⁴ See our subsequent chapter on Commerce.

⁷⁵ The word Hanse signifies, in the ancient German, a number of persons associated by compact. Schilt. Thes. p. 423.

⁷⁶ Pontanus, in his Hist. Denm. p. 494. enumerates them, and gives the rhyming witticism of the Danish king upon them.

⁷⁷ Thus, because the town of Brunswick, one of their union, had supported a popular tumult, they declared it cut off from their Hanse. Its merchants were not suffered to trade in their emporiums, and were interdicted from the use and community of their privileges for eight years. Krantz Wandalia, pp. 207. 258.

⁷⁸ Their four principal emporia were, London, Bruges, Bergen, and Novgorod. Krantz, ib.

they rapidly declined, and dwindled to three towns, Lübeck, Bremen, and Hamburg.⁷⁹

The BOHEMIAN nation became gradually of vast importance to the great European family during the middle ages, by the marriage of its Princess Anne to the English sovereign Richard II.; and from its eager reception of the anti-papal ideas of Wickliffe, and from its sturdy maintenance of its religious reformation.⁸⁰ The ruder effects of its native Muse claim an early date.⁸¹ It resisted the Tartars in their invasion in the thirteenth century, and had then a bard who sang the victorious conflict with them.⁸² Its defeat of the Saxons in 1281, was also made the subject of an energetic effusion of the Bohemian Muse.⁸³ The aggressions and advancing vicinity of

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⁷⁹ Pütter, p. 257.

⁸⁰ See Modern History of England, vol. iii. p. 80, 81.

⁸¹ A MS. of Bohemian poetry, written between 1290 and 1301, was discovered by Hanka in 1817, and published two years afterwards. The pieces which remained in it, 'were most probably the productions of the ninth and tenth centuries.' For. Quart. Rev. No. 3. p. 150.

⁸² Hanka published an edition of this poem at Prague in 1823. It is a description of a battle with the Tartars, near Olmutz, in 1241. The verses are harmonious; ten syllables always containing five trochees, as 'Wzhōru brātri, wzhōru wōla uněslav:' The daughter of Kublay, the khan of Tartary, travelling to visit the lands of the west, was plundered and murdered in a German forest. Her father marches with a vindictive army, conquers Russia, and reaches Olmutz. But here in the battle, on its contiguous mountains, his son is killed, and the Tartars driven back to their ancient territories. Ib. p. 150.

⁸³ Benesh Hermanow is the hero on this exploit. A close translation of the poem is ably given in the Foreign Quarterly, p. 151. It is full of original spirit, and thus ends—

Benesh climb'd a rocky mountain :
 He swung his sword towards the right,
 Where the army's strength seem'd weakest.
 He swung his sword towards the left :
 There the army's strength was strongest.
 There—up to the riven rocks.
 From these rocks they hurl'd huge fragments :
 Hurl'd huge fragments on the foe.
 Hark ! the battle is rekindled.
 Hark ! From hill to plain they groan.
 Ha ! they groan—they fly—the Germans.
 Ha ! they fall—the battle 's won.

Ib. p. 151.

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the Turks, excited other exertions which do credit to its national genius:⁸⁴ and from the foundation of its university at Prague in 1348, where Jerome and Huss so impressively lectured, to the battle of the White Mountain in 1620, when the Austrian sword and popish bigotry destroyed its liberties, and reduced it to a dependent state, the Bohemian language and its native literature were generally and highly cultivated.⁸⁵ Cruel persecution followed its subjection to

⁸⁴ One of these ballads is on the application of a Turk to a Bohemian warder on the frontiers for his daughter. The father not daring to refuse, the maiden, to escape the captivity, suggests, that he shall say she is dead, and send her in a coffin as a proof of the allegation. The close of it in the pleasing version of the Reviewer deserves to be quoted, as an indication that the Turks were not then considered by their Bohemian enemies as an unfeeling, tho an imperious race.—As the coffin came,

- - - The Moslem o'er
The threshold sprung. ‘Ill-fated maid!
O God of mercy and of power!
The maid is dead! the maid is dead!’
The mourning Turk his kerchief drew,
And wiped his wet and weeping eyes.
‘And hast thou left me? left me too!
My precious pearl! my gem-like prize!’
He bought himself a mourning dress,
A dress of rosy taffety.
‘Why hast thou left me in distress?
Of flowers, the sweetest flower to me!’
He bade the death-bell loudly toll,
From every Turkish mosque; and ye
Might hear the heavy grave song roll
From Turkey ev’n to Moldawy.
The Turk sped homeward: and the maid
Her coffin left—for purer air.
‘Now heav’n be with thee, Turk!’ she said;
And truth was in the maiden’s prayer. Ib. 158.

⁸⁵ One of the short poems may be cited, which is in Polish, as well as Bohemian, as the originals shew the affinity between these two branches of the old Slavonian language:—

Two lovers seek the wood together
For shelter, when a mighty bough,
Riven by the fierce and stormy weather,
Falls—and they both are corpses now!
’Tis well. Their fate is bliss. Far sweeter
That both should die, than one remain
To mourn—a solitary creature—
Thro wearying, wasting years in vain.

Austria: its Protestant churches were demolished; its vernacular books were burnt; and silence and suffering overspread the nation for a century and a half, till the augmented civilization and intelligence of the age which witnessed in its latter period the American and French revolutions, extended also its beams to the Austrian dominions, and began a revival of the human mind in Bohemia as well as in their imperial capital and stately aristocracy.⁸⁶

HOLLAND was, in the thirteenth century, beginning its intellectual improvements, and slowly advancing in its internal strength and comforts. Its earlier versifiers had chosen moral subjects for their compositions.⁸⁷ The works of its poets in the middle ages discover the same taste,⁸⁸ with the addition of those

Holland.

Bohemian.

W zelenem hageeku
Milowali se dwa
Spadlo na ne drewo
Zabilo ge oba

Dobre udelalo
Ze ohar zabilo
Nebude zeleti
Geden pro druheho.

Polish.

W zielonym gaiku
Sied zieli we dwoie
Drzewo sie zlamalo
Zabilo oboie

Oboie zabilo
T dobrze zrobilo
Zadne niezostalo
By z zalu plakalo.

For. Q. Rev. 155.

⁸⁶ Joseph II. checked the spirit of fanaticism, and withheld the hand of persecution. He established, or sought to establish, if not full liberty of conscience, at least toleration for the Protestant creed. Ib. 174.

⁸⁷ Maerlant, in his *Rymbybil*, completed in 1270, a rhymed translation of Comestor's *Historia Scholastica*, frequently refers to earlier poets. He mentions W. Utenhove as 'a priest of good fame,' who translated the *Bestiaires* of Guillaume. He speaks of the *Fables* of Æsop as put by Calfstatt and Noydekijn into rhyme fair and fine; of Claes van Brechten's translations from the 'Walsche,' and of Cato's 'Book of Manners' found in many towns, translated into Dutch. All these works are now lost; they are only known by these notices that they once existed.

⁸⁸ Jakob van Maerlant, who was born in 1235 and died 1300, besides the *Rymbybil*, has left his moral 'Dialogues between Jacob and Martin,' his 'Glass of Huleus,' and 'Flowers of Nature.' He frequently refers to romances, like those of the Knights of the Round Table, as then in circulation in Holland, and mentions the 'spreekers and zangers,' speakers and singers, who accompanied the festivities of the age. The poem of another author of this century is called 'Natuurkundi' (natural philosophy). Foreign Quart. Rev. No. 7. pp. 42, 43.

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chronicles in verse which may give us rhyme and metre, but which are always as barren of poetry as they are useful for their historical notices.⁸⁰ Other Dutch compositions of these times are more fanciful.⁸⁰ Internal dissensions and civil wars soon afterwards occupied the public attention, with an eventual benefit to the general population.⁸¹

France.

The reign of Philip Augustus, who died in 1223, nearly doubled the dominions of the FRENCH crown, by wresting Normandy, Touraine, Anjou, and Maine, from our pusillanimous John. The power of France, from this aggrandizement, was severely felt by Germany at the celebrated battle of Bovines, in which he defeated the emperor Otho and his allies,⁸² and established the French predominance in Flanders. Like other princes in Europe at this period, Philip favored the growth of free cities in his kingdom, to give the crown a balance of strength against the vassal population of the nobility.

⁸⁰ The Rymchronyk, or Rimed Chronicle of Melis Stoke, ending 1305, is of this description. Almost contemporaneous with him was Jan van Helen, who celebrated the deeds of Don John the first, of Brabant, in a poem of ten thousand verses. He says, his hero 'won a Ridder's name (a knight's fame) at tournaments and jousts,

And with his weapons in his hand
Sought honor from land to land.'

The writer of the valuable Review, to which I refer, thinks some of his verses to be vigorous. p. 43.

⁸⁰ 'In the Netherlands, the 'War of Grimberg;' the Knight of the Swan; the Children of Count Hemann; and, above all, that extraordinary composition, Reintjeu den Vos, which was printed 1479, are spoken of as sources of instruction and amusement.' ib. 42, 3.

⁸¹ 'Out of the tyranny and discord of the seigneurs, the influence of the towns and the powers of commerce arose; and little aristocratical republics fought the battles of popular interest against the exactions of the nobles.' ib. 45.

⁸² Rigordus describes with pompous elation the French rejoicings on this victory—the popular songs, the ecclesiastical chants, the churches hung with ornaments both inside and out, the houses covered with rich curtains and embroidered silks, and the streets strewn with plants and boughs of trees, to gratulate the king's triumphal entry. p. 223.

His son Louis VIII. had been disappointed of the English crown by the coronation of Henry III.;⁹³ and the aid furnished by England to the disgraceful attack on the Albigenses, prevented him in his resentment from dispossessing it of Gascony and Bourdeaux.⁹⁴

The talents of St. Louis, who succeeded in 1226, were principally occupied by crusades in Egypt and at Tunis, which were as personally calamitous to the sovereign, who was taken prisoner in his first expedition, and who perished from the plague in his last, as to his nation, whom they harassed and exhausted.⁹⁵ He benefited France by laws and civil institutions, which increased its interior prosperity and relative strength; and he was formed to have greatly improved its moral character, if he had remained in his own country, quietly displaying in a peaceful life his wisdom, piety, and useful virtues.⁹⁶ In his reign a new direction was given to the French mind and politics, by the invitation of his brother Charles of Anjou into Italy. In the successful expeditions of this prince, he destroyed his German competitors with much personal cruelty, and obtained the kingdom of Naples and Sicily.⁹⁷ The same prince occasioned the union of Provence with the French crown, by marrying the daughter of its last count.⁹⁸

⁹³ This History, vol. i.

⁹⁴ Henault. Chron. Abr.

⁹⁵ St. Louis had an admiring and affectionate biographer in his friend Joinville, whose work is one of the most interesting remains of the early French literature.

⁹⁶ His apology may be rested on the feelings of the age; for we find the troubadour Pierre Vidal inveighing against St. Louis's grandfather, because, instead of making a crusade and aiding the holy sepulchre, he passed his life 'in a vile traffick, of which the French are ashamed.' Palaye Troub. vol. 2. p. 281.

⁹⁷ On the actions of Charles D'Anjou, Sismondi has collected a copious account in his *Histoire des Rep. Ital.* vol. 3. p. 336-492. The execution of Consadine was unknighly and inhuman. The Sicilian Vespers was a horrible retaliation of his severities.

⁹⁸ The troubadour Peguilain laments this incorporation of Provence,

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Philip III. succeeding St. Louis in 1270, had wars with the king of Castile, and the feudal counts in Languedoc and Guienne. His victories over the latter increased the internal consolidation of the French power.⁹⁹

The reign of Philip IV. or the Fair, from 1285 to 1314, was important for his contests with Edward I. for Flanders, and for his struggles with Pope Boniface, who attempted, as in England, to keep the clergy exempt from lay-taxation, that their revenues might be more immediately applicable to the papal services. As the veneration for St. Peter's chair began now to be diminishing through Europe, from the unholy passions that often filled it, this dispute gave a decisive check to the progress of the papal authority in France. The right of appeal from its infallibility to the next general council was asserted, and a foundation was laid for the liberties of the Gallican church.¹⁰⁰

The short reigns of the three next princes¹⁰¹ were followed by that of Philip VI. or de Valois, whose resistance to Edward III. produced the chief events of that illustrious reign. His union of Dauphiny

but shows the utility of the event. 'Instead of a brave seigneur, they will have a sire (a king.) They will build neither cities nor fortresses. Subjugated by the French, they will not dare to carry again either lance or shield.' 2 Palaye, p. 239. Thus the enlargement of kingdoms absorbed local warfare.

⁹⁹ The monk Guil. de Nangis, who wrote the *Gesta of St. Louis*, continues his narrative to the end of Philip's reign. *Hist. Franc.* p. 482-504. ed. Franc. 1596.

¹⁰⁰ Philip arrested the Pope's legate, and afterwards caused the Pope himself to be taken prisoner. He abolished the orders of Knights Templars. To his reign have been referred the admission of the third estate into the States General, and the fixed establishment of the French judicial parliaments. *Henault Chron. Abr.*

¹⁰¹ Louis X. or Hutin, 1314-1316.

Philip V. or The Long, 1316-1322.

Charles IV. or The Fair, 1322-1328.

and Montpellier with the French crown, augmented the concentration of the national power; and, though this was shaken by the captivity of his successor, John, at the battle of Poitiers, and by the factions of the yet insubordinate great, which ensued, yet Charles V. who acceded in 1364, notwithstanding the talents of the Black Prince, recovered all the conquered provinces, added others, and displayed and fostered that literary taste and spirit in the French people, which have never since abandoned them.¹⁰²

His successor Charles VI. who began his reign in 1380, a boy of twelve years, made his future days remarkable by a powerful invasion of Italy—an ambitious enterprise of fleeting glory, which has since become a favorite dream of French policy, attractive, like many prospects in the distant view, but yielding only disappointment and evil on the near approach. No French conquest there has yet been lasting.

The rivalship of the cities that had arisen in the north of ITALY, and especially of Milan and Pavia, the principal, or the most ambitious of all, marked the first part of the twelfth century.¹⁰³ The attempts of Milan to increase her power, and the dissensions of the rest, were suspended by the approach of an invasion which they had themselves excited. This

¹⁰² The Memoires of Christine de Pisan, who began to write in 1399 at the age of 35, contain an interesting account of Charles V. She notices his attainments, and love of literature and the arts, and the translations from the Greek and Latin classics which he ordered. Being one day reproached for favoring the learned Clerks, he answered, 'When they have knowlege, they cannot be too much honored; and while knowlege is honored, this kingdom will prosper, but will perish when that ceases.' Mem. Christ. de Pisan, p. 204.

¹⁰³ Milan was then surrounded by seven republics, Como, Novarre, Pavia, Lodi, Cremona, Crema, Bergamo. Of these it destroyed Lodi in 1111, and subdued Crema and Como. Sismondi's Hist. Ital. vol. 2, pp. 5-20.

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was the expedition of Frederic Barbarossa, the Emperor of Germany, directed first against Milan, whose unjust attack on Lodi had urged the citizens of that town to appear at the German diet, and solicit the aid of Frederic. The invitation was too grateful to be disregarded. Meditating the annexation of Italy to his imperial crown, he had already received with satisfaction the solicitations of the Pope, to coerce the fractious citizens of Rome, and the intreaties of the Apulian barons to aid them against the king of Sicily.¹⁰⁴ The additional complaint of Pavia and Cremona, against the encroachments of the Milanese, gave him specious pretexts to spread his forces over every part of Italy, with the certainty of being seconded, in the chief scenes of his warfare, by an important part of the native population.

The dominion of the German emperors over Italy, before the twelfth century, was neither perpetual nor complete. When the emperor intended to visit Italy, officers went before him to collect the customary tributes; and as soon as he entered it, all other dignities were suspended.¹⁰⁵ His sovereignty was then both acknowledged and felt. When he withdrew to Germany, the native princes and jurisdictions resumed their powers, and the government of the distant emperor was feeble and disputed.

It had been the policy of Otho the Great, the first German emperor who had acquired the command of Italy, to encourage the prosperity of the cities of Italy. He gave them the important privilege of possessing a municipal government, chosen and

¹⁰⁴ Sismondi, 48–53; and see Otto's remarks, 'de diversis bellis urbium Italiae,' in his Chron. l. 7. p. 145.

¹⁰⁵ Otto de Gest. Fred. c. 12. p. 454.

administered by themselves ;¹⁰⁶ the first step towards their being free states, and some of them republics. Gradually advancing in strength, and animated with reviving recollections of their ancient history, they endeavoured to imitate the institutions of Rome when it was a republic, and also to possess a native prince. The eleventh century was the æra of many struggles to throw off the yoke of a foreign sovereign, and to have a king of their own choice and country. The power exerted by the popes against the emperors, favored the rising independence of the cities, and the wisdom of their domestic legislation accelerated their liberties. “ They affect liberty so much,” says a writer of the twelfth century,¹⁰⁷ “ that they prefer consuls to riches.” They have three orders of society, chiefs, knights, and common people. To repress pride, their consuls are chosen from all these orders promiscuously ; and to preclude ambition, the election is made annual. To provide a constant and effective military force, they admit to their honors of knighthood and dignity the youth of inferior condition ; even the artificers of despised and mechanical arts, whom other nations exclude like a pestilence from the more reputable and liberal studies. “ Hence,” says even this German, the kinsman of an emperor, “ hence they excel, in wealth and power, all the other cities of the world.”

Such was Italy in 1154, when Frederic Barbarossa descended into Italy to effectuate its subjection, and to receive the imperial crown from the

¹⁰⁶ An intelligent review of the state of Italy in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, is exhibited in Ginguene's *Histoire Litteraire d'Italie*, vol. 1. p. 101-107, and 142-145. Sismondi's work presents the full detail.

¹⁰⁷ Otto de Gest. Fred. p. 453. This author ends this work in 1156, three years before he died.

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Pope. His enterprise was popular in Germany, and he came repeatedly into Italy with a force that seemed to be overwhelming. Having established his fiscal system, he declared the appointment of the magistracy of the cities to be in himself, but with the assent of the people.¹⁰⁸ Milan withstood, with the courage of ancient Rome, the first efforts of his power; and maintained the unequal contest for eight years, with varying fortune, but with the most active bravery and heroic perseverance. The determination of Frederic was as inflexible as their own, and in 1162 his superior means of aggression prevailed. After a siege, endured by the citizens with that constancy in suffering with which human nature so often surprises us in defensive war, they were compelled by famine to surrender Milan to the imperial arms. The implacable Frederic commanded all the inhabitants to leave the place, and nine days afterwards had it rased to the earth.¹⁰⁹

The calamities of the Milanese having removed all danger from their ambition, awakened the rest of Italy to pity for their suffering, and to alarm at the conqueror's progress. In five years after the destruction of Milan, the principal cities in the north of Italy united into a patriotic league of mutual defence, called the League of Lombardy,¹¹⁰ generously rebuilt Milan; and with this well-arranged confederation, aspired to destroy the German monarchy of

¹⁰⁸ Radevicus, l. 2. p. 509. This author, also a contemporary, continues the subject of Otto's work for a few years.

¹⁰⁹ On this last unequal contest, in which Frederic attacked Milan with 100,000 men, see Sismondi, pp. 130-135.

¹¹⁰ The Veronese began it by inviting the cities to meet in a diet, to concert the means of defending Italy. Deputies assembled, and contracted an alliance for twenty years, and engaged to defend each other against every one who should attack their privileges. Sismondi, pp. 160, 161.

Italy, which Frederic thought he had so surely established.¹¹¹ For fifteen years he contended for his ambitious gratification, till at the end of this time a ruinous defeat at Lignano, terminated all the hopes for which he had led seven overpowering armies into Italy, and endured a loss of half a million of men.¹¹² The peace of Constance in 1183 gave the Lombard republics an authorized and legal existence, and Italy was once more made independent of Germany.

Thirty years had this great conflict lasted between the Italian cities and the imperial crown. This long continuance had roused the population of Italy, and especially of Lombardy, into great intellectual activity. This general excitement produced civil dissensions. The nobles in each district, who had led their fellow-citizens in their warfare, aspired to the superior honor of their little states. The people became jealous of their chiefs. In some parts, factions divided the populace; in others, petty tyrants prevailed; and from the love of liberty among the many, and of power among the few, civil agitations almost every where raged at the close of the twelfth, and at the opening of the thirteenth century.¹¹³

But these social bickerings, and the struggles of the popes and emperors with their Guelphs and Ghibelline factions, only animated and employed the aristocracies and democracies of the Peninsula, and prepared them for greater exploits. The Venetians

¹¹¹ The patriotic cities were, Venice, Verona, Vicenza, Padua, Treviso, Ferrara, Brescia, Bergamo, Cremona, Milan, Lodi, Placentia, Parma, Modena, and Bologna.

¹¹² Sismondi, 222, 223.

¹¹³ Sismondi, 247-257. The monk of Padua's Chronicle, from 1207 to 1270, presents a plain but striking picture of the state of Italy at this period.

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and Pisans obtained settlements at Constantinople, and engrossed the rich commerce of the East, which the enervated Grecians were incompetent either to value or to cultivate. The Latins attack on their illustrious, but feeble, city was powerfully aided by the Venetian fleets; and when, on its conquest in 1204, Baldwin the Count of Flanders was made its emperor, the Grecian provinces were partitioned chiefly among the Italian leaders: Thessalonica and Thessaly were erected into a monarchy, for the Marquis of Montserrat; Achaia was divided into several duchies and principalities; some provinces, and several islands, were assigned to the Venetians. The Genoese seized Modon and Coron on the Spartan coast, and the islands Crete and Corfu. But the Venetian senate, in 1207, granting permission to its citizens to arm at their own expense vessels of war, and to conquer for themselves the islands of the Archipelago and the cities on the Grecian coasts, a new ambition inflamed the minds of the Venetian merchants. Swarms of military adventurers crowded the neighboring seas; the unwarlike Greeks yielded to their rapacious attacks; Venetian duchies were established on part of the Grecian continent and in several of the isles, and the Genoese were dispossessed of their acquisitions by the superior activity and force of the Venetian armaments. Gradually, Venice lost her continental dignities, but she retained for four centuries the islands she had seized.¹¹⁴

While the cities in the north of Italy were thus becoming illustrious in wealth, power and reputation, those of Tuscany, which had been hitherto quiescent and obscure, began to emerge also into emulation

¹¹⁴ Sismondi, 376-435.

and consequence. A spirit of party agitated Florence for three and thirty years, accustomed the inhabitants to arms, and excited it to the ambition which urged it to its future conquests and celebrity.¹¹⁵ The attack of Frederic II. compelled the Italian cities to renew the Lombard league. They preserved their independence, and continued their factions. But in the midst of this universal emulation and activity, their varied genius was expanded, enriched and exercised. Sicilian rhymers began that vernacular poetry which superseded the Provençal,¹¹⁶ and opened the road from which Dante darted with an eagle's flight, transcending all his contemporaries, and pouring out strains which still astonish and interest his cultivated posterity. Petrarch soon followed with rival fame, not only improving his own countrymen, but even exciting and assisting the genius of the early poets of England, who confess their obligation, and echo his praise. Modern painting began with Cimabue, who died in 1300; and never ceased improving, till Italy had enriched the world with its Raffaele, Michelagnolo, Titian, Corregio, Guido, and the Caraccis.

After the insincere expedition of Frederic II. the cause of Christianity in Palestine declined rapidly into that state of ruin and degeneracy from which it has never since recovered, and which St. Louis only increased by his ineffectual and calamitous attempt upon Egypt;¹¹⁷ and as there was no moral principle,

¹¹⁵ Machiavel remarks of Tuscany, that though a small territory, it had three considerable republics, Florence, Sienna, and Lucca. 'Their minds and laws shew a strange propensity to freedom, which proceeds from a scarcity of gentry in those parts.' Disc. c. 52. p. 325.

¹¹⁶ On this interesting subject and period, the reader will be gratified by Ginguene's observations and facts, vol. 1. pp. 336-358.

¹¹⁷ He was taken prisoner in Egypt in 1250, after his capture of Damiette in the preceding year. He died before Tunis, in what is called the seventh Crusade, in 1270.

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nor true faith, nor genuine devotion, to uphold it, in most of those who professed to be its supporters, the booty and the worldly benefit were the principal objects which actuated those who took arms in its behalf, in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. And what other result could arise, from any who sought to maintain or to propagate it by war? Such violence was in direct contradiction to its most essential and most characterizing precepts; and such warfare on such a subject could only have the disappointing termination which it experienced and deserved. The deliverance of Acre by Edward I. produced no beneficial change after his departure. In 1268, Bibars, the sultan of Egypt, took and ruined Antioch, and extinguished the Latin principality.¹¹⁸ The loss of Acre, in 1291, was followed by the final expulsion of the Latin Christians from the Holy Land.¹¹⁹

¹¹⁸ 'The first seat of the Christian name, was dispeopled by the slaughter of 17,000, and the captivity of 100,000 of her inhabitants. The maritime towns of Laodicea, Gabala, Tripoli, Berytus, Sidon, Tyre and Jaffa, and the stronger castles of the Hospitallers and Templars, then successively fell.' Gibbon, v. 7, p. 408.

¹¹⁹ The sultan Bibars' exulting letter to the count of Tripoli, describing his sack of Antioch, still exists in its original Arabic, and has been published by M. Reinaud. He states, 'We arrived under the walls of Antioch, at the commencement of the great Ramadan. At our approach, the troops of the city attempted a sortie; they were defeated, and their commander taken prisoner. Terror shook the soul of the monks. Death came to the besieged on all sides: we took Antioch by the sword on the fourth of the Ramadan. Ah! if you had but seen the knights trampled under the horses feet; the city given up to pillage; your treasures distributed by quintals; the matrons of the city sold, four for a piece of gold; if you had but seen the churches and crosses overthrown; the leaves of the sacred gospels scattered; the sepulchres of the patriarchs trodden down; oh! if you had seen the Mussulman, your enemy, marching on the tabernacle and the altar, sacrificing there the religious, the priest and the patriarch; if you had seen your palace burning in the flames, and the very dead burning in the fire of this world before they could be by that of the other; certainly your soul would have exhaled itself away in sighs; your tears, by their abundance, would have extinguished the devouring fire. This letter congratulates you on your safety, for if you had been there, you should unquestionably have been now a dead man or a prisoner,

The progress of the TURKS in Syria, and of their Seljukian branch in Asia Minor to the shores of the Hellespont;¹²⁰ its repression by the crusades,¹²¹ and the defeats of Saladin, as his talents and activity were reviving their Eastern power,¹²² by our Richard I. have been already noticed.¹²³ From the time of their leaving their Scythian abodes in the Turan of the antient Transoxiana, to the thirteenth century, they had been steadily advancing in diffusion and strength to the borders of Europe. The gift of Sultan-oni, the sultan's frontier, a petty district on the borders of Phrygia and Bithynia, to Ortogrul, the father of Osman, began the foundations of that Ottoman empire, which in a century and a half overwhelmed the throne and christianity of the Greeks.¹²⁴ In 1299, Osman, on the death of Aladdin, the sultan

or crippled with your wounds. As no one has been saved to apprise you of what has been done, from us you shall learn it. As there is none left to felicitate you upon your escape, we have addressed to you this discourse. You know now what to expect; you need not apply to any other to inform you of the truth. Adieu.' Hist. des Guerres, sous Bibar, in Journ. Asiat. July & Aug. 1827. A truly barbarian letter, from an overjoyed barbarian mind!

¹²⁰ See the preceding volume.

¹²¹ Ib.

¹²² Ib.

¹²³ Ib. 'The ancient Persians, who called their own country *Iran*, and every other country *An-Iran*, gave to the land beyond the Oxus (from which the Turks originated) the name of *Turan*.' As the inhabitants of the country became proverbial for their rudeness and ferocity, it has been inferred that the word *Tyrannos*, tyrant, was made from this people by the Asiatic Greeks; and thus traced to its primitive signification, means literally a *Turk*. For. Quart. Rev. N° 7, p. 239. This is certainly a fanciful misconception; *Tyrannos* has a very different origin. We see its primitive source in the Saxon *Tyr*, Lord. In the Welsh.

¹²⁴ On the death of his father, who was drowned in the Euphrates, from the falling of his horse, as he was leading his tribe back from Armenia, Ortogrul wandered to the west with four hundred families. While moving along the Black mountains, he observed two armies engaging; eager to partake the battle, he joined, with a generous feeling, the weaker party, and gave it the victory by his unexpected assistance. The conquered were an invading horde of Mongolian Tartars; their opponent was Aladdin, the sultan of the Seljukian Turks, and from his grateful feelings for the timely aid, Ortogrul received the gift of the possessions alluded to in the text. Von Hammer's History of the Ottoman Empire. For. Quart. Rev. p. 239.

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of the Seljukian Turks, asserted his independence, and established a separate sovereignty in these parts. He was buried at Brusa, in the mosque called the Silver Dome, which had been the ancient cathedral of the castle when the Greeks inhabited it;¹²⁶ but tho he made himself a sovereign, he was little more than the successful chieftain of a band of Turkomans, uniting the occupations of a shepherd and a robber. His property at his death, shews the rude simplicity of his manners;¹²⁶ but his countrymen regarding him as the founder of their national greatness, have adorned his name with a venerating legend.¹²⁷

His son Orchan first ventured to extend the Turkish incursions into Europe. The Grecian emperor, Michael Palæologus, had, in 1263, fixed a colony of Turkish auxiliaries on the shore of the Black Sea; and from that time many petty expeditions were attempted by Turkish depredators across the Hellespont.¹²⁸ But it was in the nineteenth of these aggressions that

¹²⁶ 'Till the beginning of the present century, his rosary was preserved there, as well as the great drum, with which he had received from sultan Aladdin the investiture of Karadsha. These curious relics were destroyed, together with the mosque and castle, by the fire which ruined the city of Brusa, in the first year of the present century. The silver dome which covered the remains of Osman, was then reduced to a heap of rubbish. His standards and double pointed sword are said to be still preserved in the imperial treasury.' For. Quart. Rev. 241.

¹²⁶ 'The founder of the Ottoman dynasty left behind him no insignia of pomp, no treasures of gold or silver; his property consisted of a spoon, a salt-cellar, an embroidered coat, a new turban, several red standards, a stud of fleet horses, some herds of cattle and flocks of excellent sheep, from which are descended the sultan's flocks, which at the present day feed on the hills round Brusa.' Ib. 241. Hanmer's Hist. ib.

¹²⁷ Osman is said by the Turkish historians to have seen, in a dream, the moon rising from the breast of the sheik Edebali, the father of his beloved Malchatun, and increasing from a crescent to a splendid orb, till it set in his own person; immediately a tree sprung from his loins, whose branches took root in Europe and Asia, and soon overshadowed the whole world with their foliage. Ib. 240. Such were the ambitious speculations of the ancestors of the present Ottomans.

¹²⁸ The industry of Von Hanmer has collected the particulars of

Soliman, the son of Orchan, effected their first firm footing in Europe, and began the once mighty, but now falling fabric of the Ottoman power.¹²⁹

His adventurous seizure of a petty castle was soon followed, from the spirit of enterprise which it excited, by the fall of Callipolis;¹³⁰ and the Turkish energy never subsided again, till, having planted the crescent, about a century afterwards, on the walls of Constantinople, they fulfilled the bold prediction of their Arabian prophet.¹³¹

twenty expeditions, from 1263 to the taking of Callipolis in 1357. The first of these noticed by the Turkish historians, is the 18th of M. Hanmer. The next was Soliman's attempt.

¹²⁹ His first daring little enterprise was thus suggested to him: He was reclining one evening among the ruins of the ancient Cyzikus, while the moon shed its full splendor on the Propontis. The temples of Jupiter, Proserpine and Cybele stood before him; their stately porticoes and colonnades reflecting the silver beams. The Turk gazed with awe and admiration on these marble edifices; they seemed to him like the remains of a palace of the queen of Sheba, built for her by the fairies, at Solomon's command. While sunk in this reverie, long rows of columns, towers and arcades appeared to his fancy to rise from the surface of the waters, so as to join together the opposite shores: the circle of light round the moon at the same time dilated. 'The dreams of imagination and the suggestions of ambition mingled together in his mind, and he immediately formed the resolution to try his fortune on the European shore. With a chosen band of forty, he crossed the channel in the following night, on a raft hastily constructed, and seized the castle of Tzympe. From this time forward, the acquisitions of the Ottomans increased with a rapidity which it is difficult to follow.' For. Quart. Rev. p. 242.

¹³⁰ Ten thousand Turkish horsemen crossed the Hellespont to make this conquest. Von Hanmer's Hist.—It is not at all probable that the Turkish invaders of Greece in this or their subsequent expeditions were 'the descendants of the 400 families who, only 120 years before, had settled on the heights of Temnes and Moriene.' The able reviewer justly adds, 'It is a more reasonable conjecture, that the onward current of Ottoman invasion or intrusion was swelled by bands of Phrygian and Ionian Turks; and that the successors of Osman owed their pre-eminence to their fortunate position, which placed them in the vanguard of the advancing multitude.' p. 243.

¹³¹ It is stated from Von Hanmer, that the conquest of this city was expressly promised to the Moslems in the Koraun, in two passages: one alluding to it; as, 'Knew ye a city encompassed on two sides by water, and on the third by land? The last hour shall not come, before it be taken by 60,000 of the faithful.' The other was more explicit: 'They shall conquer Constantinople: the army that conquers it, is the best of armies.' These words had encouraged the Arabs seven times to attempt

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The city of the Seven Hills then fell under the dominion of Islamism, and has so continued for nearly 350 years.¹³²

The Slavonian population of SERVIA, BOSNIA, CROATIA and ILLYRIA, for some time resisted the aggressions of the Turks, as their accumulating forces pressed upon the Grecian metropolis. But as that fell, these provinces, and all the country on the north-east of the Adriatic, became subject at length to the Ottoman power: presenting the historical peculiarity, of two nations of different religions and modes of life, living intermingled with each other, sometimes in friendly relations, and sometimes contending with the fierceness and calamities of mutual enmity. Yet rude and uncultivated as all these districts have long been, poets and minstrels have arisen and been cherished among them, singing their heroic ballads, and traditional verses, on their guzla, or simple one-stringed guitar.¹³³

its siege, and on one of these occasions to remain seven years encamped before its walls. Review of Von Hanmer, *ib.* p. 243. Such a promise would be a remarkable expression of the far-sighted and extensive ambition of Mohamed, which he would probably have attempted to accomplish in person, if he had not been, like Alexander the Great, interrupted by an unexpected death. But tho I have searched the Koraun in Sale's translation, I do not find such passages, and am inclined to doubt their existence, as the chapter which is entitled 'Alkum,' or 'The Greeks,' the finest of the whole Koraun, so far from directing any predictions against them, begins with a declaration, that altho 'The Greeks had been just overcome by the Persians, they should in a few years conquer them in their turn.' Koraun, c. 30, p. 330.

¹³² But the progress of the Russian arms to Adrianople in this August 1829, creates a doubt how long the Turkish occupation of it will now continue. On its capture in 1452, Von Hanmer rather quaintly remarks, 'Thus fell the city of seven names, seven hills, and seven towers, taken from the seventh of the Palæologi by the seventh sultan of the Ottomans.' He also adds, that Adrianople is likewise built on seven hills, and that by the fall of this city, the conquest of the capital was foreshewn. The seven names above alluded to are, *Byzantium*, *Antonina*, *Roma nova*, *Constantinople*, *Farruk* or the Earth Divider; *Islambol*, the Fulness of Faith, and *Ummeddunja*, or Mother of the World. F. Q. Rev. 244.

¹³³ Like the Servian, the Illyrian poetry celebrates deeds of savage

Illyria even yet has her wandering native bards or musicians, tho in that miserable state which implies a declining art and needy populace;¹³⁴ and indeed what country, from the days of Homer and his fellow rhapsodists, have any where in Europe been without this description of human characters?

Contiguous to the Slavonian provinces in the Adriatic, that important state had been for some ages growing up amid the lakes of this gulf, upon the rocks and little islands near its northern shore, which became the most powerful and most distinguished of all others in the Italian peninsula, between the Alps and Tuscany.¹³⁵ The greater number of the islands were marshes.¹³⁶ The central and most elevated was

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atrocious, and of gentle and heroic virtue; but few of its pieces now remaining are of an historic character. Thomas II. the last king of Bosnia, is its only hero of eminence. 'But it celebrates in high-toned strains the fierce carnage and noble daring of the heyduks (robbers) against the hated and dastardly pandours (police). Its superstition is of a darker cast. The saints appear not in it engaged in acts of beneficence. The sun and stars hold no converse with man, and the mountain-haunting Vila only once displays her beautiful form. But the horrible vampire is no unfrequent actor in its scenes; and the terrors of an evil eye are dwelt on with earnestness.' For. Quart. Rev. No. 4, p. 664.

¹³⁴ 'Most of the Illyrians can sing to the guzla their native songs; but there are professional minstrels, who roam from village to village; these are mostly poor, ragged old men, who sing thro the nose. Their music has little variety; and at the end of each verse, the singer gives a yell, like that of a wounded wolf, which in the mountains may be heard to a considerable distance. When the ballad is finished, the minstrel appeals for his reward to the generosity of his auditors.' lb. 665.

¹³⁵ At first a small band of fugitives from Padua, escaping from the devastations of the Goths, settled in the lagunes of the Adriatic in 420, and were governed by magistrates from Padua. Daru's History of Venice, and Gallicioli's Memorie Venete, contain the best materials, and supply the fullest information on the rise and fortunes of this celebrated commonwealth.

¹³⁶ 'In the lagunes, which are navigable at high water, but are left partially dry in the ebb, the fugitives found numerous spots, amid the rocks and little islands, sufficiently extensive to admit of cultivation. Their natural produce and aliment were fish, and their only marketable commodities were the salt which they collected in their lagunes, and the fish which they cured with it. Their occupations consisted in building and navigating small boats for their neighbors. Such was their first acquaintance with that element, which was afterwards to bear the proud

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called Rialto, and as several others were progressively united by bridges, the city of VENICE arose to notice and reputation, under the government of a tribune and council chosen by the people;¹³⁷ till, as the seventh century closed, an elective doge was added as their chief and military magistrate.¹³⁸ His allotted power gave vigor, consolidation and stability to the prospering community;¹³⁹ but it was an office often calamitous to its distinguished possessor.¹⁴⁰

In the twelfth century their constitution received an aristocratical modification, which diminished the popular influence;¹⁴¹ and the crusaders employing

fleets of their daring navigators, victorious warriors, and enterprising merchants.' Edin. Review of Gallicioli, No. 91, p. 81.

¹³⁷ Padua having been devastated by barbarians, from 450 to 460, her little Adriatic colonies were left to themselves. Each island then elected a tribune; but in 503, their executive power was vested in a single tribune, chosen annually, and governing the petty state, in conjunction with a popular assembly and a council of forty persons chosen by the people. *Ib.*

¹³⁸ He was first chosen in 697. The third doge, for his activity against the Lombards, obtained from the Eastern empire a grant of land from the sea to the Adige. His successes raised the cruel jealousy of his countrymen, and fearing a dictator, they assassinated him, and abolished the office in 737; but, in 742, they restored it again as an elective dignity, to be held for life.

¹³⁹ The earliest of the Venetian historians, Andrea Dandolo, describes his powers to be those 'of convoking assemblies; of declaring war and concluding treaties; of commanding the armies of the state; of appointing the military tribunes and the judges; of hearing appeals, and deciding definitively on all matters at issue; of collecting the citizens to choose their parish priests and bishops; of judging of all matters concerning the clergy, civil as well as criminal, leaving to the pope only such as were purely spiritual; of awarding ecclesiastical punishments, and of investing and installing bishops.' Dandolo apud Gallicioli, v. i. and Daru. *Hist.* vol. i. p. 42.

¹⁴⁰ 'Of forty-three who reigned in the course of 300 years, scarcely one-half concluded their career in peace. Five were compelled to abdicate, three were assassinated by conspirators, one was condemned legally to death, and nine to be deposed, deprived of sight, or exiled. Some only escaped these punishments by dying on the field of battle.' Ed. Rev. p. 84.

¹⁴¹ The assassination of the last of the three doges, in 1172, was succeeded by popular commotions. Among the provisions of the new constitution were, that the people should have the right of confirming or

their vessels, and drawing largely supplies from their commercial activity, the Venetian state became so powerful, as to be one of the three confederate princes, who, in 1204, attacked and conquered Constantinople. Her doge then declined the Grecian crown, but using the opportunity to aggrandize his country, he secured to it, by treaty, the most valuable possessions of the Eastern empire in the Archipelago. The trade and riches of Venice augmented with its maritime power, but at this time they had scarcely any territory on the continent.

Its dominions were chiefly insular till about 1270. Its rulers then secured part of Romagna, and from that time the successful and emulous ambition of the doges, and their warlike aristocracy, went steadily onwards to acquire new territories, till in the fifteenth century they became one of the greatest powers in Italy, and began to hope and scheme for its ultimate subjugation to their military dominion.¹⁴²

In SPAIN, the Mohamedan power progressively declined. The competition had long been decided between Christianity and Mohamedanism, and the latter lost the empire of the world, never to recover it. The Emperors of Morocco, uniting their African population, endeavored to renew the triumphs of the Crescent; but their efforts failed. The Christian

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annulling the election of the doge, but *not* of choosing him; that he should thenceforth not select his own councillors, but that six individuals should be associated with him, subject to his control, who should form an integral part of the supreme magistracy, and without whose concurrence none of his decrees should be valid; that when he needed larger council, he should not apply to other citizens, but should consult with the forty. These, with the addition of sixty more, formed the senate, and the people were no longer to hold meetings; but all their rights were to be delegated to 470 citizens, then named the Great Council, from whom should emanate every act relating to the sovereignty. Rev. pp. 87, 88.

¹⁴² Galliccioli Mem. Venete. Daru. Hist. Venice.

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kingdoms, superior in the mind and morals of their subjects, went on, enlarging their territories, and curtailing the precincts of Islamism; and as the fourteenth century closed, it was obvious that no long time could elapse before the whole Peninsula would be subject to their sway.¹⁴³ At this period, commerce, christianity, literature, science, and increasing political freedom, were combining with continuing progress to raise modern Europe to every attainable superiority. England partook in full measure of all these blessings; and we proceed to pourtray, in authentic detail, the history of its advancement, which has never been inferior to that of any of the states of Europe, but which has most frequently preceded all.

¹⁴³ To this period may be referred what remains of the ancient national poetry of Spain: Their Romances Caballarescos and Romances Historicos, their highly valued ballads and other poems. Of these the '*Floresta de Rimas antiguas Castellanas*,' by Don Faber, printed at Hamburg 1821: C. Depping's *Sammlung*, or Collection of the best old Spanish Romances, at Leipsic in 1817: its republication in part, with amendments, by a Spanish Refugee in London, in 1825: Don Duran's *Romancero de Romances Moriscos*, at Madrid, 1828: and Quintana's *Poesias Selectas Castellanas*, present the curious student with the most valuable remains. We may add the '*Colecion de Poesias Castellanas anteriores ad Siglo XV.*' by Sanches. The translation of several ballads and poems, by Mr. Lockhart and Mr. Bowring, in their separate publications, will gratify the English reader.

CHAP. II.

The Reign of EDWARD I.

1272—1307.

EDWARD had reached the middle period of life at the time of his accession. The mature age of thirty-four, and the varied activity and occasional adversity of his preceding years, had given a mellow tint to his character, which marked all his reign. His mind resembled the Conqueror's, in its solidity of judgment, military talents, vigor, decision, and irascibility. But, acceding to an undisputed throne, he had none of the jealousies which had so often alarmed William into error and injustice, and his vindictive temper was accompanied with a ready placability. He is stated to have been as easily disarmed by submission, as he was fierce and impatient, when counteracted or provoked.¹ But revenge often inflicts evils, which no repentance can compensate. It gives a principle to our actions, and a spirit to our nature, that revive those darker features of the savage state, which cultivated reason is ever struggling to

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¹ Walsingham gives an instance of this. Hawking one day on a river, he saw one of his earls not attending to a falcon that had just seized a duck among the willows: Edward, then prince, upbraided him for his neglect; and the noble tauntingly replied, that it was sufficient for him that the river parted them. Stung by the remark, the Prince plunged his horse immediately into the stream, though ignorant of the depth, and having with difficulty reached the bank, pursued the earl with his drawn sword; till the nobleman, seeing escape hopeless, turned round his horse, threw off his hat, and advancing to Edward with his neck stretched out, put himself on his mercy. The submissive posture disarmed the Prince: he sheathed his sword, and rode home friendlily with the offender. Wals. Hist. Angl. p. 2.

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subdue. In Edward's conduct to the Welsh and Scotch, we see this baneful quality in full activity; and it has fixed those spots upon his bright character, which no partiality can remove.

He is described to have been a prince of elegant form and majestic stature: so tall, that few of his people reached beyond his shoulders, his ample forehead and prominent chest, increased the dignity of his personal appearance. His arms were peculiarly agile in the use of the sword; and the length of his thighs gave him a firm seat on the most spirited horses, from which he could scarcely be shaken. The light yellow hair of his infancy became black, as he advanced to manhood. His left eye had the same singularity, of the oblique fall of the eyebrow, which had marked his father's countenance. His speech was hesitating, but occasionally eloquent.² His mind was resolute, ambitious, firm and courageous: yet tempered with that rare discretion, which never pursued objects beyond his power of attainment; which never applied insufficient means to important designs; and never enforced even a favorite project at the risk of his safety. Hence, when anxious to embark an army for Guienne, which his nobles declined to join, though he told one of them, who refused, that he should either go or be hanged; yet, when the haughty baron, repeating the king's oath, declared that he would neither go nor be hanged, Edward, with all his irascibility, paused and submitted: he saw thirty knights bannerets and 1500 others gathered round the menaced noble, and he wisely sacrificed his passion to his prudence.³

² Walsingham, p. 2.

³ W. Hemmingford Chron. p. 112. Hearne ed. This author, a canon of

When unoccupied by war, he was fond of the pleasures of the chase. To hunt stags was his favorite amusement; and his daring ardor was so great in the pursuit, that he ventured to pierce them with his sword, when they were seized, instead of the safer hunting spear. An incident in his youth gave a devotional impression to his mind, which never left it. Playing one day at chess with a knight in a chamber, he suddenly rose in the midst of the game from an unconscious impulse, and in the next moment an immense stone, from the ceiling, fell on the place where he had been sitting. He referred his safety to the Virgin at Walsingham, and believed himself ever afterwards to be under the protection of Heaven; a persuasion that fortified his courage, and may have contributed to increase the moral decorum of his life.⁴

His juvenile character at its first ebullition had begun to be turbulent. He patronized as part of his household, and had educated in his court, some of those depredatory bands whom the imperfect police of the country suffered to roam, like the Robinhood of our ballads, and who plundered even in his sight unchastised.⁵ In favoring this kind of society, he

Giseburn, in Yorkshire, died 1347. His life of Edward I. in Hearne's edition, is valuable for its perspicuous narrative and public documents.

⁴ Wals. p. 2.—This impression was probably augmented by the catastrophe of pope John XXI. who in the beginning of Edward's reign was crushed to death by the fall of the new apartments which he had built at Viterbo. Ib. p. 7.—In 1288, Edward had another escape: a flash of lightning passed between him and his queen, leaving them unhurt, but killing two ladies in the room. Ib. 14.

⁵ Matthew Paris has transmitted to us this incident, Edward was then seventeen. 'Robbers and knightly plunderers, whom his court educated, scattering themselves far and wide, seized and carried away the horses, waggons and goods of the merchants.' To give one instance, 'When he visited the earl Richard at Wallingford, his family burst into the neighboring priory, and, driving out the monks, seized their provisions, fuel

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was somewhat imitated by Henry V. But he soon emerged into pursuits more profitable to his character, and more consonant with his rank. He was delighted to try his great personal strength and dexterity in the exercises of the tournament. Hence, as soon as he was made a knight, he sailed over sea with his young companions, to prove their skill and prowess in some of the foreign courts.⁶

He distinguished himself so much for his successful chivalry, that he attracted the notice of the Provençal poets. In their encomiastic allusions and exciting compliments, we perceive the estimation which he had acquired among his contemporaries.⁷ One of his last chivalric exertions before he became king, was at a court in Savoy, on his return to England. The count insisted on a trial of prowess with him. A tournament was proclaimed, and the opposed knights conflicted. In the heat of the struggle, the prince and the count became personal competitors. Throwing down his sword, the count, relying on his fancied superiority of strength, clasped Edward by the neck, and thought to have unhorsed him. But the prince, always firm on his saddle, kept himself erect, and suddenly spurring his courser,

and fodder, broke their doors and windows, and cudgelled their domestics.' Hist. p. 937. These violences were done 'ipso permittenti.' Ib.

⁶ Matt. Westm. p. 300; who adds, 'ut moris est novis militibus.'

⁷ The Troubadour Paulet, in his pastoral dialogue between himself and a shepherdess, makes her say of the prince of Arragon, 'I should rejoice to see this noble infant and Edward firmly united. Scions of the same stock, possessed of great qualities, dear to their friends, and dreaded by their enemies, they would acquire high glory by their mutual support, and would achieve great conquests.' The troubadour answers, 'These young princes are indeed generous, skilful and illustrious in arms; they will never rest content with a diminution of their inheritance: why is not the joust and the round table prepared, where many a helm shall be cloven, and many a hauberk unlaced?' 3 Hist. Troub. p. 144.—The Troubadour Austace de Segret calls upon Edward to reconquer the territory which his father had lost in France. Ib. p. 391.

carried off the count from his horse, and then easily shook him to the ground. The play soon became a real conflict, from the vexation of the Savoyards; and the count, a little refreshed, attempted a second encounter; but feeling again Edward's decided superiority, he acknowledged it, and the dangerous diversion ceased.⁸

It was a striking trait in the character of Henry III. and announces great parental judgment and moral worth, that he had impressed the minds of his children with strong filial affection and fraternal concord. It was no less honorable to Edward, that he behaved to his father in his life with zealous duty. He received the news of his death with an emotion which he confessed to be greater than that excited by the loss of his own infant.⁹ And he spoke of this revered parent, after his death, with high respect and praise, and raised a superb monument to his memory.¹⁰ Hence, notwithstanding all the energies of his character, he never, like the Cœur de Lion, disturbed his father's repose. He sought, in the most creditable pursuits of the day, the reputation which young minds covet; and having restored his parent to the throne, from which others had

⁸ Wals. p. 13. Edward permitted the revival of chivalric exercises, which his father had discouraged.—In 1280, the baron Mortimer held at Kenilworth a round table of 100 knights and as many ladies, to which knights flocked from several countries, to try their prowess. Wals. 8. and 1 *Lel. Coll.* 177.

⁹ His answer to the king of Sicily, who expressed his surprise at the circumstance, was, 'A son may be replaced, but the loss of a parent is irremediable.' Wals. p. 3.

¹⁰ When an impostor was brought to him, whom he knew to be a bad man, and who pretended to have been restored to sight at Henry's tomb, Edward said, 'I know my father's justice was so great, that he would have rather put this knave's eyes out than have restored them.' Wals. p. 9.—In the tenth year of his reign he built a superb monument for his father, at Westminster, of some valuable jasper which he had brought out of France. *Triv.* p. 254.

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displaced him, he employed against the Saracens in Palestine that activity of mind and strength of frame, which Richard, in a similar situation and with similar endowments, had used to embitter and shorten his father's life. The length and prosperity of their reigns, and the creditable evolution of their characters, were proportionably different.

Edward, in his expedition to Palestine, arrived at Acre with 1000 men. After pausing a month, to refresh his companions, increase their force, and acquaint himself with the country, he attacked Nazareth with 7000 men, took it, and repulsed the hostile army that hovered on his rear. Receiving information that the Saracens had collected in a town several miles off, for a yearly festival, he marched with a chosen body, to surprise them. In the day time, he sheltered his followers in woods and caverns. On the third day, he reached the chosen spot. His followers were but few ; the enemy numerous, but unaware of his vicinity. At the following dawn he burst upon them, so completely unseen and unsuspected, that all the Mussulmen were either destroyed or dispersed. A great booty of cattle and property was taken, with the loss of only one esquire. It is painful to read of the cruel customs of the warfare of this unformed age. In this attack, and at Nazareth, all the Saracens, even the women and the children, were put to the sword.¹¹ It is no small evidence of the improvement of mankind, that such inhumanity would now affix infamy indelible.

Edward distinguished himself so much by his activity and skill, that an attempt was made to

¹¹ Chron. de Mailros ap. Gale Script. vol. 2. p. 241. and Chron. Hem. ap. Gale, vol. 3. p. 590.

assassinate him. In Persia and Syria, a strange description of people had resided for above a century, known by the name of Assassins.¹² In Syria, they lived in the mountainous country above Tortosa, but subordinate to the Persian chief. They are described as performing implicitly the orders of their Sheik;¹³ and by an anomalous depravation of their moral habits, they were frequently employed to murder those, whether Christians or Mohamedans, with whom their leaders were dissatisfied. No Jesuit obeyed more passively the commands of his general. Even the celebrated Saladin was once the subject of their attack. A mystical belief that the divine spirit always animated the person of their Imaum, sanctified every enterprise which he enjoined.¹⁴ By one of these, the life of Edward was attempted.

The civilities which had passed between this prince and the Turkish Emir at Joppa, led to the crime. The Turk was upbraided by the Sultan for the intimacy. The Emir, perhaps for safety, declared that he meant it to ensnare.¹⁵ It was at least converted to this purpose, and a youthful assassin was sent with letters to Edward from his Turkish friend. Edward was reclining on his couch in the heat of

¹² The assassins of Persia are noticed by the Armenian Haiton, by Marco Polo, Elmacin, and by Abulpharagius. Those of Syria are mentioned by William of Tyre, Benjamin of Tudela, and many others, whom M. Falconet has cited in his elaborate, but rather confused, memoir on this singular people. *Mem. Acad. des Inscript.* vol. 26. p. 202-277.—From one of their sheiks they were also called Ismalicus. *Ib.* p. 240.

¹³ The word sheik, implying elder as well as chief, has occasioned, by its inaccurate translation, the idea of 'the old man of the mountains,' who has been said to be their sovereign.

¹⁴ Falconet, p. 241. Von Harmer's History of the Assassins is the most recent and complete.

¹⁵ It is to be regretted that the chronicle of Mailros here breaks off abruptly, because the writer declares that he wrote from the information of a person who had borne arms there. p. 243.

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the afternoon, clothed in a slight tunic ; his friends were in a distant corner ; when the youth entered the apartment, and searching his belt, as if for more secret communications, suddenly drew an envenomed dagger, and struck at the prince's side. Edward caught the blow on his arm, felled the assailant to the ground with his foot, and, wrenching his weapon, plunged it into his body.¹⁶ Edward had married Eleonora, the daughter of Alphonso, king of Castile. A Spanish historian annexes the interesting incident, that Eleonora drew the poison from her husband's wound with her lips.¹⁷ That she was with him, is allowed ; but no English chronicler mentions this affectionate heroism. The annalist, who is most circumstantial in his account, describes the Master of the Temple as advising medicaments to make the poison harmless, and the surgeons as dressing the wound. But the flesh blackening around it, the weeping princess was compelled to withdraw, till the necessary excisions were completed.¹⁸ The Sultan disavowed the assassination ; and a truce of ten years was agreed upon, during which Edward embarked for Europe. The first part of his returning voyage was to Sicily, where its king, Charles, received him with courteous honors, and sent his son to conduct him to the borders of his dominions.¹⁹ When he approached the papal territory, the cardinals came out to meet him, and accompanied him to

¹⁶ W. Hem. 3 Gale, 591.

¹⁷ It is Roderic Santius (not Rod. Tolet. as Camden states) who has mentioned the circumstance in honor of the general character of the Spanish ladies : he says, *ut vera perhibent annalia*, l. 1. p. 126. I know not his authorities ; he wrote himself 200 years after the event. Rod. Tolet. merely mentions his birth, and then closes his history. p. 148.

¹⁸ Hemingf. 591. Brunne, in his translation of Langtoft, notices the assassination, (p. 228.) but does not mention the princess.

¹⁹ Wals. 5.

the Pope, who listened respectfully to his complaint of the assassination of his kinsman at mass, by Guy de Montfort, and excommunicated the murderer.²⁰ From Rome, Edward proceeded through the principal cities of Italy, every where received with public honors and acclamations. In Savoy, he found at the foot of the mountains the English prelates and nobles, waiting to congratulate him, and to attend him to England. As he passed thro France, he did homage for his French dominions; then directed his course to Gascony, where he subdued a rebelling noble;²¹ and at last reaching England, he was received in London with great popular exultation, the merchants casting gold and silver out of their windows as he passed.²² He was crowned, with his queen, at Westminster, in the presence of the king of Scotland,²³ the duke of Bretagne, his own mother, and the gratulating parliament, and with the usual festivities.²⁴

Of the intellectual education of Edward, we have no information. But his father's reign was the æra of great cultivation of knowlege in England: and his legislation evinces an enlarged and enlightened mind. That he was fond of the chivalric romances

²⁰ Wals. 5.

²¹ Gaston de Biern. He was brought next year to England, with a halter about his neck. Though he appealed to the court of France against his liege sovereign, Edward gave him his life, but kept him some years in custody in his castle at Winchester. After his release, he became a grateful and obedient servant.

²² Chron. ap. 2 Lel. Collect. p. 471.—The king of Scotland is described as coming with an hundred knights on horseback, who, dismounting on their arrival, let their horses loose with their trappings, to be taken by the populace. Ib.

²³ The first offence that the king of Wales gave to Edward was, that he chose to be absent from this coronation; the next was, his refusal to do homage when summoned. Wals. 5.

²⁴ Among the records of Rymer are the orders issued for collecting provisions from the different counties, for the King's coronation. Thus Gloucester had to furnish 60 oxen, 60 hogs, 2 fat boars, 60 live sheep, 3,000 capons, 40 quarters of bacon, &c.

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quest of
Wales.

of the day, is implied by the expressions of one of their composers or transcribers.²⁵

The reign of Edward, was that of a prince whose sedate judgment and active talents advanced the civilization and power of his country. It may be considered under four heads: his incorporation of Wales; his wars in Scotland; his foreign transactions; and his internal regulations.

As the descendants of the original population of Britain, the Welsh must always be an interesting people. The very barbarism so long perpetuated in their principality, renders them of more antiquarian value, because it occasioned their language, their poetry, and their customs, to continue for many ages in their ancient state, little varied, because wilfully unimproved. They were too proud to deviate into the civilization and knowledge of the usurpers of their country; and the Welsh of the thirteenth century, with whom Edward conflicted, seem to have differed little from the Cymry, who, under their venerated Arthur, had labored so unavailingly to drive the Saxons and the English to the Eyder and the Elbe.

The history of Wales, from the tenth century, is little else than the history of perpetual and inglorious bloodshed. Usurpers, irascible princes, ambitious kinsmen, or depredating chieftains, are exhibited as successively destroying each other, and depopulating their country; while England was advancing in a steady progression, under a settled government and internal tranquillity. If the storms of civil warfare sometimes paused, other evils arose to this unhappy people from the hostility of the Anglo-Normans,

²⁵ See the MS. French romances, mentioned in a subsequent part of this Work.

whose incursions were often temporary conquests. It can be of no use to chronicle these details of human slaughter, or to particularize the individuals who most distinguished themselves in the work of blood:²⁶ they belong to the barbarous periods of European history, which are fast passing into that oblivion from which it would be absurd to rescue them.

After long interruptions of usurpations, the right line of the ancient British princes was restored in Gryffyth ap Cynan,²⁷ in North Wales; and was transmitted, thro successive descendants,²⁸ to Llewelyn ap Gryffyth, the last sovereign of Wales.²⁹ The hostilities of William the Conqueror, and his son Rufus, made a serious impression on the southern provinces; and two colonies of Flemings were, in the reigns of Henry I. and Henry II. successfully established there.³⁰

The military subjection of Wales diminished during

²⁶ Wynne's History of Wales contains Dr. Powell's publication of Humphrey Llwyd's more ancient Work, made up from old chronicles, much augmented, or, as he says, improved. It gives the leading incidents of the Welsh story, but has left the ground as sterile as he found it. His preface is a feeble attempt to support the credit of Jeffry. His appendix contains the genealogies of Owen Tudor, and some state papers, principally concerning the discussions between Edward I. and the last princes of Wales. Warrington's History of Wales gives only the common facts.

²⁷ A Welsh history of this prince has been printed from an ancient MS. in the Archaiology of Wales, vol. 2. pp. 583-605. I am sorry that his countrymen have not preserved more details about him. He is said to have reigned, but with chequered fortune, 57 years. Under his auspices, several statutes were made, reforming the Welsh bards. He certainly gave a new impulse to the Welsh genius, for it is from his reign that its poetry began to revive, after laying torpid nearly four centuries. One of the first poems of its revival is the elegy written on him by Meilyr, in 1137, when he died. In this the bard celebrates his patronage. He tells us, that he has been seated by his side when the gold-encompassed mead was circling—that he had been sent as a messenger from the splendid Chief of conflict, and that from him no singer experienced a denial. See the Canau Meilyr, in the Archaiol. of Wales, vol. 1. pp. 188. 190.

²⁸ Owen of Gwynedd, the patron and the theme of the celebrated bards Gwalchmai and Cynddelew, was the son of Gryffyth ap Cynau.

²⁹ Wynne, p. 109.

³⁰ These innovations are noticed by the Anglo-Norman chroniclers.

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the reign of John, and in the first years of his son. But as Edward advanced to maturity, his martial spirit found in this country an inviting theatre for his exploits.

At the age of twenty-four, he had led his father's forces over the Severn, and penetrated to Snowdon; but the Welsh fell back to their fastnesses, and the conquerors withdrew. When he became king, one of his first projects was to subdue the country, and to annex it to his English crown. It is dangerous to praise ambition. But this was one of those few military conquests which benefit humanity. Nothing short of the extinction of its native sovereignties, and its incorporation with England, could terminate those scenes of murder and devastation,²¹ which were succeeding each other with no prospect of cessation. Edward's character is responsible for his personal motives to the enterprise; but its achievement was a blessing to both countries.²²

It would be unprofitable now to investigate the mutual complaints which passed between Edward and Llewelyn. Both had aggressions to detail, and

The Welsh bards, in their tissue of angry feeling and declamatory epithets, convey no historical information.

²¹ We see the reputation for ferocity, which the Welsh enjoyed, in the reproach which the archbishop of Canterbury made to them at this period: 'We mourn bitterly this, that the Welsh are said to be more cruel than the Saracens; for when the infidels make captives, they keep them to be redeemed by money; but the Welsh, from their delight in blood, massacre them, or, what is worse, take the money for their release, and then murder them.' Process. A. B. Cant. ap. Wilkin's Concil. vol. 2. p. 73. The Welsh king, in his answer, admits that one person redeemed was thus destroyed, but that the criminal was wandering in the woods like a thief. He charges the English also, with sparing neither sex, age, nor any sacred place. Ib. p. 74.

²² The Archbishop is pleased to tell Edward 'that the public necessity had compelled the *innocence* of his heart to raise his banners against the untameable perversity of the Welsh.' p. 101. The public utility of the war is more evident than the purity of Edward's intentions in waging it.

ings to resent;²³ and we cannot now decide virtually on the justice of their recriminations. Edward began his attack with every form of hostility. The Welsh king was excommunicated by archbishops of Canterbury and York, and the Welsh parliament pronounced judgment against²⁴ The first invasions produced the submission of Llewelyn, on conditions sufficiently humiliating.²⁵

Edward's rigor never conciliates, and the warfare was revived, by the irritation and pride of the oppressed, to the satisfaction of the oppressor.

On the submission of Llewelyn, his brother David had been treated by Edward with peculiar distinction, who had made him a knight, given him large possessions,²⁶ married him to a lady of his queen's chamber, and appointed him seneschal of all his lands in Wales. David is described to have been ingenious, but a crafty and plotting man. He persuaded Llewelyn to try again the fortune of which had twice disgraced him. Edward advanced into Wales by land, and sent the fleet of the great Ports to Anglesey. When he learnt that Edward had taken it, he exclaimed, "Llewelyn has lost his finest feather in his tail,"²⁷ and caused a bridge of boats, surmounted with planks, to be made over the Menai, preparatory to his penetrating to Snowdon.

On these celebrated mountains, the Welsh king fortified himself, and drove into the sea seven

The bickerings with Wales had been frequent in Henry the Third's

See Matthew Paris, 937-981.—Wynne has stated the grievances fully complained of, in his edition of Powel's History of Wales, 281- and in its Appendix, 363-398.

Lymer Act. Fœd. v. 2. pp. 79 & 68.

²³ See them in Wynne, 284.

Edward had given David half of Snowdon and its valleys, and of Anglesey. Cal. Rot. p. 5.

Hemingford, vol. 1. p. 9.

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knights bannerets and three hundred armed men, whom he surprised at the passage. Llewelyn thus commanding the bridge, the English were unable to pass; when a traitorous Welshman told their general, that he had discovered a ford unknown to others, thro which they could wade, strike the Welsh who watched the bridge in their rear, and, by dispersing them, open a passage to the army. Ignorant of this intended movement, and anxious to ascertain the dispositions of the people, and to explore the intentions of his enemy, the king descended from his army in the mountains with only one esquire. Having reconnoitred as he wished, he was resting in a barn, when he heard a military shout. A moment's doubt came over him; but recollecting himself, he asked his esquire, "Are not my Welsh at the bridge?" The answer assured him that they were. "Then am I safe," cried the king, ignorant of the impending future, "tho all England should be on the other side."²⁸ The noise soon not only increased, but came nearer, and he was astonished to behold English banners advancing. They had struck their unexpected blow at his advanced guard, and their main body were rapidly passing the river. He now tried to regain his camp, but was suddenly crossed in his way by an English knight, who, ignorant of his rank, but discerning him to be a Welshman, advanced immediately upon him. The contest was unavoidable, and the king was too courageous to decline it; but he was lightly armed, and the lance of the Englishman was thrown with a fatal strength and precision; it pierced Llewelyn's side, and the

²⁸ Hemingford, vol. 1. p. 11.

last king of Wales fell dead, but unknown. The English knight, unconscious of the importance of his exploit, fell back to join his countrymen, who were now in full march on the fortified mountains. The Welsh formed eagerly on their cliffs, prepared for battle, but awaiting the return and directions of their sovereign. In vain they watched the valleys for his approach, in vain ascended the highest eminences to descry him; they saw their dreaded foes already ascending their steeps, to close in deadly conflict, and they had not their royal leader to animate or to guide them. Before they recovered from their disappointment, the English banners began to wave on their heights, and they found themselves attacked on all sides with an impetuosity and success, which soon scattered them in a panic, from which they could not be rallied. All who could escape the English sword, fled in hopeless confusion; and the unexpected casualties of this eventful day annexed the sovereignty of Wales to the crown of England, with a facility that could never have been anticipated. The curiosity of the knight having been excited by the rumors of the field, he descended into the valley, to see whom he had encountered. He found the dead body still on the ground, and, examining its face, it was recognized to be Llewelyn.²⁰ Eager to derive the full profit of his fortunate encounter, he degraded his chivalry by mutilating the corpse of the head, which he carried to Edward. The king had not the magnanimity of William the Conqueror, who reprimanded the

²⁰ Hemingf. p. 11. and Knyghton Chron. p. 2463-2465. This author, loose, and often fabulous in his earlier annals, becomes authentic as he approaches his own times, and curious for the original documents which he interweaves in his compilation.

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knight who had wounded the dead body of Harold ; but sent the head up to London, adorned in derision with a silver crown, that it might be exhibited to the populace in Cheapside, and fixed upon the Tower.⁴⁰ David attempted to renew the war, and summoned his nobles to his aid ; but tho he was able to protract the struggle to autumn, he was chased, beaten and taken ; and Edward, always ferocious in his revenge, again evinced his insensibility to princely honor, in his treatment of his captive. He caused him, after a parliamentary sentence at Shrewsbury, to be drawn on a hurdle, and hanged ; and sent his amputated head to London.⁴¹ For what crime which death could not expiate, were the bodies of these princes thus insulted ? The defence of a throne which they had been born to, and the assertion of the independence of a country which had always disdained the yoke of an invader. The union of Wales with England was advantageous to both. But the resistance of the Welsh kings was too natural to excite resentment in a generous enemy ; too courageous, from the inadequacy of their means, not to deserve his admiration ; and too consonant with the national feelings of their countrymen, not to command his respect for its patriotism, and his pity for their fate.⁴² But Edward's character, like

⁴⁰ The archbishop of Canterbury states, in his epistle to Edward (Rymer, vol. 2. p. 224) ' That letters in cypher had been found in Llewelyn's pockets, by which it appeared that he had secret correspondences with persons in England.'

⁴¹ Hemingf. 13. Knyghton, 2465. It is loathsome to read of these useless barbarities, which to the honor of the present reign, of the parliament, and of the author of the measure, are now abolished. The heart and bowels burnt—the head fixed near his brother's—and the four quarters of the body exposed at Bristol, Northampton, York and Winchester. Matt. West. vol. 2. p. 371.

⁴² The Welsh rhymer's Latin lines on his prince, are meant to imitate the peculiar alliteration and rhymes of Welsh poetry :

that of Henry I. exhibits great mental eminence, unconnected, where ambition was concerned, with the amiable virtues of the heart. His prudence never erred; but his sensibility, touched too keenly by revenge, rarely acted right.⁴³

Edward pursued his victory to all the beneficial consequences that could be derived from it. Wales was annexed to the crown of England, divided into counties, placed under sheriffs, and was admitted to a participation of the more important of the English institutions.⁴⁴ By a fortunate or proposed coincidence, his queen was afterwards delivered of a son at Carnarvon Castle; and altho the Cambro-Britons, in possession of their independence, would have disdained the son of an Englishman for their sovereign, yet when the triumph of their invader was complete, there can be no doubt that their national vanity derived consolation from the recollection, that their future prince was their countryman. It is at least stated, that when Edward some years afterwards created this son the prince of Wales, the inhabitants of the peninsula were peculiarly gratified.⁴⁵

This incorporation with England was an unquestionable blessing to Wales. That country ceased immediately to be the theatre of homicide and distress,

Hic jacet Anglorum tortor, tutor Venedorum
Princeps Wallorum, Lewlinus regula morum,
Forma futurorum, dux, laus, lex, lux populorum.

Wals. p. 11.

⁴³ In the same cruel manner he had another Welsh prince destroyed, who was in arms against him in 1293. M. West. 386.

⁴⁴ The king distributed the lauds in the middle of Wales among his chieftains, but retained in his own hands the maritime castles. This policy is remarked to have occasioned great tranquillity. Walsingh. Hist. p. 11.

⁴⁵ 'When the Welsh heard this, they rejoiced greatly, deeming him their lawful lord, because he was born in their country.' Wals. 47.—So Matt. West. 416.

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and began to imitate the English habits.⁴⁶ I know nothing that more strongly marks the beneficial change, than the new features which the Welsh poetry after that event assumed. We see no more, in endless repetition, the horrible imagery of the prowling wolf, the gushing blood, and the screaming kite feasting on human prey. It is no longer the baneful encomium on the wasteful conduct and the barbarous chief. The fair sex now begin to be the occasional subject of the bardic lay, and their charms impart that inspiration, which had been derived before only from the mead cup and the princely gift. Satire now proceeds to scatter its jokes and gibes; the praise of the sword is abandoned for the lampoon and the song; and the Muse finds that delight in beauty, rural nature, ethical truth, religion, and harmless sarcasm, which she had formerly experienced only in murder and devastation.⁴⁷ The numerous forces which the principality furnished to the king, in his expeditions to Scotland and Flanders, evince the addition of national strength which England derived from the union.

That Edward ordered a massacre of the Welsh bards, seems rather to be the vindictive tradition of an irritated nation, than an historical fact. The destruction of the independent sovereignties of Wales, abolished the patronage of the bards; and in the

⁴⁶ 'Collecting treasures, and dreading losses, like others.' Wals. 27. The agriculture of the country was also benefited by the conquest, for Edward had the woods in Wales cut down, because they afforded military defences and retreats to the hostile people. Wals. ib.

⁴⁷ See the poems of Casnodyn on the fair Gwenlliant, and on the Trinity. Arch. Wales, vol. 1. pp. 421. 427. See also the lyric poems on Gruffud, on various females, and on religious subjects, 454-532: and the satires and verses of the succeeding poets of the fourteenth century. In David ap Gwilym, who comes afterwards, we have a sweet, prolific, and playful Muse.

cessation of internal warfare and of external ravages, they lost their favorite subjects and most familiar imagery. They declined because they were no longer encouraged, and their disappearance has been mistaken for their extirpation.⁴⁸

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Edward had reigned nearly twenty years with increasing reputation and prosperity, when those transactions with Scotland began, which shew that even a sagacious and honorable mind may be urged, by the impatience of ambition, to actions inconsistent with its probity. The same benefits which were connected with the incorporation of England and Wales, would have followed a cordial union between North and South Britain; the experience of the last century has proved how largely it has increased the happiness and improvements of both: and it does credit to Edward's judgment as a statesman, that he projected its accomplishment, by contracting a marriage between his son and the Scottish heiress.⁴⁹ But it was a measure that could be successful and beneficial only so far as the union was voluntary, and as the means of establishing it should be peaceable and just. Patriotic feelings, ever honorable to the individuals who cherish them within the bounds of moral duty, and protecting so usefully the independence of states, are in their first impulse averse to national incorporations; time only can lead the general mind to a perception of their advantages,

His wars
with
Scotland.

⁴⁸ The good sense of the Welsh antiquaries of the present day (Camb. Reg. for 1795, p. 414, and for 1796, p. 463) allows, and indeed has suggested, the scepticism of that popular story on which Gray has founded his 'Bard,' one of the noblest effusions of the lyric genius of the eighteenth century.

⁴⁹ Buchanan says justly, in his classical history, 'Nec odia vetusta unquam commodius aboleri posse videbantur, quàm si uterque populus, honestis et æquis conditionibus, in unum coiret.' l. 8. s. 2.

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and to the adoption of measures for diminishing or averting their inconveniencies. But violence, precipitation and wrong, kindle a spirit of resistance, dangerous from its contagious sympathy and vivacious pertinacity, and transmitting to posterity those rancorous antipathies, which produce sufferings to both countries, for many generations. Edward, by a casualty of nature, missed the quiet gratification of his wishes. Wisdom and humanity would have counselled him to have acquiesced in their postponement; but his sense of his own power led him to endeavor to extort that by its unexpected exertion, which was only attainable and only valuable when willingly conceded. His primary injustice experienced the retribution of temporary triumphs, succeeded rapidly by signal disappointments, and at last bitterly avenged in the disgrace and disasters of his only son.—But wrong can never be committed without disquieting consequences.—Perhaps the death of his queen Eleonora,⁵⁰ to whom he was tenderly attached, leaving a void in his domestic comforts, disposed him to seek amusement even from the troubles of ambition.

The sudden death of the king of Scotland, Alexander III. in 1286, occasioned the calamities which followed. He had married for his second wife the daughter of the Earl of Dreux, and one dark night he went with a small retinue to her mansion, a few miles off: as he approached it, his horse stumbled,

⁵⁰ She died near Lincoln, December 1291. The king never forgot her. Her character is painted by the chroniclers with warm panegyric, for her modesty, piety, benevolence and urbanity. She was brought to Westminster, and wherever her body rested, the king had magnificent crosses, with her effigy, erected to her memory, that the passenger might breathe a prayer for her soul. Wals. 16. One of these at Waltham Cross still remains. Those in Cheapside and at Charing Cross have disappeared.

and threw him : he was raised from the ground, but his neck was broken, and he instantly expired.⁵¹ His only heir was his grand-daughter Margaret, then in Norway, about three years of age, the offspring of a marriage between its king, Eric, and Alexander's daughter. Edward was in Gascony at the time of Alexander's catastrophe. The Scottish nobles sent to him for his advice. He recommended the appointment of guardians ;⁵² and six noblemen were chosen to govern the kingdom during the absence of its young queen.⁵³ Edward, embracing the favorable opportunity of accomplishing a great and wise scheme of policy, had proposed an alliance between this princess and his eldest son, his intended successor. The Scottish parliament liberally agreed to his proposals, on conditions calculated to preserve the independence of their country.⁵⁴ After some negotiations, her father, the king of Norway, permitted her to sail to Britain ; but by the time she reached the Orkneys, her health became impaired. She landed there in 1290,⁵⁵ and shortly after expired. Her death destroyed all Edward's political hopes and combinations for the welfare of both countries ; and his moral fortitude was unequal to the disappointment. Violent factions arose immediately in Scotland, which tempted his selfish passions. Thirteen claimants urged pretensions to the crown ;⁵⁶ but the main competition

⁵¹ Hemingf. p. 29.⁵² Ib. p. 30.⁵³ Fordun. Scoti. Chron. vol. 4. p. 951. Hearne's ed.⁵⁴ See the treaty in Rymer's *Acta Fœdera*, vol. 2. p. 482. Lord Hailes has given the substance of the articles, in his temperate and judicious *Annals*, vol. 1. pp. 190-193.⁵⁵ Walsing. p. 16. Matt. West. 377. Fordun, p. 953. The bishop of St. Andrew's sent to Edward the first rumors of her death, and mentions the perturbation it had occasioned. Rymer *Fœd.* vol. 2. p. 1090.⁵⁶ See them enumerated, and their genealogies, in Rymer, pp. 575-580 ; and in Hailes' *Annals*, 208-212. Mr. Chalmers, in the first volume of

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and only probable rights lay between Baliol and Bruce. Baliol was the grandson of the eldest daughter of their common ancestor; Bruce was the son of the second daughter. The impartial Scottish lawyers seem to admit that Baliol was the legal heir. Both were descended from Norman ancestors.

That Edward was invited by one of the regents of Scotland to interfere on this occasion, is clear from the letter of the Bishop of St. Andrew's; whose language implies, not only that his dread of civil warfare was his ostensible motive, but also that he had Edward's interest distinctly in his view.⁵⁷

That Edward sent his authorized agents, to persuade the Scottish chieftains to submit the succession to the crown of Scotland to his ordination, is the express assertion of the English historian;⁵⁸ and that the Scottish parliament should assemble at his request in England, at Norham,⁵⁹ is evidence that they approved of the suggestion. It is probable that if there had been no competition for the crown, the Scottish nobles would have disdained a king of England's interference; but the certainty of the sufferings of all, from the strength of the principal rivals, if the sword were once drawn in Scotland on the quarrel, induced them to defer their pride to their welfare; and the example of the dispute about the

his Caledonia, has diligently investigated the genealogy of Bruce. The substance of his researches is stated also in Kerr's History of Robert Bruce.

⁵⁷ 'We shall be involved in blood, unless the Most High provide a remedy by your interposition.' He requests Edward to advance to the Marches, to prevent the effusion of blood; and he recommends him to take care that his royal honor and interest were preserved, and that the person chosen should adhere to his advice. Rymer, 2. p. 1090. Hailes, 197. This is dated 7 Oct. 1290.

⁵⁸ Hemingf. 31.

⁵⁹ They met on the 10th May 1291, at the parish church of Norham. Hem. p. 32.

crown of Sicily having been referred to Edward's decision, may have operated at this juncture to incline them to a similar expedient.⁶⁰

But if temptation be dangerous to the best of mankind, in the ordinary concerns of life, how much more irresistible are the attractions of an attainable crown. Some magnanimous minds have appeared in history, who, satisfied with the glory of the reference, would have disdained to abuse it; and the wisdom of such conduct would have been equal to its heroism. But Edward's ambition was of a more vulgar cast. His power was unbroken; Scotland was divided, and, from its divisions, defenceless. His honor yielded to the seduction of the opportunity; and he met the Scottish parliament at Norham, to which he had summoned all his military force in the northern counties, with an express declaration of his feudal sovereignty over Scotland, and a peremptory demand of its immediate recognition.⁶¹ The astonished Scotchmen demanded time for deliberation.

On the 2d of June, they assembled again; and the chancellor of England told them, that as the Scots, tho required, had produced nothing to invalidate the king's right, he was resolved, as lord paramount, to determine the succession.⁶² Turning then to

⁶⁰ Lord Hailes, p. 190, seems to doubt that the Scottish nobles agreed to leave the decision to Edward; but Barbour, almost a contemporary, affirms it, p. 6, and exclaiming,

A! blind folk full of folly
Haid ye unbethocht you enkerly
Quhat perell to you mycht apper
Ye had not wrocht on that maner.

He adds, that if they had remembered Edward's conduct to Wales, they would not have made him their arbitrator. p. 7.

⁶¹ The speech delivered by Brabazon, his great justiciary, is in Hemmingford, p. 32; and in Rymer, 543. The document in Rymer, is a journal of what passed at Norham, composed by one of Edward's clerics.

⁶² Rymer, p. 544. Hailes, 202.

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Bruce, he asked him, if he would receive England's judgment, as superior lord? Bruce assenting,⁶³ the same question was put to all the other claimants present, with the same result. Baliol was absent. He had probably waited to watch the event of the day, and the conduct of his rivals. On the next day, he imitated their conduct.⁶⁴ And thus Edward quietly obtained a solemn admission of his novel claim, which changed the very foundation of the Scottish constitution.

Edward had supported his claim by quotations from the old chroniclers, of the homages performed by the Scottish kings to the Anglo-Saxon sovereigns. But these, tho expressed in general terms, may be fairly interpreted to mean no more than homage for English possessions,⁶⁵ like that which the Norman kings paid to France, for their French territories. His strongest precedent was the submission of William the Lion to Henry II. as that was unquestionably for Scotland itself; but the force of this instance was averted by the renunciation of the feudal superiority, which this same William purchased of Richard I. But tho the arguments and the proofs of Edward were feeble, his power, and the urgency of the moment, were great. The competitors, eager for the expected dignity, and unwilling to displease their appointed umpire, even signed instruments, acknowledging his sovereign

⁶³ His assent was given, the record says, 'finaliter expresse, publice, et aperte.' Rymer, 545.

⁶⁴ Rymer, 545-548.

⁶⁵ Walsing. p. 17. Heming. p. 33. Some of the expressions of the ancient chronicles are strong, as Sax. Chron. p. 111; Chron. Mail. p. 147; Hen. Hunt. 355; Malm. 48. But they are too general to be proper foundations for a claim so important. That a king should cite chronicles in evidence of such a right, implies a total deficiency of records: and their absence, if such a cession had been made, is at least suspicious.

seigniory, and giving him seisin of all the land, and of all its castles.⁶⁶ He placed his own governors in these, and returned to England.

His feudal sovereignty being recognized, his measures to ascertain the rights of the claimants were strictly just. Baliol and Bruce were allowed to name forty commissioners each, to whom Edward was to add twenty-four, who were to investigate the subject impartially, and report the result of their inquiry.⁶⁷ The competitors stated their claims. But ten abandoned their feeble pretensions before the sentence was pronounced. Baliol, Bruce, and the descendant of a younger daughter, were the only persons who persisted in their rights. The Scottish commissioners made their report, and advised the claims of Baliol and Bruce to be first considered. Their respective reasonings were heard.⁶⁸ The commissioners and parliament decided, that the succession to the crown ought to be determined in the same manner as the succession to earldoms and baronies; and, on the conclusion of the pleadings,

⁶⁶ See these in Hemingford, p. 34. In the instrument signed by Bruce, Baliol, Comyn, and six others, they declare, '*volums, assentons et grantoms de reseyver dreit devant lui cum Sovereyn seigneur de la terre.*' *Ib.* Yet tho Bruce signed this instrument, Barbour, escaping from history into poetry, in order to exalt the ancestor of Bruce, his hero, makes him disdain to yield to Edward the senyhowry (the sovereignty). To Edward's proposal,

Gyff yow will hald in cheyff off me
I sall do swa yow sall be king—

He makes his Bruce to reply, that he does not yearn for the kingdom;

Bot gyff it fall off ryght to me
And gyff God will that it sa be
I sall als frely in all thing
Hald it as it belongs to king.

He paints Edward as declaring in wrath, that for this declaration he shall not have it; and Baliol as assenting to the king 'in all his will,' (p. 10.) and thereby gaining the prize.—But this is poetry!!

⁶⁷ Rymer, 555. Hailes' Ann. 205.

⁶⁸ See them in Hailes, 215–220.

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adjudged, that by the laws and usages of both kingdoms in every heritable succession, the descendant from the eldest sister, even tho more remote in one degree, was preferable to the descendant from the second sister, tho one degree nearer. The application of this determination to the competitors was, that Baliol, the grandson of the eldest daughter, was to be preferred to Bruce, the son of the second daughter of their common ancestor. On this decision, Edward pronounced his final decree in favor of Baliol, on the 17th November 1292; but took care to provide that this judgment should not impair his own rights.⁶⁹ He exacted from Baliol, after he was put in possession of his kingdom, an oath of fealty; and in less than a month after his coronation, the new sovereign was compelled to repeat his homage.

This interested conduct of Edward on his feudal claim, tainted the credit of his just award, and alarmed and disquieted the Scottish mind. The basest designs against Scotland have been imputed to him; and he has been supposed to have put up Baliol as a puppet, merely to dethrone him, and to incorporate the two countries. In justice to one of the greatest sovereigns that has swayed the English sceptre, it is important to remark, that, altho the incorporation of Scotland became at last his determination, there are not sufficient grounds to impeach his probity with this plan, before the conduct of the Scotch led him to adopt it. All that he claimed at the outset, was the feudal sovereignty of Scotland. But so had the king of France been the feudal sovereign of Normandy and Gascony; and yet the kings

⁶⁹ Rymer, 589. Hailes, 214. 221.

of England, who did homage for these possessions; had enjoyed the government of those countries with sufficient independence. There is no evidence that, when Baliol was crowned, the king of England projected to abolish the Scottish royalty or parliament. To be the lord paramount, the feudal sovereign of the whole island, as the king of France had been of Normandy, Bretagne, Flanders, and Aquitaine, while these provinces were enjoying their independent hereditary governments, was the honor to which Edward aspired; and the great political object which he would have attained by it, would have been a termination of the predatory wars which had always desolated the borders of the two kingdoms: It was a species of impiety and perjury for the liegeman to make war on his feudal lord; and it exposed him to the loss of life and territory. Scotland becoming a royal fief of the English crown, a new sacred bond of amity was established between the two countries.

The facts, that for four years Edward did nothing incompatible with the continuance of the Scottish royalty, and that it was the wilful hostility of Scotland itself which forced him into the field against it, afford reasonable evidence that the line which we have drawn was the limitation of his ambition. From 1292 to 1296, tho he received an appeal against Baliol's judgment, preferred by a Scotchman himself to him as lord paramount,⁷⁰ and summoned Baliol to his parliament to answer it, and had

⁷⁰ This was the case of Macduff's appeal, recited in Edward's writ of summons to Baliol, in Plac. Parl. vol. i. p. 111. Of two other instances mentioned by Lord Hailes, one was a complaint against Edward's own officers; and the other an illegal imprisonment of his officers. Ann. pp. 222 & 228.

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expressed displeasure when Baliol, contrary to his oath, attempted to dispute his homage,⁷¹ which the English parliament also resented;⁷² yet this was the extent of his adverse conduct. And so far was Edward's behaviour from being revolting to Scottish feeling, that Bruce, the competitor of Baliol, having died, his family desired Edward to receive its homage, and willingly performed it.⁷³

The resolution of Edward to terminate the separate royalty of Scotland, must be dated, so far as actual evidence appears, from the injudicious conduct of the Scottish king and parliament, which would have led a far less irritable and vindictive sovereign to the same determination; because it proved, that the temporary homage was no bar to a perilous hostility. He was wilfully, and, considering the preceding acquiescence, perfidiously attacked where he ought to have been succored; and his subsequent aggression on Scotland, was but the retaliation of its injustice.

In 1294, two cinque-port sailors, at a maritime town of Normandy, went to fill their water-casks at a spring at which some foreign seamen were assembled. A quarrel for precedence was followed by a scuffle, in which a Norman was wounded. The Englishmen regained their ship. The French manned their vessels and pursued, took some English ones, and hanged up the men in company with dogs, as a brutal satire. The cinque ports, in revenge, collected their fleet, and a challenge was exchanged to

⁷¹ Plac. Parl. 113. The words of Baliol's written petition, in French, are given in this record. Lord Hailes has dramatized the substance of this legal document, with unusual fancy, and with good effect, in his *Annals*, pp. 230, 231.

⁷² See the above record; and Lord Hailes, p. 231.

⁷³ Hailes' *Ann.* 229.

fight the quarrel, on a future day, in the open sea. A large ship, with a standard, was placed in the middle of the waves, as the spot of battle. Both parties collected friends and allies. The English went out with some Irish and Hoyerland vessels; the Normans with French, Flemings, and Genoese: and from this unauthorized impulse of spontaneous and mutual resentment, two large fleets engaged in deadly conflict, without the governments of either party consenting to the crisis.⁷⁴

After a destructive battle, the English conquered. Many thousand seamen were slain, and great numbers drowned. The English brought home 240 captured vessels, laden with booty: and France and England became involved in angry discussion.

The king of France loudly demanded reparation and punishment.⁷⁵ Edward, with temperate magnanimity, sent an ambassador to request appointed conferences, to treat peaceably about it. The French sovereign, listening to no compromise, and perhaps glad of the opportunity, summoned Edward to his court, to answer for the outrage; and because he did not appear, declared his feudal possessions in Gascony to be forfeited, and immediately invaded them.⁷⁶

Edward appealed to his parliament on this flagrant injustice, at which Baliol was present; and they

⁷⁴ W. Hemingf. p. 40. Wals. 20. The day appointed for the engagement was the 14th April. Ib.—M. Westm. remarks, that at this time there was neither king nor law for the sailors, but whatever any one could take or carry away, that he claimed as his own. p. 396.—Walsingham says the French lost 15,000 men in this struggle. p. 23.

⁷⁵ Hemingford states, that Charles, the French king's brother, had been the real author of the battle. Edward would take no part of their plunder, because the battle had been fought without his order or consent. M. Westm. 387.

⁷⁶ Heming. 41.—Matthew of Westminster has inserted Philip's summons in his History, pp. 387–390, accusing Edward of not being ignorant of the outrage.

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answered, that they would follow him to life or death.⁷⁷ The first forces which he sent to Guienne, were defeated, thro the incompetence of their commander; and Edward then required Baliol to send him a military aid. Instead of complying with this natural request, Baliol and the Scottish parliament entered into an offensive and defensive treaty with the king of France, which was signed at Stirling in July, and ratified at Paris in October.⁷⁸

By this treaty, the Scotch bound themselves to begin and make war upon Edward with all their strength;⁷⁹ and in execution of this engagement, before the king of England had committed any act of hostility against Scotland, or even evinced any inimical design anterior to this treaty, the Scots invaded Cumberland with 40,000 foot and 500 horse, under the command of Comyn, laid waste the country, and besieged Carlisle. In the next month they made a similar aggression on Northumberland;⁸⁰ and Baliol, by the advice of his parliament, sent to Edward a written renunciation of his homage and fealty:⁸¹ a feeble and injudicious action. If Baliol had not become Edward's liegeman, a renunciation was unnecessary; if he were so, no liegeman could cancel his fealty without the consent of his lord. The renunciation was therefore evidence of its own absurdity, and, by admitting Baliol's previous homage, precluded him from annulling it.

⁷⁷ Hem. p. 43.

⁷⁸ Hem. pp. 75—82. His work contains a copy of the treaty.

⁷⁹ 'Dicto regi Angliæ—totis viribus suis guerram incipient et facient.' Hem. p. 29.

⁸⁰ Heming. 87, 88. 93. Hailes, 235.

⁸¹ Rymer Act. Fœd. p. 707. The only reasons which Baliol solemnly alleges for this conduct, are Edward's best exculpation from the rapacious ambition against Scotland with which he has been charged.

Edward received these tidings with undissembled indignation and contempt. "Has this felon fool committed such a folly!" was his bitter exclamation.⁸² He neglected his war with France, and put his military power in motion immediately against Scotland. He marched to the eastern frontier, took Berwick by storm, and cruelly put its garrison and inhabitants to the sword.⁸³

From the hope of finding Edward embarrassed by his war with France, and by an insurrection in Wales⁸⁴ scarcely suppressed, the Scottish nation was thus, by the passions of its ruling authorities, confronted against the military power of England, at the time when this power was wielded by a man of consummate ability. In England, the due authority of government and law now reached to every part, and brought, on the legal summons, all its warlike resources into efficient and obedient co-operation. In Scotland, the crown was unable in many districts to enforce its lawful prerogatives; and the military aristocracy which attended the sovereign to the field, was often more ready to dispute his commands than to obey them. The English army was then well appointed with the best warlike equipments of the day, was sedulously trained in the discipline that was found most operative, and in the hour of conflict willingly executed the movements which their leader directed. The Scots, too independent and too haughty to like the slavery of

⁸² 'A ce foll felon tel foli fet.' Fordun, vol. 4. p. 969. He added, 'S'il ne venira a nous, Nous vendrons a ly.' Ib.

⁸³ Ib. 972. Hemingford says that 8,000 men were slain, and the women sent away. p. 92. Matt. West. makes the slain 60,000, a number too improbable to be believed; but he mentions it with a referentur. p. 403.

⁸⁴ Hemingford mentions this insurrection, p. 55. and Matt. West. 395.

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military instruction, or to be implicitly subordinate to the commands of a general, were also rarely practised in the evolutions of large bodies, or in the skill of a protracted campaign. They knew little of the advantages of peculiar positions, and perhaps disdained a wariness, that in an uncivilized age savors of cowardice. Prompt, impetuous, and disorderly, rude in their weapons and engines of war, and attacking their enemy rather with individual bravery than with the effect of their combined strength, they never fought a pitched battle with an English army judiciously commanded, without certain and ruinous defeat.

Baliol and his nobles experienced this military inferiority of their nation in the battle of Dunbar. When the English besieged the town, the whole force of Scotland collected on the steep chain of hills above it in battle array. The English general, the earl of Warenne, marched against them, and moving out of a disadvantageous position, the Scots mistook manœuvre for retreat, and blowing their horns and howling with triumphant vociferation,⁸⁵ rushed from their advantageous position, eager to attack, lest their enemy should escape. But when the English, defiling out of a deep valley, formed rapidly into a line of fearless battle, and charged the too confident and now disordered Scotch, their discipline and array had their full effect. The Scottish army, though greatly outnumbering the English,⁸⁶ was totally defeated, with the loss of ten thousand

⁸⁵ Hemingford says, *resonantes ululatibus*, enough to penetrate the infernal regions. p 96.

⁸⁶ Hemingford gives the numbers in this proportion; English, 1000 horse, 10,000 foot; Scotch, 1500 horse, and 40,000 foot.

men, and its principal chieftains.⁸⁷ Edward joined his army the following day. Dunbar surrendered. The castles of Rokesburg, Edinburgh, and Stirling, were as rapidly taken. Baliol, divested of his royal robes, and bearing a white rod in his hand, performed a humiliating penance, and resigned his kingdom and people to his liege lord Edward. The Scottish barons crowded, and among these Bruce, the future king, to re-swear fealty to the English sovereign,⁸⁸ who advanced triumphantly to Elgin; and the conquest of Scotland seemed complete. Baliol was sent by his stern antagonist a prisoner to the Tower of London; and the celebrated stone, the venerated palladium of Scotland, on which its kings had been always crowned,⁸⁹ was taken out of the country, and conveyed to Westminster. The chief castles of the southern parts were committed to the care of Englishmen, and wise measures were adopted to conciliate the nation. John de Warenne, earl of Surrey, was appointed governor of Scotland, with Hugh de Cressingham, treasurer, and left with a military force that was esteemed competent to retain the country in peaceful

⁸⁷ Lord Hailes remarks on this battle, 'Upon almost the same ground, and in circumstances not dissimilar, Cromwell overcame the Scots, 3 Sept. 1650.' p. 238.

⁸⁸ By their acts, copied in Hemingford, p. 101, the Scottish nobles, and among these the two Bruces and Comyn, declare 'promettoms—que nous lui servirons bien et loialement—Je serra seal et leal—Jeo demenk votre homme lige.' See the latin translations in Walsingham, pp. 32, 33.

⁸⁹ We have a description of a Scottish king's coronation in Fordun: He was seated on this stone: under his feet, the nobles, with bended knees, strewed their garments before it; an Highlander then kneeling before the throne, and bowing his head, saluted the king in Gaelic, by recapitulating all his genealogy up to Kenneth Mac Alpin, and thence to the visionary Fergus. vol. 3. p. 758. The Leonine rhymes in Fordun imply the tradition, that the Scotch would reign wherever that stone was placed.

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subordination. It is clear that Edward had now resolved to abolish the separate sovereignty of Scotland, and all his future measures were directed to this object. But this result was the consequence of that vindictive hostility which the Scottish government had deliberately begun. I do not dispute the right of the nation to emancipate itself from the feudal subordination into which Edward had urged or surprised it; but the moment they appealed to war, they subjected themselves to all the evils of its disasters; and the union on which Edward resolved after his victory, was the exertion of the right of a conqueror, who had been placed in that situation by the intemperance of the conquered. It may also be suggested, that the exertion for independence ought not to have been made by those who had sworn allegiance to Edward. The high-minded patriot, who had disdained such a fetter, kept his native rights undiminished. But if oaths be not individually binding, religion is a mockery, and morality but a crafty calculation.

That the administration of Edward's officers was deemed oppressive by the Scottish nation, need not be doubted. The English yoke had been forcibly imposed, and there must have been enough of high-spirited natives to resent the violence and to harass the obnoxious government. No country, accustomed to an independent sovereignty, can be speedily tranquillized under a new subjection, unless its inhabitants be so far civilized as to prefer peace and comfort to enterprise and hazard. Scotland has at all times had a high national feeling, and its mountainous chieftains have been distinguished for their habits of originality and independence. No country

was less likely to be in that age an acquiescing appendage to another state. It is therefore not surprising, that parties, who are called bands of robbers, infested the highways, and invaded the English borders. A dislocation of authority so violent must have produced many sufferers, many indignant spirits, and many unprincipled adventurers. The measures put in action to repress them, would be inveighed against as tyranny, and, wherever they failed to intimidate, would multiply resistance.

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It was at this period that the celebrated person arose, whose actions have long been the favorite theme of his countrymen, and whose memory still lives, and deservedly, to fame, in their undiminished admiration. Patriotism is not indeed enjoined as a Christian duty, because it is too much connected with the violent passions, and too often with destruction, to be safely placed in a code of benevolence and peace. But human sympathy has always acknowledged it to be, when pure and genuine, a sublime principle; an heroic emotion, which great souls only truly feel: which must always be exerted with an individual responsibility and sacrifices that are the best suited to guard against its excesses, and to separate it from imposture; but which, when justly originating, and usefully acting, will ever win the admiration of mankind, and justify their praise. The fame of Wallace is therefore founded on some of the noblest springs of human actions;⁹⁰ and he

William
Wallace.

⁹⁰ Barbour has done more than express the feeling of his own heart and country on such a principle; he has breathed the spirit of every enlightened mind, in this energetic declamation:

A l fredome is a nobile thing.
Fredome makes man to haiff liking.
Fredome all solace to man giffis.
He levys at ese, that freely levys.

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violated no paramount duty in yielding to their impulse, for he was born with no allegiance to Edward. The English king had taken the Scottish crown by the right of conquest only. His rights thus originating from war, were still debatable by war. What the sword had extorted, the sword might yet dispute. A length of possession acquiesced in, the main foundation of the right of property, had not taken place; and Wallace was therefore at least as free to assert his national independence, as Edward could be to assail it.

The Scots, from the principle of his warfare, and the congeniality of their national feelings, have painted Wallace with features amiable and great. The English too indignant at imputed treason to feel the justice of his motives, and too prejudiced by the representations of the authority they revered not to misconceive his actions, have transmitted to us his portrait distorted with every moral deformity. That he was a rebel and a public robber,⁹¹ an incendiary, a murderer, and an apostate; more cruel than Herod, more flagitious than Nero; tormenting his prisoners, to make them dance in agony; embowelling infants, and consuming school-boys in flames⁹²—

A noble hart may haiff nan ese;
Na ellys nocht that may him plese,
Gyff fredome failyhe—
And suld think fredome mar to pryse
Than all the gold in world that is. p. 13.

⁹¹ Thus Brunne,

William Waleis is nomen
That maister was of theves.—p. 329.

And Walsingham calls him ‘publicus Latro,’ but with a qualifying ‘ut fertur.’ p. 35. Hemingford is not more charitable.

⁹² Matt. West. 451. Walsingham, p. 36. Brunne, p. 339, says of him,
That never had pite of Inglisman no weys.

And in the fulness of his belief, makes this moral exclamation on his capture:—

are imputations and tales that may be construed to imply that he was as cordially hated and misrepresented by one country, as he was loved and panegyrised by the other. We may believe that he plundered, burnt and slaughtered, often without mercy; for such was the barbarous character of war in that still ferocious age. We find Edward described by his own chroniclers, as putting the inhabitants of Berwick to the sword on his first invasion;⁸³ and Wallace, as the native of a less civilized country, would hardly be more gentle. But we may perhaps fairly say, that his cruelties belong to his age, and that his noble spirit was his own. Europe and England have been too deeply indebted to similar characters and exertions, for us not to feel that Wallace is entitled to all the praise which his countrymen have lavished on him. His actions, tho he did not personally reap their reward, led the way to the independence of his country, at a period when its independence was believed by its natives to be its blessing. And from the admirable character and attainments which now distinguish the Scottish nation, we may infer, that the four centuries of additional independence which the efforts of their Wallace contributed to occasion, were auspicious to the formation of a moral and intellectual capacity, peculiar, but excellent; strong, original, and deeply featured; but most auxiliary to the renown of the British nation, and to the improvement of human nature.

The authentic biography of Wallace can scarcely

A! Jhesu whan thou wille,
How rightwis is thi mede!
That of the wrong has gilt,
The endying may thei drede.—p. 329.

⁸³ See note 83.

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now be traced. Like all popular favorites, he has suffered from the fictions with which fond traditions have adorned and obscured him. That he was the younger son of a gentleman, seems sufficiently clear;⁹⁴ and the neighborhood of Paisley, in Renfrewshire, has been presumed to be the place of his nativity.⁹⁵ That he was outlawed in his youth, for killing an English nobleman, is rather a popular opinion than an historical fact.⁹⁶ He appears to have been unknown, till he emerged to attack the English. Seven years was the short period of his exertions and his celebrity, and his actions are more fully recorded in the chronicles of his enemies, scanty as their notices are, than in the memorials of his friends.⁹⁷

The first achievement by which he roused the notice of his countrymen, was his killing the sheriff of Lanark, a brave and powerful man on the English side.⁹⁸ It was probably a guerilla exploit, successfully accomplished at the head of a few wanderers,

⁹⁴ Fordun says, that tho he was thought ignobilis among the earls and nobles of his kingdom, yet that his parents shone in military honors; and that his elder brother was a knight, and left to his children a sufficient patrimony to maintain his rank. vol. 3. p. 979. This seems correct, because Brunne, the English poet, mentions Sir John de Wallace as his brother :

‘ Bot Sir John de Waleis taken was in a pleyn.’
He adds, that his head was cut off, and placed at London Bridge,
‘ Beside his brother the bigge William the Waleys.’

pp. 338, 9.

⁹⁵ Hailes, p. 245. Mr. Chalmers has exerted his investigating powers, in his Caledonia, vol. 1 p. 577, but with no decisive success.

⁹⁶ Buchanan mentions it, l. 8. s. 18. But Lord Hailes suspects this to be derived from blind Harry.

⁹⁷ His metrical History, by Henry the Minstrel, who is stated to have been born blind, and to have gained his subsistence by reciting his histories before princes or great men, was composed in the middle of the fifteenth century. It is the work, as Lord Hailes says, ‘ of an author, who either knew not history or who meant to falsify it.’ p. 245. It has, however, the full merit of a production of the Muse, for it is poetical as well as fabulous.

⁹⁸ Fordun, vol. 4. p. 978.

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m he had collected; but it struck the imagination, and from that time the discontented and the iotic eagerly joined him, and made him their er. He was highly qualified for the great task ad undertaken. His personal appearance was ossessing, his courage daring, his fortitude im- eable, and his liberality unbounded.⁹⁹ Where- he went, successes followed his paths. The lish every where fell before him. Enlarging objects with his triumphs, he called upon the of rank to assert the cause of their country r his banners. If any Scottish noblemen re- d, he seized and imprisoned them till they ed.¹⁰⁰ Collecting thus an active and imposing e, he attempted to drive the English even from astles and fortresses, till his exploits reached ears of Edward, and alarmed him to new exer- s to resist his progress.

Edward could not believe the first tidings of a rse so unexpected. He dispatched the bishop urham, for some of his prelates were warriors, xamine, and describe to him the truth. His y's report confirming the unwelcome news, as as embarking to preserve Flanders from a French sion, he commissioned his former general, the of Warenne, to go and chastise the bold re-
¹⁰¹ Fifty thousand English and Welsh were hed into Scotland, and its easy reconquest was dently anticipated.

Wallace had now been raised to the command of he Scottish forces.¹⁰² He was besieging the e of Dundee, when he heard that the English

ordun, vol. 4. p. 978.
ibid. p. 979.

¹⁰¹ W. Heming. 122.
¹⁰² Ibid. 124.

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army was advancing to Stirling. Committing the prosecution of the siege to the citizens of the town, whom he charged to continue it under the penalty of losing life and limb if they were negligent,¹⁰³ he hastened to check the progress of the invaders.

The waters of the Forth spread between the English and the town of Stirling; a rising ground was beyond it. Wallace brought up all his army behind the hill, and there halted, watching the English. Warrenne sent two dominicans, to offer peace: "Tell your masters," said Wallace, "we come not here for peace, but to fight—to revenge and to liberate our country: Let them approach when they please, they will find us ready to meet them to the very beard."¹⁰⁴ The Scotch consisted of 180 horse, and 40,000 foot; the English, of 300 cavalry, and 50,000 infantry. The lofty answer of Wallace kindled the English pride. "They threaten us!" was the general exclamation: "Let us advance." "If you pass by the bridge," observed a friendly native,¹⁰⁵ "you are ruined; two only can pass it at a time; they flank us, and can attack with all their front: there is a ford, not far off, where sixty men may cross together: let me conduct you to it." His advice was overruled,¹⁰⁶ and this presumption gave Wallace the brightest day of his short military

¹⁰³ Ford. vol. 4. p. 980.

¹⁰⁴ W. Heming. p. 126. 'Se ad pugnam non ad pacem venisse.' Trivet, Ann. p. 307.

¹⁰⁵ Sir Richard Lundy was the knight who gave this judicious counsel. Trivet, 307. Hemingford says, that some who were at the conflict had declared that the bridge was so narrow, that if the army had been passing it from dawn to eleven o'clock, not half would have got over. p. 128.

¹⁰⁶ The treasurer, Hugh de Cressingham, whom the English historian calls a proud and pompous man, persuaded the old and more cautious Warrenne to use the fatal bridge. He fell in the confusion. 127, 128. The Scots stripped off his skin, and divided it among them, from their hatred of him. Trivet, 307. Wals. 40.

The foreseen consequence occurred. Wallace held quietly till as many of the English had fallen as he was sure of overcoming. He sent a company of lancers to secure the foot of the bridge, and then charged, with speedy destruction, the whole division that was before him. Their discomfiture threw Warrene into a panic, and he retreated to Berwick, as far as his horse could carry him, abandoning even the English border counties to his triumphant antagonist, who pursued his advantages with such vigorous determination, that he was soon near Carlisle.¹⁰⁷ He sent in a friar with his message, "William the Conqueror, my lord, commands you to surrender!" "Who is this conqueror?" cried the governor; "William, whom you call Wallace."¹⁰⁸ His summons was defied; and, finding he could not carry it by assault, he prepared to retreat. The epithet annexed to his name shews the exultation of his countrymen at his successes, and his popular celebrity.

When his country thus liberated, he assumed the title of "Governor of Scotland in the name of king Edward" (Baliol¹⁰⁹) and continued his exertions for securing its independence. But Edward, returning from Flanders, prepared for a new campaign; Wallace and Scotland soon felt the vigor of his military capacity.

Hem. 129-131. Cressingham is described as rector of the church of Ideby, and prebend in several dioceses. p. 130. Five thousand of English infantry, besides cavalry, fell in the battle, p. 130.

Hem. 132.

In the *litteras protectorias* granted by Wallace to the convent of Inchmahom, he and Andrew Murray are styled 'Duces exercitus regni nostri nomine—Johannis regis Scotiæ.' Hem. p. 135. This protection is an act of humanity unlike the barbarities imputed to him. p. 121. The title of 'Custos regni Scotiæ,' see Hailes, 253, from Anderson's *Antiquities of Scotland*, N° 44.

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The king directed his forces to be collected, but to attempt nothing beyond Berwick, till he came. He made his arm of cavalry particularly strong; three thousand select knights were on horses that were mailed, and four thousand on unarmed steeds. He desired no infantry but volunteers, and they are stated to have amounted to eighty thousand.¹¹⁰ As he advanced beyond Edinburgh, he experienced those evils which might have taught the Scottish patriots their true military policy. The safety of Scotland against England, at that time, lay in the imperfect state of her agriculture, in her scattered population, and in the hardy frugality of her inhabitants, content with the necessaries of life, and seeking and possessing no superfluities. In such a country, the invading army that did not carry with it the supplies for its campaigns, must waste in disease and famine, if the retiring patriots should destroy all resources in its line of march. Aware of this danger, Edward had directed a fleet of victualers to meet him in the Frith of Forth. Adverse winds detained them at Berwick, and the English army began to pine in want and malady. At length, a few vessels arrived with wine; and, as his Welsh troops were dying in great numbers, he distributed part to refresh them. They became intoxicated and mutinous. The English cavalry charged them, and they withdrew from the main body. It was reported to Edward, that they were going over to the Scots: His answer displayed his usual firmness; "I care not; let my enemies join my enemies, I will chastise them all."¹¹¹ The famine increased, and the King

¹¹⁰ Heming. 159.¹¹¹ Ibid. 161.

resolved to retreat to Edinburgh. As he was making dispositions for this purpose, a friendly visitor discovered to him, that Wallace and the Scottish army were only a few miles off, in the forest of Falkirk; that they had heard of Edward's determination to fall back, and had rapidly advanced, projecting to surprise his camp on the night of the following day. Delighted at their vicinity, Edward commanded his troops to arm, without revealing his secret information, and marched immediately towards Falkirk, every one wondering at his change of mind. In the moor near Linlithgow, he halted them for the night. They rested on the bare earth, their shields their pillows, their armor their bed, and their horses held, unbaited, near them.¹¹² As the king was sleeping, his war-horse struck his side with his hoof, and broke two of his ribs. An alarm spread, that the King was hurt; treason was suspected and charged; and a panic might have dispersed the English army, if Edward, subduing his sensations of pain, had not placed himself in his saddle, and reassured his troops by his presence.¹¹³ At dawn they marched straight to Falkirk, and beheld the Scottish army. The King wished to refresh his troops with food, but was reminded, that only a little brook separated the two armies. He saw the judgment of the remark, and he ordered the attack.¹¹⁴

Battle of
Falkirk.

Wallace formed his men into four circular bodies,

¹¹² Heming. 162.

¹¹³ Heming. 163. Wals. 42.

¹¹⁴ Hem. 163. Wals. 42. That the Welsh shunned the battle, has been stated, and is not surprising, as the cause of the Scotch had been so recently their own. Brunne says,

The Walsch folk, that tide,
Did nouthur ille no gode;
They held them alle bi side;
Opon a hille thei stode.—p. 306.

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facing outwards, with their lances held obliquely, and with archers in their intervals. A peat morass was in his front, and he caused a row of stakes, tied by ropes, to be fastened in the ground, as a protection from the English cavalry. Behind these he planted his infantry, with this short address; “I have brought you to the ring, dance well if you know how.”¹¹⁵

Edward formed his troops into three divisions. The first advanced straight forwards to the enemy, ignorant of the morass; but meeting with it, they marched round it on the west. The bishop of Durham, with thirty-six banners, led the second line, and, aware of the peat-moss, skirted it on the east. This division, eager to have the first blow, marched faster than the bishop liked, who thought it better to wait for the support of the other line. “It is not for you to teach us war,” cried an ardent knight, who shared the command; “To your mass, Bishop!” and led his willing troops into the conflict with the first circle of the Scots, while the van division was also hastening into action. The Scottish cavalry gave way before the impetuosity of the charge, and fled; but a few of the knights joined the circles of the infantry, to direct their movements. The northern bowmen, from the forest of Selkirk, fought manfully, but were soon destroyed. The condensed wood of the Scottish lancers, with their obliquely protruded weapons, was then full before the English knights, and steadily kept them at bay. In vain they essayed to break into the firm array; the foremost, with una-

¹¹⁵ ‘I have brought you to the kyng, hop gif ye kun.’ Wals. 43. ‘Hop,’ that is, dance, or be active. See Lord Hailes’s note on this speech, p. 258, who would read ‘ryng’ instead of ‘kyng.’

vailing bravery, perished on the lances, as Wallace had foreseen; and the repulse of the English chivalry did credit to the military judgment of the patriot. His circles of infantry were impenetrable. But the English commanders were persevering and expert: they observed that the Scottish array, tho so effective for defence, was from that very circumstance, incompetent to attack: these circles of men were in fact but so many immoveable fortresses; and they resolved to assail them as such. The place abounded with large stones. The English generals ordered up their cross-bowmen and machines, and the stones and arrows were poured, without remission, on the front men of the circumferences, till so many perished, that the rest, astonished and overwhelmed, fell back on the interior. At this critical moment the English cavalry burst in, followed by their foot, before the Scottish officers could re-form their broken rings, which this movement threw into irretrievable confusion. Wallace had made no provision for this possibility, or his materials were too unmanageable for discipline. Escape only was the object of the one party, and destruction, little resisted, of the other. The English converted their attack into a pursuit so disastrous to Scotland, that many thousands¹¹⁶ of her bravest defenders were destroyed. The pressure of famine prevented Edward from profiting by his great

¹¹⁶ Heming. p. 165. Wals. 43. Hailes remarks the different estimation of the Scottish loss. Walsingham says 60,000. Hemingford, who writes with much particular knowlege, 50,000. M. West. in one place, p. 411, has 40,000; in another, p. 446, 60,000.—M. West. swells the army of Wallace to 200,000, p. 411; and Hemingford to 300,000, p. 165. Neither of these numbers seem probable ones. Trivet's account is more rational; he says, 'It was thought by many that above 20,000 Scots perished.' Ann. p. 313.

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victory. The ships were still detained by the adverse winds. Fifteen days he remained in the camp, almost without food ; and, instead of entering Galway, was at last obliged to fall back to Carlisle.¹¹⁷

Wallace had, by his own intrepid and unyielding spirit, roused the decaying energies of his countrymen. When both the Bruces, and Baliol, and the Scottish parliament, had given up the patriot cause, he had set the example of a courageous fortitude, and, by twice expelling their English masters, had shewn a possibility of victory, which revived the submitting nobles from their despondency. But the aristocracy of his country was unworthy of its hero. The proud lairds and chieftains cavilled at the inferiority of his birth. His right of command was disputed ; and dissensions in the Scottish camp are stated to have preceded the battle of Falkirk. Be this fable or truth,¹¹⁸ it is clear that he was deserted after this defeat—we may add, unjustly deserted. That Wallace had formed a safer plan of operations, is evident from the information which made Edward advance. But the decision and rapidity of the English king having suddenly brought his army before the Scottish lines, the momentous battle became inevitable. The defeat, the natural result of superior discipline and equipment, well commanded, tho not fairly imputable to any fault in Wallace, destroyed his future influence among the selfish great. Appointing Bruce and others the guardians of Scotland, they protracted a defensive struggle till 1303,¹¹⁹ when Edward, having made peace with

¹¹⁷ Hem. 167.

¹¹⁸ See Hailes, 254 & 262.

¹¹⁹ For the intermediate incidents, see Hailes, 263–276.

France, was enabled to pour his undivided forces into Scotland. CHAP.
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The greatest resistance which he experienced in the campaign, was at the siege of Stirling. It required all the exertion of his besieging skill. Ninety days had passed with no signs of surrender. He became but the more determined to take it. First in every attack, he was aimed at from a balista, and the dart pierced his robe. Repetitions of the same danger induced his courtiers to advise him to expose himself less. His answer was a quotation from the Psalms, expressing his reliance on Providence, and that he feared not what man could do. On a following day, riding unarmed near the walls, the Scots discharged an immense stone, with such exactness that it struck his horse's feet, and he fell with the king. His knights ran to extricate him, gently upbraiding his carelessness of his own safety, and offering to expose themselves to every danger instead of him. The King declared that he would not separate himself from them. He increased the power of his machines, and the size of their projectiles. Seeing his English run to pick up the arrows discharged from the castle, which had fallen short, he called them back, "If you do not take them up," he remarked, "they will think that they cannot throw their missile weapons at all near you, and they will be discouraged; but if you collect them, they will perceive that a little addition of force will send them among you, and you will suffer from the discovery." At last, the governor, Sir William Oliphant, and others, came from the castle barefoot, ungirded, with ashes on their heads, and ropes on their necks and in their hands, imploring his grace. He told them he would not receive them

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in his favor; they must surrender to his pleasure. They declared they did so—"My pleasure is," exclaimed the King, "that you be drawn and hanged." Sir William fell on the earth, and, with every expression of grief, threw himself on his mercy. The King turned to the companions of the governor, "And what do you expect?" They declared, with lamentation, that they submitted themselves to his will. The King, affected by their emotions, inclined a little aside, and saw his own friends bedewed with generous tears; he permitted the noble sympathy to spread in part to himself; he gave them their lives, but he ordered their imprisonment.¹²⁰

After this success, he penetrated to Caithness, and the country was reconquered. Bruce surrendered himself to the English; so did Comyn, and his followers. The Scottish chieftains all gave up the contest, except Wallace, who had been animating the previous warfare. He was invited to imitate them, and put himself under the royal grace.¹²¹ His unbroken spirit resolutely refused, and he retired to a place of concealment. But his rejection of the offers of pardon and peace increased Edward's resentment to inveteracy; he felt his conquest to be insecure while Wallace lived, and he put in motion many parties to hunt out his retreat.¹²² From his enemies the persecuted patriot might seclude himself; but his retirement was penetrable by deceitful

¹²⁰ Matt. Westm. 447-449.

¹²¹ 'Si lui semble que bon soit.' The Grant of amnesty to Comyn and his friends is among the Placita Parliam. p. 212. It contains this clause in favor of Wallace. p. 213.

¹²² That Wallace was diligently sought after by Edward, appears from the Parliamentary document, which states, that the king released Ralph of Haliburton, to go to Scotland and aid the other men, who were watching there, to catch Wallace. 1 Plac. Parl. 177.

friends. One of these, directed by a faithless domestic, betrayed him into the hands of Edward.¹²³ Age had now chilled in that King all the generous feelings which once mitigated his resentments. He saw in Wallace nothing but an irreconcilable adversary; and his vindictive spirit had not the magnanimity to pardon. Wallace was arraigned at Westminster as a traitor. His defence was complete—he had never sworn allegiance to Edward; he was born with none; he had never acquiesced in his authority; he could not be a traitor to him.¹²⁴ But the English judges adopted the feelings of their sovereign. He was found guilty of treason—hanged—drawn—and quartered. His head was exposed on London Bridge, and his divided limbs sent to intimidate Scotland. Edward obtained the wretched gratification of destroying his noble enemy; but his cruelty has only increased the celebrity of Wallace, and indelibly blotted his own.¹²⁵

Death of
Wallace.

¹²³ Fordun, p. 996.—Brunner's version of Langtoft's Chronicle gives this account of his caption, which is worthy of notice, as the narration of a contemporary:

Sir Jon of Menetest served William so neih,
He tok him whan he wend lest, on nyght his leman bi.
That was thocht treson of Jak Schort his man,
He was the encheson that Sir Jon so him nam.
Jak brother had he slayn, the Waleis that is said,
The more Jak was fayn to do William that braid.—p. 329.

¹²⁴ As every thing relating to so great a man is interesting, I will imitate Lord Hailes in quoting the following from Stow's Chronicle, p. 209:—'William Wales—was brought to London with great numbers of men and women wondring upon him. He was lodged in the house of William Delect, a citizen of London, in Faunchurch-street. On the morrow, being the even of St. Bartholomew, he was brought on horsebacke to Westminster, John Segreve and Geffrey Knight, the major, sheriffes and aldermen of London, and many other, both on horsebacke and on foote, accompanying him; and in the great hall at Westminster, he being placed on the south bench, crowned with laurel, for that he had said in times past, that he ought to heare a crowne in that hall, as it was commonly reported, and being appeached for a traytor, by Sir Peter Mallorie the king's justice, hee answered that hee never was a traytor to the king of England.'

¹²⁵ Wals. 61. M. West. 451.—The popular affection for Wallace is

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By the submission of the chiefs, and by the death of Wallace, the subjection of Scotland seemed completed, and Edward proceeded to the settlement of its administration. In a parliament at Westminster, attended by deputies from Scotland, the great state officers and sheriffs, and the keepers of its castles, were appointed. The usage of Scot and Bret laws was abolished. The king's lieutenant was directed to assemble a Scottish council, to read over the laws of their king David, and the subsequent additions, and to correct such as were evidently against God and reason.¹²⁸

Edward had thus attained the full gratification of his policy. Scotland was now his own; all had submitted. But the brilliant prospects of ambition are rarely permanent. Before a few months elapsed, the sceptre that appeared to be so securely grasped, was again contested, and at last vanished from the hands of his successor. The immediate causes of this unexpected revolution, are connected with a catastrophe, which has not yet been satisfactorily elucidated.

Baliol's sister left a son, named John Comyn, who had been made the guardian of Scotland, and leader of her armies against Edward. He was the representative of the rights of Baliol, which had been decreed to be antecedent to those of Bruce. The

strikingly shewn by the many local traditional remembrances of him, which are still preserved in Scotland. The hills, the houses, the castles, and the glens, which he frequented; the stones on which he sat; the tree in which he was secreted; the rock from which he plunged into the sea; the bridge which he crossed; the forest to which he withdrew; the foaming cascade behind which he was once screened; the barn in which he was taken; and the lake into which, after he was overpowered, he hurled his sword—are still fondly pointed out. Mr. Ker has collected the notices of these traditions in his *History of Robert the Bruce*, vol. 1. pp. 125–132.

¹²⁸ Plac. Parl. 268.

claims of Bruce had descended to his grandson, Robert Bruce; and thus Comyn and Robert Bruce stood in the same competition of right to the crown of Scotland, which their ancestors Baliol and the first Bruce had maintained. Both had submitted to Edward.

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Suddenly it was announced to the world, that Bruce had assassinated Comyn, at Dumfries, before the great altar in the convent of the Franciscans. That the most distinguished king of Scotland should commit sacrilege and murder, is an act so abhorrent to moral feeling, that it has naturally engaged his countrymen to discover, if possible, some honorable motives to palliate the crime. It will be most impartial, in the present history, to state the principal circumstances of the transaction, as narrated by the Scottish historian; and then to subjoin the English accounts.

1306.
Bruce as-
sassinates
Comyn.

According to Fordun, Bruce had begun a negotiation with Comyn to revive the Scottish throne; and they had agreed, that Bruce should be the king, and that Comyn's possessions should be guaranteed and increased; when Comyn communicated the secret plan to the English government. Alarmed at the information, Edward meditated the destruction of Bruce, then at his court; when the earl of Gloucester, favoring the Scottish prince, sent him a piece of money and a pair of spurs, with this enigmatical message, "My master returns what you yesterday lent him." Bruce, whose mind, if pursuing such plans, must have been always in alarm, conjectured, on seeing the spurs, that his escape was counselled, and, giving the messenger the money, he secretly got to his horse, and rode off immediately.

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to Scotland. On the marches he met a courier, on whom he found his own sealed treaty with Comyn, which this betraying friend was sending to Edward. Bruce, arriving at Dumfries, sent for Comyn to the monastery, and charged him with his perfidy: "You lie!" said Comyn, and Bruce immediately stabbed him. He fell, and was carried behind the altar. The monks inquiring if he thought he should survive, he answered, "I may." The friends of Bruce hearing this possibility, determined to preclude it, and dispatched him.¹²⁷

The English historians omit the circumstances of the escape of Bruce; but state him to have invited his rival to the church of the Franciscans, to have reproached him for accusing him to Edward, according to one,¹²⁸ or for refusing to throw off the English yoke, according to others.¹²⁹ There is no substantial difference between any of the authorities; on the main facts of the catastrophe. They all agree that Bruce convened the meeting; that he upbraided Comyn, and at last stabbed him; and that Bruce's friends, finding him not killed, completed the assas-

¹²⁷ Hearne's *Fordun*, vol. 4. pp. 991–996. Barbour states the previous negotiation between Comyn and Bruce, *Buke* 1. p. 23. He then adds a long digression on treason, introducing it with

Bot off all things wa worth tresoune!
For thair is nothir duke ne baroune
Na erle na prince na kyng off mycht,
Thoch he be niver sa wyse a wicht,
For wyt worschip price na renoun,
That iver may wauch hym with tresoune.—p. 24.

He mentions Comyn's sending the indenture to Edward, p. 27; but he makes the English king shew it to Bruce, who asks a respite till the next day, p. 29, and in the mean time escapes. He states him to have killed Comyn, but does not describe their interview. *Buke* 2. p. 34.

¹²⁸ Hemingford, p. 219.

¹²⁹ *Matt. Westm.* p. 455. *Wals.* 62. And Brunne's *Langtoft* is to the same purport, p. 330. *Trivet* states, that Bruce, aspiring to the crown, killed Comyn, 'quia suæ proditionis factioni noluit assentire.' p. 342.

sination. Thus agreeing on the principal fact, their variations as to the preceding conversation are unimportant, and indeed not irreconcilable. Bruce may have reprimanded him for discovering his secret purposes to Edward, may have urged him to support his plans, and may have received the lie to some of his assertions. On every supposition, it was still the destruction of a competitor by the person who was to be most benefited by the crime; and from this suspicious atrocity the memory of Bruce cannot be vindicated.

Some of Comyn's relations were also destroyed. The Scots hearing of the event, anxious for their liberty, took arms in behalf of Bruce. The English justiciaries were besieged, and surrendered. Bruce a few weeks afterwards procured himself to be crowned king of Scotland,¹³⁰ and exerted himself in spreading thro the country the flames of revolt; and, tho withstood by the counteraction of the powerful and indignant family of the Comyns, and by many of the nobles, who preferred peace to turbulence and devastation, yet the insurrectionary movements spread, and Edward, who was now gradually sinking to the grave, amid the diseases of a decaying constitution,¹³¹ was alarmed with the tidings, that the country, which he had so long struggled to incorporate with his own, was again emancipating itself from his authority.

Bruce procures himself to be crowned.

¹³⁰ He killed Comyn 10 Feb. 1306; he was crowned 25 March 1306. Heming. 220. So ardent was Scottish patriotism for his enterprise, that the countess of Buchan left her husband to go to crown him: she went to represent her brother, whose office it was, but who was detained in England. Trivet, 342.

¹³¹ He was unable to ride on horseback, from a weakness in his lower limbs, Triv. 342; and he was afflicted with a dysentery.

BOOK
II.REIGN OF
EDWARD I.Edward's
splendid
military
assembly
at West-
minster.

Indignant and disquieted, he resolved to march an army into Scotland, which should extirpate all resistance. To provide a force impressive from its rank and splendor, and to engage the hearts of his own subjects in the expedition, he caused it to be proclaimed thro England, that all who were under legal obligation to become knights, and had competent means, should assemble at Westminster on Whitsuntide, and that they would be there furnished with every requisite from the king's wardrobe, except the trappings of their horses. Three hundred youths, the sons of earls, barons and knights, attended; and purple robes, fine linen garments, and mantles woven with gold, were liberally distributed. The royal palace, tho spacious, was not sufficient to hold the vast crowds who poured in; and the Temple and its gardens were also appropriated to entertain them. Its apple-trees were cut down, its walls laid prostrate, and tents and booths were erected, in which the young knights appeared in their dresses glistening with gold. Every knight, as many as the Temple church would hold, performed their vigils in it. But the prince of Wales, by his father's command, passed his vigils in the abbey of Westminster. There, such was the clangor of the trumpets and clarions, such the emulous acclamations, that the chanting of the choir was drowned in the general exultation. On the following day, the king invested his son with the military belt, and gave him the dutchy of Aquitain. The prince went with his new honors to the abbey, to confer the same dignity of knight-hood on his associates; but so great was the pressure towards the high altar, to behold the ceremony, that two knights were killed, and many fainted, tho

each had at least three others to conduct and defend him. The crowd being at last repressed and divided by strong war-horses, the prince was enabled to knight his friends. Two swans were then brought in with great pomp, decorated with golden nets and gilt reeds, and placed before the king. On seeing these, the sovereign vowed a vow to the God of heaven; and to the swans, That he would go to Scotland, and, living or dead, avenge the death of Comyn, and the broken faith of the Scots; adjuring the prince and his nobles, by their fealty to him, that if he should die on his journey to it, they would carry his body into the country, and never bury it, till the prince had established his dominion over it in victory and triumph.¹³² The great assembly eagerly gave their pledge; and one of the most powerful armaments that Edward had ever formed, was conducted to the North.

Against this pomp and power of ancient chivalry, what had Bruce to oppose? Only a few noble friends,¹³³ the hearts of an undisciplined people, and his own unwearied spirit. But these were unequal to compete with the English resolution and resources. He attempted an enterprise against Perth, and made his men put their shirts over their armor, to disguise them; but he was defeated, three times

¹³² We owe the description of this scene, so expressive of the manners of the day, to Matt. Westm. 457, 458. Trivet says, that on this day, as the king sat at table, surrounded with the new knights, a multitude of minstrels came in to induce the knights to vow some feat of arms *before the swan*. After mentioning the king's oath, he states, that the prince vowed never to rest two nights in any one place till he had reached Scotland, that he might fulfil his father's wishes. He adds, 'The vows of the other knights are not recollected.' p. 343.

¹³³ The friends of Bruce are enumerated, by Lord Hailes, in his Annals, vol. 2; and by Mr. Pinkerton, in a note to his edition of Barbour's Bruce, vol. 1. p. 43.

BOOK

II.

REIGN OF
EDWARD I.Bruce's
exile, and
sufferings.

unhorsed, and nearly taken prisoner.¹³⁴ This early discomfiture precluded all future hope. He withdrew, with a few patriots, to the Grampian Hills, abandoned by his countrymen, leading the life of outlaws, subsisting on flesh and water, and not daring to appear on the plains.¹³⁵ They lived among the mountains, making their shoes of skins, till their sufferings compelled them to venture to Aberdeen. Here the king's brother, Neil, brought his queen, and some other fair ladies, the faithful wives of his friends, who nobly came to share the hardships, and to soften the distresses of their husbands.¹³⁶

¹³⁴ Matt. West. 459. Trev. 344.—Barbour describes the battle at length, Buke 2. pp. 46–52. In the press of the struggle, he says of Bruce,

And quhen the king his folk has sene
 Begyn to faile, for proper tene,
 Hys assenyhe gan he cry
 And in the stour so hardyly—
 ‘ On thaim, on thaim ! thai feble fast ;
 ‘ This bargaine nevir may langar last.’
 And with that word sa wilfully
 He dang on, and sa hardely,
 That quha had sene hym in that fycht
 Suld hald hym for a douchty knycht.

¹³⁵ Barbour says, that the king and his companions
 As utelaus went mony day,
 Dreand in the mounth their payne ;
 Eyte flesch and drank water syne.
 He durst not to the planys ga
 For all the cummownys went him fra :
 That for their liff war full fayn
 To pass to the Inglis pes agayn.
 Sa fayrs ay cummounly,
 In cummownys may nane affy.

Buke 2. p. 55.

¹³⁶ Barbour, pp. 55, 56. He does not omit a just sentiment of commendation :

Ilkane fer luff off thair husband ;
 That for leyle luff and loawte
 Wald pertenerys off thair paynys be.—
 For luff is off sa mekill mycht
 That it all paynys maks licht.
 And mony tyme mase tender wycht
 Of swilk strenthes and swilk mycht

The king and his fellow exiles continued here till their residence became known to the English, who, hearing of it, projected to surprise him. But he watched the motions of their armed force, and, as it was folly to fight them, he mounted the ladies on horseback, and they all escaped back to the mountains. Their living here is romantically described. The baron of Douglas procured them venison, for they had no other meat, and with his own hands made gins and nets to take salmons, trouts and eels, for their repast; the rest foraged about for other necessaries: and thus they subsisted till they reached Loch Tay.¹³⁷ But the nephew of Comyn resided in these parts, and hearing of the king's approach, assembled his clan, with their battle-axes, sought out the royal party, attacked, and dispersed it.¹³⁸ The desperate valor of Bruce deterred a pursuit. His vindictive antagonist in vain lamented the backwardness of his men.¹³⁹ Bruce escaped unwounded.

This disaster again drove them to the mountains. Bruce strove to cheer the minds of his friends. But the strength of the ladies soon began to fail. Their

That thai may mekill paynys endur
And forsakis nane aventur
That ever may fall, withthy that thai
Thairthrow succur thair luffys may. p. 56.

¹³⁷ Barbour, pp. 57-59.

¹³⁸ Barb. Buke 3. pp. 63-65. Ford, p. 999. This affair happened on 11 Aug. at Dalry, or the King's Field. Hailes, p. 7.

¹³⁹ His lamentation is important, for the evidence it affords, that in Barbour's time traditions of Gaul the son of Morni, and of Fingal, were prevalent in Scotland:

He said, 'Methink Martheoky's son
Rycht as Gol Mak Morn was won,
To haiff fra Fyngal hys mengye,
Rycht swa all hys fra us has he.'

Buke 3. p. 66.

BOOK
II.REIGN OF
EDWARD I.

feelings were expressed by the earl of Athol, who told the king, that they were living in such hourly dread, so worn with fatigue and watchings, and so affected by cold and wet, and want of proper food, that their lives began to be in danger. Bruce saw the truth of the representation, and it was agreed that the ladies should be lodged in secure places. An affectionate parting took place, and the queen and her friends were conducted by Neil, the king's brother, to the castle of Kildrummy, about thirty miles west of Aberdeen.¹⁴⁰

The king being now driven to the necessity of stricter concealment; and all their horses having been given to accommodate the female travellers, he wandered on foot, with his remaining friends, among the rocky retreats. The winter was fast approaching, the country was full of enemies, and the rains made it impossible to lie all night on the hills. It was indispensable to seek a fit shelter. He resolved to go to Kintyre, the southern peninsula of Argyle. With this view they travelled to Loch Lomond; but this extensive and beautiful water stopped their progress. It is above twenty miles in length, and there was no boat. They proceeded along its banks, till the baron Douglas observed a small vessel sunk under the waves. They drew it out; it would only hold three men. The king and Douglas got into it, with

¹⁴⁰ Barbour, 75–77. He thus describes their separation—

The queyne and all hyr cumpany
Lap on thair horss, and furth thai far.
Men mycht haiff sene, quha had bene thar,
At leve takyng the ladyis gret,
And mak thair face with ters wet:
And knychts, for thair luffs sak,
Bath sick and wep and murnyng mak.
Thai kyssit thair luffs, at thair partyng.

er, who rowed them over. It went back for
est, and they passed in it two at a time; while
swam who could. This mode of ferrying
ied them a day and a night. The king strove
use his companions in misfortune by reading
em a romance.¹⁴¹ They divided into two
s, to procure food. They pervaded the hills
woods about, with little success; but their
ng of their horns, to keep themselves together,
heard by the earl of Lennox, one of the few
s who had espoused the royal cause, but who
elieved the king to have perished at Methven.
iced to find that Bruce lived, he hastened
ly to the height where he was. The king
ionately welcomed him, and mutual embraces
tears displayed the tender sympathies with
h, in their common lot of exile and poverty,
hailed each other's preservation, and lamented
sufferings.¹⁴²

ie earl shared with them his provisions. They
ed to each other the hardships and dangers they
encountered, and journeyed to the sea side.
king found the vessels, which his brother had
ided, and, embarking in them, was rowed by
isle of Bute, to the promontory of Kintyre.
is of the isles was its laird. He received Bruce

CHAP.

II.

REIGN OF
EDWARD I.

barb. 78-81.

barb. 84. This author's feelings do credit to his heart. He justifi-
cally tender meeting of his noble exiles, by saying,

That mekill joy or yheit pité
May ger men sua amowyt be
That wattir fra the hart will ryss
And weyt the eyne on syc a wyss—

mentioning the emotions of anger, he adds,

Bot for pité I trow gretyng
Be na thing bot ane opynnyng
Off hart, that schawis the tendirness
Off rewth that in it closyt is.

p. 84.

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REIGN OF
EDWARD I.

with hospitable duty, and gave him his castle of Dunavarty for his residence. But Bruce had experienced too much desertion and treachery, to repose a confidence unlimited; ¹⁴³ he gratefully thanked Angus for his kindness, stayed three days in his fortress, and then sailed to Rachlin, an island on the north-east coast of Ireland, ¹⁴⁴ where he was secure of being beyond the persecution of his enemies. The simple inhabitants, unused to the sight of armed men, fled at his arrival into their strongest defences, with their women and cattle. Bruce treated with them friendly. He assured them the safe enjoyment of their possessions; and they submitted to him as their lord, and promised to furnish him daily with food for three hundred men. Pleased with their integrity and the security of the place, he remained there all the winter. ¹⁴⁵

Edward's unremitted thirst of vengeance pursued the hapless fugitives. He commanded all the people of Scotland to search for those who had borne arms against the English government, and to apprehend them, dead or alive. And he procured it to be enacted, that those who were at the slaughter of Comyn, or knowingly harbored the guilty persons, should be drawn and hanged. ¹⁴⁶ This ordinance produced the capture of Bruce's queen.

When Bruce, on his precipitate coronation, re-

¹⁴³ He wis dredand for tresoun ay,
And tharefor as ik hard men say,
He traistyt in nane sekyrly,
Till that he knew him uterly.
Bot quhat kyndred, that evir he had,
Fayr cuntenance to thaim he mad. p. 89.

¹⁴⁴ Hailes, vol. 2. p. 7. Mr. Pinkerton refers, for a description of this island and Bruce's castle, to Hamilton's Observations on the North of Ireland.—Barb. 90.

¹⁴⁵ Barb. 92, 93.

¹⁴⁶ Hailes' Ann. p. 8.

marked to her, "Yesterday we were called earl and countess, but now we shall be addressed as king and queen," she is stated to have answered, "You may be a summer king, but perhaps will not be a winter king."¹⁴⁷ This remark was so natural to a person of any reflection, in her circumstances, that it may have been expressed without either asperity or aversion. But the English annalist adds to it upbraidings for her perjury, and that Bruce in resentment banished her. This resembles an enemy's exaggeration, and is not accordant with the picture drawn by Barbour. He however admits, that she had not the fortitude to endure the terrors of a siege,¹⁴⁸ but quitted Kildrummy Castle when it was in danger of being attacked, and took refuge in the sanctuary of St. Duthac, at Tain on the Dornoth Frith. But this was in the territories of the earl of Ross, and, dreading the penalties of the English ordinance, he took her from her asylum, and delivered her to the English.¹⁴⁹ Their male companions were executed as traitors, and the ladies imprisoned. The un-knightly conduct of treating the queen as a prisoner,

¹⁴⁷ Matt. Westm. 456.

¹⁴⁸ The queen and als dam Margery
Hyr dochtyr—
That wald on na wyss langar ly
In castell off Kyldromy
To byd a sege, ar rydin raith
With knychts and squires bath
Throw Ross rycht to the gyrth of Tayne. Barb. 99.

¹⁴⁹ Ford. 999.

Bot that trawaile thai maid in wayne,
For thai of Ross that wald not ber
For thaim na blayme, na yeit danger
Out off the gyrth hame all has tayne
And syne thaim evirilkane.
Rycht intill Ingland, to the king
That gert draw all the men and hing
And put the ladyis in presoune,
Sum intill castell, sum in dungeon. Barb. 99.

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is but another instance, that age had not allayed the implacability of Edward's temper.¹⁵⁰

The countess of Buchan, who had crowned Bruce, was also taken. Edward's observation as to her punishment, announces the same dark spirit of revenge, refining upon its cruelty: "As she has not struck with the sword, she shall not perish by the sword; but for her lawless conspiracy, she shall be shut up in a stone and iron chamber, circular as the crown she gave; and at Berwick she shall be suspended in the open air, a spectacle to travellers, and for her everlasting infamy."¹⁵¹ It is useful to record such actions; for, what can more forcibly persuade us to extinguish the first impulses of revenge, than to see the meannesses to which its gratification can degrade even great and princely characters.

The castle of Kildrummy was soon besieged by the English forces. It was as vigorously defended as attacked. But 'a false louredane, Hosbarne to name' set fire to its great hall, full of corn. The flames spread over the castle. The English saw the mischief, and made an assault. The spirit of the garrison, and the fury of the flames, compelled them to desist that night; but in the next morning they prepared to assail it again. It was then surrendered, with Neil the brother of Bruce, who was carried to Berwick, and unrelentingly hanged and

¹⁵⁰ Lord Hailes' note will fully explain her situation in England. 'The directions given for her entertainment are preserved in the *Fœdera*, t. 2. p. 1013. She was to be conveyed to the manor of Brustewick; to have a waiting woman and a maid servant, advanced in life, sedate, and of good conversation; a butler, two men servants, and a footboy for her chamber, sober and not riotous, to make her bed; three greyhounds when she inclined to hunt; venison, fish, and the fairest house in the manor.' p. 9.

¹⁵¹ Matt. Westm. 460.

beheaded.¹⁵² Sir Christopher Seaton, who had married Bruce's sister, and another Seaton, his kinsman, were captured in a different castle, and drawn, hanged and beheaded.¹⁵³ The earl of Athol, dreading a similar fate, tried to escape by sea, but adverse winds drove him back to the fatal shore. What can we say of Edward, when we read in a contemporary English annalist, who seems to admire his actions, that, tho the king was languishing at that time in the severe disease which in a few months consigned him to the tomb, yet on hearing of Athol's capture, he declared, that the news assuaged his pains. As the earl claimed a royal descent, some of the courtiers around Edward's bed remarked, that it would be indecent to sentence him like the rest. The distinction, meant perhaps to suggest a feeling of mercy to the dying king, only produced this unforgiving answer; "If his rank be higher, it makes his fault the greater; and since he is more exalted than the other parricides in blood, he shall be hanged in a loftier elevation for his crime." In consideration of his descent, he was not drawn, but he was suspended fifty feet from the ground. He was taken down half alive; a fierce fire was kindled in his presence, for the destruction of his corpse; he was then beheaded, his body burnt, and his head fixed on London Bridge, higher than usual, for his regal lineage.¹⁵⁴ Simon Fraser was as mercilessly treated. He had three times rescued and remounted Bruce at the battle of Methven;¹⁵⁵ an irremissible offence. He was so distinguished a warrior, that his country-

¹⁵² Barb. 100-103. Fordun, p. 1000. M. Westm. 462.

¹⁵³ M. Westm. 461.

¹⁵⁴ Ibid. 461, 462.

¹⁵⁵ Ib. 459.

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men, prisoners in England, declared that he would never be either conquered or taken, and that Scotland could not be subdued while he was alive. One, in the Tower of London, was so enthusiastic an admirer, as to lay a wager of his own head, with the king, that Fraser would never be his captive. But the English perseverance and power at last apprehended him. The king cruelly exacted from his panegyricising friend, the forfeiture of the life he had lost; and Fraser was made to suffer the same kind of death with his patriotic associates. His head was placed on a lance at London Bridge, near the remains of Wallace, his unfortunate friend.¹⁵⁶ The only palliation that can be offered for Edward is, that most of these men had sworn their fealty to him, and had violated their oaths. But if they merited punishment by their perfidy, yet nothing can excuse the feeling of delight, the bitter unpardoning spirit, with which Edward exacted it. It might suit a Muley Abdallah, sultan of Morocco; it was unworthy of a Christian and an English king.

Bruce having passed the winter at Rachlin, his friends became impatient of their inactivity, and baron Douglas projected an expedition to the isle of Arran. He crossed the sea to it, and surprised some vessels laden with provisions and stores, which refitted and refreshed his friends.¹⁵⁷ Bruce ventured after him, with all the recruits he had collected. From inquiries which he made at landing, he found that some strangers had preceded him, and had discomfited the warden of Arran. He anticipated it to be an exploit of Douglas, and blew his horn, till it was heard and answered by his friend. Their forces

¹⁵⁶ Matt. Westm. 460.¹⁵⁷ Barb. 110-114.

united, and Bruce resolved to send a trusty spy to Carrick, his native territory, to explore its present state, the disposition of his clansmen, and the positions of his enemies. The man was directed to make a fire on an eminence at Turnberry, if it were prudent for the king to visit it.¹⁵⁸ The messenger found few who would talk of their lord, from the dread of the consequences; many had become decidedly hostile to him; and the land and castle were occupied by the English under Sir Henry Percy. The king was watching the opposite hills all the day, from Arran, but saw no sign. In the evening, a flame began to be visible. Rejoicing at the sight, they lunched their little galleys,¹⁵⁹ and proceeded to Carrick in a vernal evening, in number three hundred men.¹⁶⁰ They rowed till night enveloped them. They had “na nedile na stane” to direct them; but the fire was burning light and clear, and they steered towards it. They found their spy waiting on the coast. He told the king, that his attempt was hopeless, as Percy, with three hundred English, was in the castle, “ful filled off despite and pride.” Bruce in rage exclaimed, “Traitor! why then did you make the fire?” He answered, that he had not kindled it; but that observing one, and not daring to extinguish it, he had come down to the coast, to prevent the king from being deceived. Bruce consulted what was now to be done. His spirited brother, Edward, exhorted him to attempt some enterprise, protesting, that nothing should drive him back

¹⁵⁸ Barb. 114–117.

¹⁵⁹ Ib. 117–120. The author introduces here a digression on astrology and necromancy, occasioned by the predicting speech of his hostess before he embarked.

¹⁶⁰ Barbour opens his fifth book with a description of the spring, p. 129.

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to the sea. Bruce adopted his bold advice; marched to the town, scaled and took it; destroyed all he found; intimidated and defied Percy, who kept to his castle; and, after remaining three days on his hereditary possessions, obtaining information of the fate of his friends, diffusing the alarm of his name, and rekindling the secret hopes of his countrymen, he departed, when new bodies of English arrived in the mountainous district beyond.¹⁶¹ Douglas essayed an excursion among his own vassals, and surprised the English garrison, as it was proceeding to church on Palm Sunday, and destroyed them.¹⁶²

The family of Bruce were peculiarly unfortunate in their efforts to support his dignity. He was expecting the junction of his two brothers, Alexander and Thomas, with the assistance they could collect. They got together 700 followers, and landed with them at Lochrean, in Galloway; but they were attacked and routed by a chieftain favorable to Edward. The two brothers, severely wounded and half dead, were taken prisoners, and conveyed to Carlisle. They were executed as rigorously as their friends had suffered; and their heads, in conformity to the ancient Turkish custom of the country, were exhibited on the gates of Carlisle.¹⁶³

To this period, instead of the romantic adventures into which Barbour deviates to aggrandize his hero, we may apply the striking description of Fordun, that the king was reduced to such necessity, that he passed a long period without any other food than herbs and roots and water; his shoes were worn off

¹⁶¹ Barb. 130, 131.

¹⁶² Ib. 138-146.—Mr. Pinkerton remarks, that Palm Sunday was the 19th March in 1307. Ib. p. 141.

¹⁶³ M. Westm. 464. Langtoft, 336-338.

his feet, and he wandered barefooted—now hiding alone in some of the islands, now chased by his enemies, and despised and ridiculed by his own vassals.¹⁶⁴ Such was the stormy season that followed his rash coronation—an enterprise of patriotism or ambition, that had brought desolation to his own family and to his bravest friends. Perhaps his sudden seizure of greatness may be justly ascribed to his patriotic feelings; for he is stated to have exclaimed in the midst of his distresses, “Unless the ancient liberty of Scotland had excited me, I would not have endured such sufferings as these for the empire of the world.”¹⁶⁵

It is stated, that Christiana, a lady of the isles, a noble and kind lady, greatly assisted him.¹⁶⁶ His cause was so popular among the commonalty of Scotland,¹⁶⁷ that when he could escape his pursuers, he frequently found supporters. In May, he collected enough to gain an advantage over the English commander at Loudon Hill,¹⁶⁸ and three days afterwards he defeated another.¹⁶⁹ But these successes were transient; more English forces came up, and he again retired.

His greatest benefit was the death of his unrelenting and able persecutor. Edward, feeling an improvement of strength, thought he had recovered: and made an offering of his horse-litter in the cathedral at Carlisle. Impatient to execute his meditated resentment on Scotland, he mounted his horse in his

¹⁶⁴ Fordun, 1000.¹⁶⁵ Ford. 998. Barbour¹⁶⁶ Ib. 1000.¹⁶⁷ Ib. 1001.¹⁶⁸ M. Westm. 465. Barbour, Buke 8, p. 10, says, he got together 600 men. But he gives Sir Aymer, his antagonist, 3,000; an unlikely disproportion!¹⁶⁹ M. Westm. 465.

BOOK
II.REIGN OF
EDWARD I.Edward's
foreign
transac-
tions.

way to the Solway Frith, but his effort produced a relapse. In four days, he could advance but six miles. He reached Burgh on the Sands on 6 July 1307, and the next day "expired in sight of that country which he had devoted to destruction."¹⁷⁰

The ease with which Philip Augustus had wrested Normandy from John, inspired the French government with a determination to expel the English from Gascony. Edward, not projecting any quarrel with France, performed, on his accession, the customary homage, for the frontier province, to the French sovereign then reigning; renewed it to his successor, and appeared also at his parliament.¹⁷¹ The discussions of Edward with Scotland presented to France, an auspicious occasion for attempting the same incorporation of Guienne, which Edward had effected of Wales, and seemed meditating with respect to Scotland. The French king therefore made the accidental conflict between the seamen of the two countries, a serious ground of remonstrance and quarrel.¹⁷² He cited Edward to appear in person at Paris, and confiscated all his dominions in Gascony because he disobeyed. This province was invaded by the French king's brother, when the Scottish government was stimulated to attack Edward, and while Wales was still turbulent. Occupied by these important objects at home, Edward was unable to succor Gascony effectually.¹⁷³ Encouraged by this success, Philip also ventured to contest with him

¹⁷⁰ Hailes' Ann. vol. 2. p. 21. He had just completed his sixty-eighth year, and had reigned 34 years and seven months.

¹⁷¹ Wals. 4 & 14.

¹⁷² See before, pp. 76, 7.

¹⁷³ Wals. 25. 27. 35. Rymer, vol. 2. pp. 619. 642-652. The Gascon nobility were not cordially attached to England. Their letter to Edward, in Rymer, p. 168, contains phrases not very submissive.

the predominance in Flanders. Edward made several military expeditions to this country;¹⁷⁴ but here, as in Gascony, the exertions necessary for his Scottish warfare enfeebled his offensive arm. France now fully learnt the use of Scotland to embarrass and divide the martial force of England. The Pope attempted to adjust their differences; but his award was too impartial to be satisfactory.¹⁷⁵ The discussions were at last ended by Edward's withdrawing from Flanders, and Philip's restoring Guienne. A temporary friendship ensued, and Edward married Margaret, the French king's sister, for his second wife.¹⁷⁶

The king of Arragon countenancing the Sicilian insurgents who perpetrated the Sicilian vespers, Charles of Anjou, who had commanded those French invaders that had fallen the victims to his ambition, defied him to a single combat before the king of England, at Bourdeaux.¹⁷⁷ But Edward, with a juster feeling of the duties and moral dignity of the sovereign character, declined to sanction such a duel.¹⁷⁸

Edward had repeated discussions with the Pope, on the taxation of the clergy.¹⁷⁹ He seems to have paid the annual tribute to Rome, which John had

¹⁷⁴ Hem. 147. Wals. 29. 34-41. 48. 56.

¹⁷⁵ The reference to Boniface was made to him, not as Pope, but as a private person. Rymer, vol. 2. pp. 808-819. The papal award was dated 27 June 1298. M. Guillard, in the Mem. Acad. Inscr. v. 74. p. 154, has remarked on the mistatements which historians have given of its contents.

¹⁷⁶ Wals. 44; who remarks, that Edward did no benefit to his kingdom by this marriage. Ib.

¹⁷⁷ See the articles of this intended battle, in Rymer, p. 226.

¹⁷⁸ Edward, in his letter, states, that altho he should gain by it the two kingdoms of Arragon and Sicily, he would not permit such a duel, either in his own dominions, or in any place in which he could prevent it. Rymer, p. 239.

¹⁷⁹ See the numerous bulls and letters inserted by Rymer in his 2d volume.

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commenced.¹⁸⁰ The Pope was at one time extravagant enough to claim the feudal sovereignty of Scotland, as a fief which had always belonged to the church; and Edward condescended to answer a pretension so untrue and so absurd.¹⁸¹ It is visible from all his negotiations with St. Peter's chair, that the English government was projecting the diminution of the papal power in England. It was too firmly rooted, by time and prejudice, to be destroyed in one reign. But the firm and persevering spirit of Edward began that system of measures, which shook its stability, and prepared the minds of the nation for its subsequent abasement.

His internal regulations.

His expulsion of the Jews from England was a sacrifice of his good sense to the vulgar prejudices of his day.¹⁸² If they required exorbitant interest for their loans, or were severe in exacting their legal remedies, they acted in these points as money-dealers, not as Jews, and ought not to have been punished more than the Italian usurers, who were equally extortionate, but were patronized by the law. It would have better suited his wisdom to have discerned the commercial utilities of the Jewish nation, and to have roused his subjects to an imitation of its industry, perseverance, and foreign correspondence. — His measures for preventing the further aggrandizement of the church, for subjecting its property to the general taxation of his people, and for preserving its revenues from foreign incumbents, were honorable

¹⁸⁰ See the acknowledgements given by the Pope to the King on receipt of this money; which Rymer has printed, pp. 107. 208. 267.

¹⁸¹ Walsingham states the Pope's claims and the King's answers, pp. 46–49. He says that the Scots, 'knowing that all things were *venal* at Rome,' bribed the Pope to make his claim, to defeat the ambition of Edward. p. 46. And see Rymer, pp. 844. 873. 883.

¹⁸² See note at the end of this chapter.

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to his sagacity and firmness, and led the way to our great Reformation.—The useful laws which he promoted on the landed property of the kingdom, his improvements in our courts of judicature and jurisprudence, and his conceded tho extorted assent to the popular rights of his subjects, will be obvious to those who study attentively our ancient Constitution and Laws.—His reign may be now closed with the description of his person and habits, from a contemporary, who survived him.

His head spherical; his eyes round, and gentle and dovelike when he was pleased, but fierce as a lion's, and sparkling with fire, when he was disturbed; his hair black and crisp; his nose prominent, and rather raised in the middle. His chest was broad; his arms were agile; his thighs long; his feet arched; his body was firm and fleshy, but not fat. He was so strong and active, that with his hand he could leap into his saddle. Passionately fond of hunting, whenever he was not engaged in war, he amused his leisure with his dogs and falcons. He was rarely indisposed, and did not lose either his teeth or his sight by age. Temperate by habit, he never devoted himself to the luxuries of his palace. He never wore his crown after the day of his coronation, thinking it rather a burden than an honor. He declined the royal garments of purple, and went about in the plain and common dress of a plebeian. Being once asked, why he did not wear richer apparel? he answered with the consciousness of true greatness, that it was absurd to suppose that he could be more estimable in fine, than in simple clothing. No man was more acute in counsel, more fervid in eloquence, more self-possessed in danger, more cautious in prosperity,

Edward's
person and
character.

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more firm in adversity. Those whom he once loved, he scarcely ever forsook; but he rarely admitted into his favor any one that had excited his dislike. His liberalities were magnificent.¹⁸³ To this encomium we may add his affectionate tribute of respect to his mother. Invited to visit the king of France, he had reached Canterbury on his way to it, when he heard that she was afflicted with an illness. He hastened to her at Ambresbury, and sent messengers to excuse himself to the French sovereign.¹⁸⁴

¹⁸³ This is taken from a 'Commemoratio,' addressed to his widow, queen Margaret, and preserved in the Cotton Library, MS. Nero, D.2. The author was John of London.

¹⁸⁴ Wals. Hist. p. 13. The next year she took the veil.

NOTE ON THE JEWS.

AFTER the destruction of Jerusalem on the siege of Titus, the Jews dispersed themselves over the other parts of the world. Many retired into Mesopotamia, and had celebrated academies at Babylon. Bartolucci, *Bib. Rab.* vol. 3. p. 663. Others were settled at Treves and Cologne, in the times of Adrian and also of Constantine, who permitted them to be magistrates and decurions at Cologne. Theodoric let them roof their synagogues at Genoa. Cassiod. 52. Gregory of Tours mentions them in France, where Chilperic endeavored to convert some by force, p. 132; and where they acted as physicians, p. 96; and Adelm. p. 497. Charlemagne found them at Pavia, and is said to have employed one as his ambassador to the Persian king. *Ib.* 405. 416. In Spain, they abounded from such early times, that the Jews of Toledo stated themselves to Alonso VI. to be the descendants of the tribes who had fled from the hostilities of Nebuchadnezzar. Bartol. vol. 1. pp. 7-10. They are noticed as being in Spain in the ancient councils of Elvira and Toledo. Basnage, vol. 4. pp. 1070 to 1078. In the tenth century they were numerous in Bohemia. *Ib.* p. 1085. And their sufferings from some of the crusaders, show their colonies on the Rhine in Germany, in the eleventh century. They became very rich in France, till 1182, when Philip Augustus expelled them, Rigord. p. 166; tho in 1198 he invited them back, p. 199. They were persecuted there again in 1252, Matt. Paris, p. 861; and banished from the French dominions in 1395; from Spain in 1492; from Portugal in 1500; and from Vienna in 1669. They have been also driven from Naples; Bartoloc. vol. 1. pp. 39. 54-82. 720. They consoled themselves amid these sufferings, by believing that they have kings in the farthest parts of the world. Bartol. p. 121. Their kings may be those of imagination, but their nation seems to be every where scattered; and yet the curious fact, that the great Affghan nations in India derive themselves from king Saul, gives some color to their traditions of distant royalty.

In England they have been variously treated. Under the patronage of William the Conqueror, they came into England.

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They were declared to be under the protection of the king; a regulation which preserved them from servitude to others, and made him their liege lord. No one else was allowed to interfere either with their persons or their property. Wilk. Leg. Angl. 203. Henry II. favored them. Before his time, they were obliged to carry their dead to London to be buried. Their place of burial is supposed to have been near Redcross-street. But Henry II. gave them leave to have a cemetery near every city, without the walls, if they could buy one. Hoved. 668. Fromt. 1129. Richard I. was also their friend. He ordered their property to be registered, and directed their contracts to be made before two Jewish lawyers, two Christian lawyers, two registers, and two presiding persons. One copy of the deed was to be kept by the Jewish lender; the other in an official chest with three locks, of which the Jewish lawyers held one of the keys. Hoved. p. 745. John tormented them to extort money.

Henry III. on the whole, protected and encouraged them. Among our ancient rolls of his reign, still preserved in the Tower, we have a safe-conduct for the Jews coming into his kingdom. Cal. Rot. p. 12. He allowed their rabbis to promulgate excommunications against other Jews in England. Ib. p. 23. We find their chief priest presented to the king after his election, and the king assenting to his appointment; and to another, called the Bishop of the Jews, his sacerdotal dignity was, for three marks of gold, restored to him, of which, for certain transgressions, he had been deprived. Ib. p. 29. In the disturbances between Henry III. and his barons, the king received all the Jews of London under his care, that he might protect them from violence, ib. p. 35; and he permitted a Jew to sell the debt of a Christian, which had been forbidden; Cal. Rot. p. 43. He raised various sums of money on them by way of tallage, but not oppressively. See ib. pp. 13. 16. 21. 25. 33, &c. When particular places were incensed against them, he yielded to the local prejudice; and thus granted to the burgesses of Derby, that no Jews should live in that city, p. 32. So at Rumsey, p. 38. But we find several protections granted to the Jews of London and Lincoln, pp. 36, 37. 39. He forbade them to buy lands out of a city or borough, or to devise their tenements to Christians; but they might leave them to Jews. Ib. p. 44. For 5,000 marks he once granted to his brother all the Jews in England, ib. p. 27; and at another time he gave him 6,000 marks "de Judaismo," in aid of his expedition to Palestine, ib. p. 43.

Henry III. took also some trouble for their conversion, and built a house and church for those who were converted. Cal. Rot. p. 44. This church was on the site of the present Rolls chapel in Chancery-lane. It was annexed by patent, in 1377, to the Master of the Rolls by Edward III. and has since continued to be appended to that dignified office. Stow's Survey of London.

Under Edward I. a new policy was adopted towards them; which was the more extraordinary, as the whole kingdom had become more enlightened. Our ancient Chroniclers contain many complaints against their conduct, and especially of their crucifying children in derision of our Saviour. This was so contrary to their interest, that we cannot avoid treating the imputation as a fable. Some instances of their religious zeal and imprudence seem to stand in a less questionable shape. It was ordered that on Easter eve they should keep their doors and windows shut, because they *were accustomed* to mock the Christians on that day. Wilk. Concil. vol. 2. p. 155. There is a legal document of Henry III. still more expressive in its detail, because the charge has all the forms of juridical evidence and examination. A physician at Norwich complained, that as his son, a boy of five years of age, was playing in the streets of Norwich, Jacob, a Jew there, took him up, carried him to his house, circumcised him, wished to make him a Jew, and kept him there a day and a night, till the clamor of the neighbors procured his release. The evidence was, 1st, The boy's visible state, and description of the circumstance: 2d, The officers of the archdeacon, who brought away the boy, and swore that they found him in a state of recent circumcision. Other witnesses appeared. Prynne gives this record in his "Demurrer to the Jews," p. 19. Yet it is material to remark, that the charge was not made till four years afterwards; and this delay, some circumstances of the case, and a variation between the charge and evidence as to finding the boy, the one placing him in the Jew's house, the other stating that he was found wandering near the river after the event, tempt one to suspect some collusion or falsehood in the business. That the Jews, to whom the ecclesiastical plate and ornaments were often pledged as securities for monies borrowed, did not always treat the deposits with Christian respect, may be believed. That they were strict in exacting payment of their loans, may be also admitted. And that there could not be, in that age of fierce passions and prejudices, any cordiality between such Jews and Christians who were sincere believers of their respective faiths; and

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that in this state of mutual hostility, some irritated or foolish Jews may have been occasionally violent and wild, need not be doubted. But all these causes of offence were more likely to have occurred in reigns anterior to Edward I. than in his own; and yet from the beginning of his reign there was a visible disposition to discountenance them.

They were forbidden to sell their debts without leave of the king. Cal. Rot. p. 46. They were ordered not to erect new synagogues. Christians were forbidden to eat with them, or to have them for physicians. And they were ordered to have two woollen tablets, of different colors, two fingers broad and four fingers long, to be sown to their exterior garments, on their breasts, that they might be known from Christians. Wilk. Conc. vol. 2. p. 155. They were ordered not to lend money on usury, but to live by the labor of their hands, or by commerce. Wikes' Chron. Gale Script. vol. 2. p. 103. Their archives were frequently scrutinized, Cal. Rot. pp. 4. 47. 49; and inquisitions were ordered to see if they used the directed distinction in dress, p. 48. We find them at Oxford differing with the vice-chancellor in this reign. Ib. p. 46. In the preceding, the clergy of Oxford had quarrelled with and plundered them, but were imprisoned for the violence. Wikes' Chron. p. 45. We find them mentioned as possessing various houses in Marlborough and Andover, Cal. Rot. p. 49; and they held tenements under lords. Plac. Parl. 98.

We may consider the parts about the present Old Jewry as one of their ancient seats of residence in London, because St. Lawrence in *Judaismo* is mentioned, Cal. Rot. p. 89. St. Alan Upwell is also noticed as in *Judaismo*. Cal. Rot. 92. And as Henry III. gave to a knight the Tower of London, cum *Judaismo*, and the Thames, ib. p. 17, we may infer, that the district near Tower-hill, of which the present Jewry-street is a part, was also their appropriated station.

They were never quite secure in London; for tho Henry III. befriended them, yet even in his reign, in 1263, they were attacked by wilful rioters, who broke into their houses, and, sparing neither age nor sex, slew 400 persons, and seized their wealth: the earl of Leicester permitted a part of the plunder to be given to him. The Chronicler states, that in this abominable massacre neither babes at the breast, nor hoary age, found mercy. Chron. Wikes, p. 60.

Perhaps we cannot have a stronger indication of the popular calumnies, and of the degree of the popular prejudice against

them, than the occurrences in London in 1256. Seventy-one Jews were imprisoned on a charge of crucifying a boy, which twenty-five knights asserted upon oath. The Franciscans, then emerging into note, by their prayers and intercessions liberated them from death. The good-natured public would not refer this act of mercy to the charity of the new order, but suspected that they were bribed to it; and so strong was this persuasion, and so great the popular resentment against the friars for their interference, that the common people refused to give the Franciscans any alms in future—a sentence of death by famine to a new mendicant order then subsisting on the daily bounty they could obtain. Matt. Paris, p. 922.

The first great attack upon them by Edward I. was in 1279, when they were convicted and executed in great numbers for clipping the coin. Wals. 8. Ten years afterwards, the government had determined upon its hostile policy towards them, and therefore, in 1289, Edward expelled them from Gascony. Ib. 15. This was followed in 1290 by their expulsion from England. Ib. A strange, impolitic, and cruel measure, by which one old chronicler had the sense to see that the revenue suffered. Wikes' Chron. p. 122. Another chronicler ascribes it to the queen dowager his mother. Ann. Wav. p. 242. He benefited his own wife from the spoils of this unfortunate people; for in the eleventh of his reign, he gave her all the goods of the Jews that had then been forfeited to him. Cal. Rot. p. 50. But, whatever was its origin, it was an unstatesman-like act, unworthy of Edward I. and not much unlike the Muscovite prejudice, which anciently would not admit them into their country, Rer. Muscovit. p. 127; tho less savage than the conduct of John Basilides, who ordered the Jews whom he met with in his invasion of Poland, that would not be baptized, to be drowned in the Don; Rer. Muscov. p. 282. The expulsion of the Jews from England was the more disgraceful, because countries, at that time more superstitious, permitted their continued residence. As the Annalist narrates the circumstance with a qualifying "*sicut a plerisque vulgariter dicebatur*," we will hope that it was but a rumor, that the Cinque Ports seamen who were to convey them out of the kingdom, "robbed them of their property, and threw them into the sea." Chron. Wikes, p. 122.

When we recollect their massacre along the Rhine in 1096, and in England in the time of Richard I.: and read of their repeated destructions in Germany; in 1221 at Erfurt, Germ. Scrip. Pistor. vol. 1. p. 695; in 1236 at Fulda, when on an accusation of

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their killing Christian boys for their blood, the emperor ordered an inquiry whether Christian blood was a *necessary* part of their passover, to which the official answer was, that *nothing certain* was known on the subject, Ger. Rer. Urtis. p. 91; in 1240 at Frankfort "with fire and sword;" in 1282 at Mentz and other places, Trithem. Chron. p. 291; in 1298 at Nuremberg, and thro all Franconia, Germ. Script. Freheri, vol. 1. pp. 341. 402:—That they were also exterminated from Bavaria, Æn. Sylv. ib. vol. 2. p. 79; that in 1348, 1349 and 1350, they were killed "like cattle," and mercilessly burnt in great numbers at Basle, Friburg, Spire, Wurms, Francfort, Mentz, Alsace, Cologne, and in every part of Germany, Germ. Script. Urtis. pp. 177, 178. 148, 149. 1 Freheri, and 1 Meibom. 285. 444. at which time, because a pestilence ravaged the Continent, they were supposed to have caused it by poisoning all the wells; and at which crisis they found themselves safe no where but at Avignon, where pope Clement VI. defended them, Urtis. p. 147; that in 1391 they were burnt in Gotha, Hist. Germ. Pist. vol. 1. p. 984: and even so late as 1510 in Brandenburg, Trith. Chron. 483:—When we recal to mind that these are only specimens of what they endured in other places, and were for several centuries in perpetual danger of every where suffering, we can hardly persuade ourselves that any remnant of the nation so bitterly persecuted can now be surviving: And yet, such is the extraordinary history and preservation of this unparalleled people, that above a million are now in Poland, Lithuania, and the Austrian dominions; that in 1791 they stated their numbers in France to be above 60,000; that there are 30,000 in Salonica; 22,000 in Amsterdam; 10,000 in Rome; 5,000 at Mantua; 2,500 at Adrianople; that they are spread over various parts of Germany, and through the Turkish empire, and abound even in Georgia and Mount Caucasus; that they are in Ægypt, Morocco, and other parts of Africa; and have, for ages, penetrated to India and China. At Copenhagen, they have an institution for instructing their youth in Hebrew, German, French, geography and natural history; at Brunswick, they have a similar establishment; also at Berlin; and they have even obtained permission to build a synagogue at Vienna, and to open public schools there. The Jewish nation must be astonished to find the two opposite vaticinations of their ancient Prophets *both* so literally fulfilled—That they should be every where scattered, despised and persecuted; and yet, that amid all their sufferings, their race should be preserved and continued,

be ultimately re-assembled. In their state of such oft repeated
 very, their sublime *Isaiah* must as often have afforded them
 the noblest consolation—

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But thou, Israel ! my servant—
 Fear thou not ; for I am with thee ;
 Be not dismayed ;
 For I am thy God.
 I will strengthen thee ;
 Yea, I will uphold thee
 With the right hand of my righteousness.

Fear not, thou worm Jacob !
 And ye men of Israel !
 I will help thee, saith the Lord
 And thy Redeemer, the Holy One of Israel.

Fear not, for I have redeemed thee ;
 I have called thee by thy name ;
 Thou art mine.
 When thou passest through the waters,
 I will be with thee ;
 And through the rivers,
 They shall not overflow thee :
 When thou walkest through the fire,
 Thou shalt not be burned ;
 Neither shall the flame kindle upon thee.

Fear not ; for I am with thee ;
 I will bring thy seed from the East,
 And gather thee from the West :
 I will say to the North, “ Give up ;”
 And to the South, “ Keep not back :”
 “ Bring my sons from afar,
 “ And my daughters from the ends of the Earth.”

ISAIAH xli. & xliii.

CHAP. III.

History of the Reign of EDWARD II. surnamed Carnarvon.

1307—1327.

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II.

IT is because no royal adversity has been more clearly deducible from the personal errors of the sovereign, that the calamities of this reign become one of those historical lessons, by which future ages are benefited. Other examples may teach a king of England what to imitate; but the conduct of Edward II. impressively points out what he must avoid, in order to reign, not merely with honor, but even with personal safety and ordinary comfort.¹

This king acceded to the throne with every political advantage. His father had left that reputation,

¹ We possess on this reign, besides Hemingford and the continuation of Trivetius, five contemporary authors, viz. Trokelowe, De la Moor, Henry of Blandford, the Monk of Malmsbury, and Adam Murimuth. Trokelowe's Annals were printed by Hearne, from the Cotton MSS. Claud. D. 6. They contain a full detail of the first part of his reign, and extend to 1323. He writes as the friend of the barons; and describes himself as having seen the poor dying in the streets in the famine of 1315. p. 35.—Sir Thomas de la Moor was in the king's service, and obviously inclines to favor him. He is not so full as Trokelowe, on Gaveston, but gives a very interesting account of the last part of the reign. He wrote in French. The Latin translation of it is published in Camden's Angl. Norm. p. 593.—Henry of Blandford's Chronicle is a mere fragment of a few years, of which the chief features are, the articles of the truce with Scotland, and the king's accusation of the bishop of Hereford. The Monk of Malmsbury's Life of Edward II. is an important work: it extends from 1307 to the King's death, and adds a few incidents to 1348. He gives the fullest account of Gaveston's death. His work is printed by Hearne, from a private gentleman's MSS. after Trokelowe and Blandford.—Adam Murimuth, a canon of London, has left us a short chronicle, compiled from his diary. He says, that after 1305 he writes from his own eyesight and hearing. It is printed after the continuation of Trivetius.

which always at first sanctifies the son, whatever be his merit; and so much national prosperity had resulted from the general ability of the preceding reign, that the new king had only to allow the political machine, which his father had organized, to continue its operation. The country was improving in trade and cultivation, and in that affluence, which these favorite objects of human pursuit cannot flourish without diffusing. The power of the church was restricted to a more salubrious influence. The barons, tho they had given even the irascible conqueror of Scotland a lesson, that they were not to be oppressed with safety, yet by that effervescence had marked to the future sovereign his true path of domestic policy. Wales was at last flattering itself into good humor, on seeing a king born among its venerated mountains, seated on the throne of Lloegyr. France was in amity. And Scotland, though unquiet wherever Bruce could penetrate or surprise, had been too often subdued, to maintain a perilous warfare against the military power of England, wisely directed. A new reign and a young king are always popular. Thus every thing combined to surround Edward II. with glory, and to promise a reign of peculiar felicity. It would seem to have required no common infatuation to have thrown down any prince from such a pedestal, on which he was as firmly as he was highly exalted. Love, honor, and happiness, seemed to be his natural inheritance. Contempt, degradation, and misery, became his lot.

But no department of human affairs can be conducted prosperously, without some degree of judgment and moral prudence; and Edward II. appears

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The king
recalls
Piers de
Gaveston.

to have been deficient in both. His self-will was passionate, arbitrary, and obstinate. Violent and weak, dissolute and proud, his first action astonished all classes of the community, and his next, alarmed and disgusted them. Before his father's body was interred, this inconsiderate youth, not anticipating or not regarding the inferences that his subjects would make to his own discredit, from an action so illegal and precipitate, caused the chief minister and executor of the late king, a prelate who had the confidence and judgment of his venerable master as the evidence of his official worth, to be arrested and thrown into a dungeon; while he seized his property, without any known cause of complaint but the bishop's friendly endeavors to restrain his follies and too lavish expenditure while he was a prince.² This intemperate action was followed by another, not less obnoxious; the recall of Piers de Gaveston to be his prime favorite and minister; a youth, neither older, nor wiser, nor more regular than himself.

Piers de Gaveston was the son of a Gascon knight; and the late king, pleased with the services of the father, had made the lad a page to the heir-apparent. They were brought up together; and the prince contracted such an undue attachment to his companion, that he forsook the society of all the young nobility for the company of the seducing favorite. Neither the king's commands, nor the persuasions of the great, could separate them;³ and we may judge of their amusements and tendencies,

² Trokelowe, pp. 3, 4. Ad. Murimuth, p. 38. Trokelowe says, that Edward had *long* nourished vindictive feelings against him, for these admonitions. The King's hatred was so violent, that no one, adds the author, 'dared offer a word in his behalf.' Ib.

³ Trokelowe, pp. 4, 5. Walsingham Hist. p. 68.

by observing, that the prince, by Gaveston's counsel, broke into the parks of the late king's treasurer and confidential counsellor, for which Edward banished his son from his presence.⁴ The prince continuing his irregularities, and his young favorite being considered as their cause or promoter, the parliament concurred with the king's wishes for the reformation of the heir-apparent, and banished Gaveston, as the incentive to his misconduct, out of the kingdom.⁵ Gaveston might have been the immediate tempter; but Edward I. was the real corrupter of his son: he surrounded his boyish day with all the pomp of greatness, and with obsequious flattery, at that period of his life, when the character most needs the wise discipline of judicious restraint and simple habits. Soon after the prince was thirteen, his father made him the regent of the kingdom, on departing for Flanders, and some assisting counsellors were appointed to direct him.⁶ But these, in discharging the business of the office, would leave the prince to enjoy all those blandishments and appendages of a splendid court, which the world would be as eager to pay to a paternal idol so prematurely exalted, as the flattered child would be impatient to receive. After such a gratification of boyish vanity, before any judgment existed to counteract its mischief, what benefit could Edward expect that his son could receive from any moral or lettered tuition?

⁴ This is mentioned in a chronicle in Peter Coll. Library, from which Land took the extracts published in his Collect. vol. 2. p. 473.

⁵ The Scala Chronica, written in the time of Edward III. thus mentions the circumstance: 'Peter Gavirston was accusid to the king of many crymes, and as not worthy to be about his sunne, prince Edward, wherapon he was banishid owt of England.' *Lel. Coll.* vol. 2. p. 543. *Mer* gives the oaths that the king exacted from Gayeston, who, on his fall, procured the Pope's absolution from them. *Cont. Trivet.* p. 2.

⁶ *Wals. Hist.* p. 39.

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Good counsel would only seem monkish severity; instruction, pedantry; rebuke, impertinence; and hesitating obedience, even to irregular caprices, presumptuous disaffection. But Edward's personal pride blinded his discretion; and that bosom sin which led him, as much as his policy, to seize the crowns of Wales and Scotland, equally urged him to to invest *his* son, even in childhood, with those ostentatious distinctions which defeated his own hopes and purposes, and severely avenged his persevering and un pitying ambition. The paternal mind that has grown up to greatness amid difficulties and restraints, too often destroys the natural promise of the son, by surrounding him with those indulgencies and distinctions which preclude the formation of active intellect, steady judgment, and moral habits.

The old king's advice on his death-bed, to his successor, to be just and affable to all; to be constant in his words and actions; to be kind to the deserving, and merciful to the distressed; and never to recall Gaveston on pain of a father's malediction—was heard by a mind that was resolved to disobey it; and therefore, before his father's body had reached London, Edward imprisoned the chief minister, and sent to Gascony for his banished favorite.⁷ Continuing to act with all the precipitation of a weak mind, he created him, on his arrival, earl of Cornwall; an honor, then as now, usually reserved for the royal family:⁸ and on departing for France, to

Promotes
him to
great ho-
nors.

⁷ Wals. Hist. p. 39.—Wylliam de Pakington states, that Edward on his death-bed had requested of his favorite lords, that 'they shulld not suffre Peter Gaveston to cum agayne yn to England to sette his *sanne* agayne on ryot.' Lel. Coll. vol. 2. p. 461.—He arrested the minister at Waltham. Hem. 1. p. 244.

⁸ Trok. 5.—The Monk of Malm. notices that the king himself doubted

marry its king's daughter, passing by all the nobles of his court and country, he appointed Gaveston to be its regent in his absence.⁹ The great murmured, and obeyed; but, when they attended, with the regent, to receive Edward on his return from his nuptials, they were disgusted at seeing their sovereign rush publicly into his favorite's arms, and kiss him with a familiarity which produced a general contempt.¹⁰ He called him his brother; he gave him Wallingford, which had been assigned to his queen;¹¹ and suffered him to rule like a second king, to whom none were equal, and whom all were to obey.¹²

Elegant in his person, nice in his manners, and sprightly in his intellect,¹³ Piers lived to shew that the same early greatness which had injured his royal master, had not been more salutary to himself. Instead of reconciling, by prudent courtesies, the minds of the dissatisfied great to his undeserved elevation, he gratified his own vanity, and affronted theirs, by appearing at the coronation in superior splendor.¹⁴ This exhibition would have been soon forgotten; but he proclaimed a tournament at Wallingford, and had the folly to plan an insult to the barons who attended it, which they were the least likely to forgive. He placed on his own side all the young and robust knights, whom entreaty or reward could allure, and

Gaveston's
arrogance;

whether he had the power to confer the honor, and that the larger part of the barons, that is, the parliament, did not consent to it. p. 95.

⁹ Trok. 5.—The Monk of Malm. says it was a 'mira res,' that he who was so lately an exile from England, should now be its governor and keeper. 98.

¹⁰ Trok. p. 5.

¹¹ W. de Pakington's Chronicle. 2 Lel. Coll. p. 461.

¹² Monk of Malm. 95.

¹³ Moor's Vita Ed. II. p. 593.

¹⁴ Moor, 593. And Ad. Murimuth remarks, that surpassing every one in his noble habiliments, he incurred the envy and the hatred of all. p. 39.

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by their numbers overpowered and disgraced the nobles who attempted a competition. He carried off the prizes.¹⁵ His arrogance and wilful insolence increasing with the king's favor, which opposition only stimulated to fresh extravagance,¹⁶ he publicly taunted the first men of the kingdom with contumelious nicknames.¹⁷ His rapacity was also precipitate and undisguised; and what he amassed from the royal treasure, he sent out of the kingdom.¹⁸ The king seemed to rival him in folly; for it is remarked, that if any of the barons entered the royal chamber while Gaveston was there, his smiles and conversation were wholly addressed to the giddy and obnoxious favorite.¹⁹ No grace could be obtained, no business transacted, with the sovereign, but thro him.²⁰ Even the tributes of respect offered by his people, the king did not venture to take without Gaveston's participation and permission.²¹ This

¹⁵ Mon. Malm. 97. Trok. 6.

¹⁶ The Monk of Malmsbury remarks, that the more the great opposed him, the more the king loved him. p. 95.

¹⁷ W. de Pakington thus mentions them: 'calling the counte of Glocestre, cosine to the king, 'Cocolds Byrde;' syr Henry Lacy, earl of Lincoln, 'Boele Crenee;' and syr Gui counte of Warwick, 'Noer Chien d'Arderne:' and he caulled the gentil counte Thomas of Lancastre, the kinges nephew, 'Vielers porceo quil ezt greles et de bel entaile.'" p. 461. —Walsingham also states, that he named Lancaster 'the Stage Player;' the earl of Pembroke 'Joseph the Jew,' because he was pale and tall; and the earl of Warwick, because his complexion was sallow, 'the Black Dog of Arderne,' p. 66.—The continuation of Trivet. says generally, *proceres terræ contemnebat; infestis verbis et minis pomposis eos vilipendebat.* p. 4.

¹⁸ Trokelowe, 6.—The old chronicle of Peter College says, 'Gaveston conveyed the table and tristilles of gold from the tresory of Westminstre, and delyvered them to one Armery of Frisconbaude, to be caryd yn to Gascoyn.' 2 Lel. p. 473.—Hemingford values the treasure sent abroad by Gaveston, at 100,000 pounds, besides gold and precious stones. p. 244.

¹⁹ Mon. Malm. 110.

²⁰ Ib. and Trok. 6.

²¹ Walter de Whytlesee, one of the monks of Peterboro', gives us a remarkable instance of this: When the King, with Gaveston, visited that place, the abbot sent him a cup worth fifty pounds. The king immediately inquired, whether Peter had received any present? and being

absurd prepossession only insured his destruction. In vain the king tried to stem the current of contempt by a public edict, that none should call him Piers Gaveston, but "the earl of Cornwall."²² The respect which insolence forfeits, no authority can extort. The nobles called on the king to convene a parliament, to consider the grievances of the land; and he found it necessary to order that they should not come to it armed.²³ But the resentment of the nation had become too strong for his control. The clergy united with the rest of the public; the barons fortified their castles;²⁴ and the people were visibly disposed to support their leaders. Edward at last, alarmed at his own danger, consented that his favorite should again leave the kingdom. The archbishop threatened an excommunication if he delayed;²⁵ when Edward, resolving that he should not go in disgrace, appointed him viceroy of Ireland, and sent him with a force sufficient to enable him to acquire some military reputation;²⁶ a vain expectation. If he had possessed the judgment that was requisite to gain success in war, he would not have been driven from the English court. His first advantages were succeeded by disaster. He lavished the royal revenues of the country in wasteful expenditure; and

answered in the negative, he refused to accept the gift. The abbot hearing of this, sent to Gaveston a cup of the value of forty pounds, who took it, with a courteous air, and thanks. The messenger then asking the favorite, if the other cup was worthy of the King's acceptance? and being told it was, he mentioned to Peter that it had been refused. Gaveston called his chamberlain, and gave him these orders: 'Go to lord Edward, and tell him that I am willing that he should receive the abbot's present.' The officer carried the rejected cup to Edward with this message, and the King then eagerly took it, and thanked the abbot for his liberality. Wal. Whytt. Cenob. Burg. Hist. p. 171.

²² Mon. Malm. 98.²³ Mon. Malm. 100.²⁴ Plac. Parl. vol. 1. pp. 445 & 447.²⁵ Moor, 593.²⁶ Mon. Malm. 99.

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EDW. II.Marries
the king's
niece.

his Irish government only impoverished his sovereign, and increased the public hatred.²⁷

Edward, with a strange imbecility, pined in his absence, and thought anxiously how to recall him. It was suggested, that if he married him to his own niece, the sister of the earl of Gloucester, the alliance, by connecting him with the royal family, would give him a footing among the nobles of the land, and protect him from their hostility. The project was accomplished; and the barons paused, to see if the new connexion and his late humiliation would change his offensive conduct.²⁸ It is the opinion of an author who lived at the time, and who writes with a considerable degree of feeling on the subject, that if Gaveston had but conducted himself prudently and unostentatiously; or if the king, preserving his attachment to his friend, had but behaved with due consideration to his nobles; their opposition would have ceased.²⁹ But the arrogance and avarice of Gaveston, and the infatuation of his sovereign, continuing, the barons assembled with the commons in parliament, and Gaveston was criminally arraigned.³⁰ He was sentenced to perpetual exile; and it was

²⁷ Mon. Malm. p. 100.—Ad. Murimuth says, that he lived in Ireland royally; was very liberal, and much beloved there. p. 40.

²⁸ Trok. p. 8. That this marriage had the effect of strengthening Gaveston, is the opinion of the Mon. Malm. p. 96.

²⁹ Mon. Malm. 110.

³⁰ The charges against him are stated in the Parliamentary Roll, printed in Plac. Parl. 281. They may be briefly enumerated thus: Badly counselling the king; obtaining his treasure, and sending it out of the kingdom; drawing to himself the royal power and dignity; 'seigneurant' on the king's state; alienating the king from his people; despising their advice; not suffering good ministers to make the law of the land; displacing them, and putting his creatures in their stead; taking the king's lands to himself; giving the crown lands to others; leading the king to war without the assent of his parliament; maintaining robbers, homicides, &c.; sealing blank charters with the great seal, to the deceit and disinheritance of the crown. Parl. Plac. p. 283.

ordered, that if he remained in England, he should be treated as an enemy to the king, to the kingdom, and to the people. Others were punished with him;³¹ and among these, a lady accused of abusing the king's favor, was ordered to her house, and forbidden to approach the court.³²

The parliament now considered it necessary to interfere itself with the administration of the executive government. The barons and the commons passed ordinances, certainly trenching on the royal prerogatives, but occasioned by the previous misconduct. In order to discharge the king's debts, it was enacted, that no grant of lands should be valid without their assent, and that all preceding grants should be recalled. The king was restrained from going out of the kingdom, or making war, without the approbation of the barons in parliament. All evil counsellors were to be removed. The chancellor, chief justice, treasurer, chancellor and chief baron of the exchequer, and other great officers, were to be chosen by him with the advice of his barons in parliament. Various other regulations were added; and it was also declared, that parliaments should be held once in every year, or twice, if need be, and in a suitable place.³³ Some of these provisions were innovations on the royal authority, and imply a strong mistrust of the royal capacity. But the whole tenor of

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EDW. II.

Gaveston
banished.

Ordi-
nances of
Parlia-
ment.

³¹ As, p. 283, 'Emori Friscanbaud,' mentioned in the preceding Note (18.)

³² This was la dame de Vesey, qui ad procure le roi a doner a sire Henri de Beaumont son frere et as autres terres, franchises et baillies, au damage et deshonor du roi et aperte desheriteson de la corone, et ausint procure de maunder hors lettres desouz la targe contre lei et l'ententione du roi. Plac. Parl. 284.

³³ See these Ordinationes at length, from the Parl. Rolls in Plac. Parl. 281-286.

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EDW. II.Gaveston
returns.

Edward's reign too clearly proves the justice of this severe imputation.

Gaveston, unable to confront the storm which he had provoked, withdrew to France. The king of that country ordering him to be seized,³⁴ he retired to Flanders. But a life of difficulty and obscurity was insupportable to a man spoilt by royal favor and courtly luxuries. He suddenly returned to England, and moved from place to place, sometimes secreted in the king's chamber, anxious to emerge into his former splendor, but pursued too vindictively³⁵ to dare it. He tried to obtain an asylum in Scotland, but was refused.³⁶ At last, weary of lying hid like a felon, and trusting to the king's fondness and power, he ventured desperately on a public appearance at court, and was received by Edward with undissembled transport.

The enraged barons assembled again, and the archbishop of Canterbury excommunicated Gaveston. The earl of Lancaster proclaimed a tournament, as a legal pretext for his friends meeting in arms; and every necessary being collected, they moved to York.³⁷ Edward had placed his favorite in the strong castle at Ramburg.³⁸ The Barons dispersed abroad, that there could be no peace in the realm, that the king would have no treasure, nor the queen her becoming honors, nor the great their suitable

³⁴ Trok. p. 9.

³⁵ Among our public records, we still have the writ de scrutando P. G. latitantem in Devon. Cornw. Somers. et Dors. against the form of the ordinances of the nobles and king.—The Monk intimates, that he was sometimes in the king's palace, sometimes at Wallingford, and sometimes in Tintagel castle. p. 117.

³⁶ The Scottish king's answer was, 'How can the king of England keep his treaty with me, if he does not keep his oath to his own liege men?' Mon. Malm. p. 118.

³⁷ Mon. Malm. 119.

³⁸ Th. Moor, p. 593.

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ink and consideration, while Gaveston was alive. They made the earl of Lancaster, a nobleman of the royal blood, their leader; whose father-in-law, on his death-bed, had exhorted him to protect the freedom of the people, the liberties of the church, and to be dutiful to the king, yet to remove from him all bad ministers, and to support Magna Charta and the articles of regulation.³⁹ They presented their petitions to their sovereign, who, refusing all compliance, sailed from York to Newcastle. The barons followed. The king withdrew, with his Peter, to Tinmouth.⁴⁰ The barons soon reached that town; and as they entered, the king, heedless of the tears of his pregnant queen, refused to part with Gaveston, and hurried with him into a ship, and sailed down to Scarborough.⁴¹ The castle was strong, but it had no provisions; and as the barons again advancing, the king was compelled to leave him to his fate, and to withdraw to York.⁴² To save his life, Edward promised to comply with all the petitions of the irritated nobles; and the earl of Pembroke swore to keep him safe till a specified day, that in the interval some negotiations might be entered into for his preservation.⁴³ On the road to Wallingford, with his prisoner, Pembroke rested at the village of Dadington, between Oxford and Warwick. "You are fatigued," said the earl to him, "and need refreshment; I have business; you may remain here till I return;" and left him under the

Taken by
the barons;

³⁹ Trok. p. 13. The dying earl reminded him, that he had already three counties, and with his daughter would have two more; so that Lancaster was now supported by the force of five English counties.

⁴⁰ Trok. 15.

⁴¹ Ib. 16.—Lancaster sent a message of respect and consolation to the queen, but would not visit her, lest that should excite the king's anger to her prejudice. Ib.

⁴² Trok. 17.

⁴³ Moor, 593. Trok. 17.

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care of a slender guard.⁴⁴ At the dawn of day, the earl of Warwick, whom he had called the ‘black dog of Arden,’ came with a small retinue to the village, summoned his chamberlain, and bade him rouse his master from his bed. The alarmed favorite was compelled to obey, and to follow the vindictive earl on foot. His pace being slow, he was placed on a mule, to travel faster; and he was carried in insulting triumph to Warwick, amid sounding horns and a shouting populace.⁴⁵

Pembroke, hearing of this movement, sued for his deliverance, pleading his own oath and danger. Gloucester answered him, that Warwick had acted by the general advice, and that he must abide the chances of his own peril. Pembroke then went to Oxford, soliciting the clergy and citizens there to aid him in recovering Gaveston. They declined to interfere; and Warwick announced to Peter, that he must die that day. Humbled and trembling, he threw himself at the earl of Lancaster’s feet, exclaiming, “Generous earl! pity me.” But his previous sarcasms had blunted the earl’s compassionate feelings. The only answer he received was the stern and vindictive command, “Take him away! take him away!” and he was led into the earl’s county, that the meditated violence might be committed in the territory of a nobleman, whose power and relationship to the crown might best confront its future indignation. He was there delivered to two Welshmen. One stabbed him, the other severed his head. His death was not believed till the head was exhibited. The barons then dispersed; and some friars

Killed by
the earl of
Lancaster’s com-
mand.

⁴⁴ Mon. Malm. 120. Trok. 17.

⁴⁵ Mon. Malm. 121. Moor, 590. and Trok. 17.

coming from Oxford, removed the body, to be buried in that city.⁴⁶ A deed like this, whatever may have been Gaveston's demerits, was a foul and revengeful murder; and Lancaster lived to experience the severe retaliation, which the wilful shedding of human blood usually produces.⁴⁷

Piers Gaveston is described to have had some interesting qualities,⁴⁸ which might have made him useful both to the king and people, if he had not been ruined by courtly pomp, and been seduced, by the king's womanish fondness, to an absurd and childish arrogance.⁴⁹ As the nation was becoming too fierce and warlike, from the martial spirit and ambition of Edward I. the elegant accomplishments of Gaveston were adapted to soften and civilize the public manners; and, from the six years continuance of his power, probably left some serviceable impressions on the court and nation. His death, from the general dissatisfaction which his own foolish humors had excited, was received with much popular exultation, tho it appears to have astonished many at the bold-

⁴⁶ Mon. Malm. 121-124.. Moor, 593. Ad. Murim. 44.

⁴⁷ The reflection of the Monk of Malmsbury on his death, is remarkable for that age: 'Let the English courtiers beware, lest, trusting to the king's favor, they should despise the barons (the Parliament). These are a principal member of the kingdom, without whom the king can attempt or execute nothing great. Hence they who undervalue the barons, despise the king, and show themselves guilty of treason.' Mon. Malm. p. 124.

⁴⁸ The Scala Chronica says of him, that at first he was 'noble, liberal and gentil, in summe fascions.' 2 Lel. 545. And Ad. Murimuth, having intimated that he was much loved in Ireland, adds, 'for he was splendid and bountiful in giving presents, and in procuring honors and lands for his adherents.' p. 40.

⁴⁹ The Monk of Malmsbury solemnly asserts, 'I believe and firmly declare, that if Peter had from the beginning conducted himself, towards the great, prudently and respectfully, none of them would have opposed him.' p. 110. What a lesson to pride, and to favorites! But perhaps before any man can become a *favorite* of a prince, both must be equally unworthy. Judicious friendship is honorable and beneficial to the throne; favoritism implies imbecility.

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ness of the crime. It was a new thing thus to brave the power and provoke the resentment of a king of England, not only by rebellion, but by destroying his chosen favorite.⁵⁰ It brought the king and the parliament again to a measured trial of their strength; and the issue must have been critical to English liberty, if the cause of the quarrel had been less universally unpopular.

The king's
indigna-
tion.

The king was with reason indignant at the catastrophe, and at the breach of faith which had accompanied it.⁵¹ Some counselled him to moderate measures; but the friends of Gaveston, of whom Hugh le Despenser was one, stimulated him to revenge. He called out his knights to arms, garrisoned his castles, collected his archers, assembled his military force, and then summoned the barons to parliament. They came to London, like men prepared to encounter hostility. Lancaster appeared with 1,000 knights and 1,500 foot; Hereford with a host of wild Welsh savages; Warwick with all his men of Arderne; and the other barons with the greatest power they could collect. Such a parliament was too formidable to be attacked. The barons did not go immediately to the king, but sent to announce their coming, and to inquire the cause of their being convened. The earl of Gloucester interfered as a

⁵⁰ The Monk of Malmsbury remarks, 'In killing Peter, an arduous enterprise was undertaken; nor has any thing like it happened in our days. They killed the great count, whom the king adopted to be a brother, loved as a son, and made his friend and companion. It was therefore necessary that he should be great, who could defend such a deed. Hence Thomas earl of Lancaster, as nobler and more potent than all, took on himself the peril, and ordered Peter, after being thrice banished, to be killed.' p. 124.

⁵¹ Ad. Mur. thus describes the king's feelings: 'The King remained tranquil, but dissembling; vexed at the death of Gaveston, and meditating a revenge, which, when the opportunity afterwards came, he did not spare.' p. 45.

mediator. They disclaimed all intention of disrespect to the king, but avowed their suspicion of his advisers. Edward at last desired to know their wishes. They answered, the confirmation of the ordinances, and his remission of all penalties for Gaveston's death. The king assented to the pardon, on the condition that his late favorite was not adjudged to be a traitor. They replied, that this exception would leave them exposed to legal prosecution. The king would not concede farther; and the barons, perceiving that he sought by protraction to exhaust them by their expenses, withdrew to their homes.⁵³ Edward went to France, on the invitation of its sovereign, to be present at the festivities on the investiture of the king of Navarre with the military belt.⁵⁴ The quarrel with the barons was at last terminated; and the next great incident of this reign was the calamitous battle of Bannockburn, which closed the reign of Bruce with glory, and astonished England with an unexpected defeat.

Edward, instead of leading to Scotland the forces which his father had so anxiously collected for its subjection, abandoned the invasion. He attempted afterwards an ineffectual incursion. But in 1313, when Robert Bruce had taken Edinburgh and was

⁵³ This detail is given with much probable minuteness by the Mon. Malm. 125-134. He seems to have penned down his narration and reflections at the very time, for he adds soon afterwards, on the king going to France, 'May God bring him back safe!—Lo, our king has now reigned six years, and yet has done nothing hitherto worthy of either praise or remembrance, except that he has married royally, and obtained an heir to his kingdom.' p. 135.

⁵⁴ Mon. Malm. 134.—In 1312, Edw. III. was born at Windsor Moor, 593.

⁵⁵ Some of the records of the king's pardons for Gaveston's death are in the Rotul. Parl. pp. 74-76. The Monk of Malmsbury here gives an effusion of his contemporary feelings, for he suddenly exclaims, 'Mightiest God! remove all false and perfidious men from our Sovereign.' p. 140.

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}

besieging Stirling, he resolved on a powerful aggression. He summoned his barons to attend him: they answered, that parliament ought to be first assembled. The king declared the necessity to be urgent: they replied, that if they accompanied him to the war without the assent of parliament, they should violate the ordinances. The king preferring, as usual, prerogative to policy, commanded their services. To avoid his vindictive measures many went, but some only sent their forces.⁵⁵

Battle of
Bannock-
burn.

He marched in great power to Scotland, and with moderate good conduct must have been irresistible. It is interesting to observe how superior power can be defeated by superior intelligence. Bruce, whom even his enemies praise,⁵⁶ met the peril like a consummate general. He could not hope to beat the English cavalry, and therefore did not attempt it.⁵⁷ He dismounted all his own horse, and formed his forces into an army of foot. They were about 40,000 men. He divided them into three bodies; none on horseback. Each man wore a light armor, which a sword could not easily pierce; battle-axes were at their sides, and lances in their hands. He compacted them into a thick mass, a bristled hedge,⁵⁸ like the Macedonian phalanx, which from its union and solidity was impenetrable. To secure them from the first assault of the English cavalry, he employed the night in digging ditches along his line, from

⁵⁵ Mon. Malm. 144-146.

⁵⁶ The Monk says, 'I should praise Robert Bruce, if his being guilty of homicide and treason did not make me silent.' 107.

⁵⁷ Trokelowe says, the battle of Falkirk had taught the Scotch the inferiority of their horse. p. 25. The Scala Chronica observes, that the recent victory of the Flemings over the French at Courtray, had given Bruce an example, that cavalry might be defeated by infantry. 2 Lel. 547.

⁵⁸ Mon. Malm. 149. Trok. 29.

right to left, three feet deep and broad, which he covered with hurdles strewed with turf, strong enough for his foot to pass over, but weak enough to break under the weight of a horse.⁵⁹ In a reconnoitring skirmish, on the day preceding the great conflict, he had the advantage, and displayed his personal strength and valor; and his success alarmed the English into a belief that he meditated a night attack. This conjecture kept them watching; and the day happening to be a festival, they passed the night in carousing.⁶⁰ In the morning, the veteran chiefs advised the king, on account of the fatigue of a sleepless night and the effects of their festivity, to defer the battle till the morrow. The younger men derided the counsel. The earl of Gloucester enforced it. The king had the weakness to call him a traitor for his prudence. "You shall see to-day," he indignantly answered, "that I am neither a traitor nor a coward."⁶¹

The English were formed in three lines, one, of their knights, another their infantry and archers, the third with the king and clergy. Bruce refreshed his troops with bread and wine,⁶² and harangued them on topics calculated to increase their resolution.⁶³ He placed himself in the front of the army

24 June
1314.

⁵⁹ Moor, 594.

⁶⁰ Moor says, there were vino madentes, wassaile and drinkehaile, plus solito intonantes. p. 594.

⁶¹ Mon. Malm. 149.

⁶² Ib.—Moor describes them as 'burning with the love of liberty and their country.' p. 594.

⁶³ Barbour indulges his eloquence on this speech, l. 12. pp. 129-133. His topics are judicious—

The fyrst is, that we haiff the rycht,
And for the rycht, ay God will fycht.

His next was, that the English had brought

- - - - - rycht till our hand
Ryches into sa gret quantite
That the powerest of yow sall be

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on foot, that his example might prevent any one from thinking of flight.⁶⁴ He felt the greatness of the moment, and his soul was equal to the emergency.

The tumult of battles is so great, the events so rapid and various, and they are seen from such different points of view, that several accounts of the same conflict will be often dissimilar to each other. Hence the battle of Bannockburn is told with different circumstances by the Scotch and English writers.⁶⁵ The main incidents in the latter are, that the English knights began the struggle with the sun shining on their gilt shields and burnished helms, instead of waiting till noon, when the radiance would have turned to their right.⁶⁶ That the earl of Gloucester, impatient of the king's taunt, advanced to meet the body under Douglas too eagerly, to have the credit of the first blow; that his horse being killed, he fell, and, from the weight of his armor, could not rise unassisted. That his knightly companions, astonished at his disaster, hesitated,⁶⁷ and one only, who had fought in Germany, seeing the king about to retreat, cried out, that he was not used to fly,⁶⁸ and, letting go the king's bridle, which he

Bath ryche, and mychty tharwithall,
Giff that we wyne, as weill may fall.

His third point was,

The thred is, that we for our lyvys,
And for our childre and for our wyvis;
And for ovr fredome, and for our land,
As strenyeit into bataill stand. p. 130.

⁶⁴ Trok. 26.

⁶⁵ Barbour's account is in the last part of his twelfth and the beginning of his thirteenth book. Lord Hailes for the most part adopts it; vol. 2 pp. 45-49.

⁶⁶ Moor, 594.

⁶⁷ Mon. Malm. 149, 150.

⁶⁸ Scala Chron. p. 547. This was Sir Giles Argentyr.

was holding, rushed to the earl's succor, but was overpowered and killed.⁶⁹ That the English cavalry, also charging on the Scots, the horses stumbled on the treacherous turf, and threw their riders on the Scottish lances. That the second line increased the evil ; for, seeing the enemy rush on, they discharged their arrows, which fell on the unarmed backs of the struggling English knights ; and that, alarmed at the general confusion, Edward was advised to quit the field.⁷⁰ A gleam of his father's spirit seems at this moment to have lightened in his feeble soul ; for it is added, that, in a state of fury at the disaster, he rushed on the Scots like a lioness robbed of her whelps, till he was carried off by his knights, who saw that he was in danger of being taken.⁷¹

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The defeat was irretrievable. At the sight of the royal banner quitting the field, the army dispersed in a panic. Resistance was at an end. Flight, pursuit, and destruction ensued. The king vowed to the Virgin, that if he got safely away, he would build a convent for the poor Carmelites ;⁷² and he sought to take refuge in an adjoining castle, but the draw-bridge was raised against him, and he was compelled to pass on. This refusal was deemed a treason, but proved to be his preservation ; for if he had made this asylum, he would have been taken. Repulsed here, this degenerate son of a magnanimous father, onward with the younger Spenser, reached

Defeat
of the
English.

Mon. Malm.—Barbour notices this incident, l. 13. p. 156.

door, 594.

Brokewell mentions this circumstance, p. 27 ; and the Scala Chronica, ' The King in chafe foute sore, and had his horse paunched, got another.' p. 547.

door, 594. ' To this vow, Oriel college in Oxford owes its establishment.' Hailes' Annals, 2. p. 49.

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Dunbar, and there, getting into a ship, sailed precipitately to Berwick.

No defeat could be more disgraceful. The knights, throwing off their armor, fled half naked over the country, and were pursued for fifty miles.⁷³ The slaughter was proportionably great. The Scots took baggage to the value of 200,000 pounds, and a great number of noble captives, whose ransoms made them affluent.⁷⁴ Bruce distinguished himself for his humanity to the prisoners. He distributed the spoil with magnificent liberality; and by this brilliant success completed the independence of Scotland, and the security of his hard-earned throne.⁷⁵

The remainder of Edward's reign was a repetition of the errors of its commencement. Hugh de Spenser, who had been in the train of Gaveston, became another favorite, and succeeding to his influence, and untaught by his catastrophe, adopted his follies and misconduct. The king became again at variance with his barons; and Spenser and his father were the objects of the popular animosity.⁷⁶ They

⁷³ Mon. Malm. 151.

⁷⁴ The earl of Gloucester would not have been killed, but that he went into the field without his 'toga propriæ armaturæ,' and therefore was not recognized. Moor, 594.

⁷⁵ Trokelowe, 28. The Latin rhymers of this period, Robert of Baston, composed two poems on the Scottish wars; the one containing 28 and the other 66 quatrains of Latin rhyme: These are in the Cotton Library, Titus A. 20.

⁷⁶ A singular mode was used to apprise the king of the public discontent: 'As he was dining in Westminster-hall, a woman entered it on horseback, dressed like the minstrels, and, going round the table in their manner, presented to the king a letter, and, turning her bridle, departed. The porters were blamed for admitting her; they alleged, that it was not the king's custom to refuse admission to minstrels at his festivities. She was pursued and taken, and owned that a knight had employed her. The knight being questioned, told the king, that he had taken that course to apprise him that he was neglecting the knights who had served so faithfully both his father and himself, and was enriching others who had not borne the burthen of the day.' Trok. pp. 39, 40.

fell its victims, but not till the great leader of the barons, the earl of Lancaster, had preceded them to the tomb.

This potent and applauded nobleman ruined his popularity by his conduct at the siege of Berwick. In 1319, the Scots made a bold irruption into Yorkshire, to surprise the queen. They missed that booty, but Berwick was betrayed to them. The king advanced to recover it; but Lancaster suddenly withdrawing with his forces from the royal camp, the king failed in his attempt, and the Scots reached their homes unhurt. A great national clamor arose at this event, and public rumor said, that the earl had been bribed by Bruce with 40,000 pounds to favor his escape. Other accounts refer the secession of Lancaster to his resentment at the king's announcing his intention to make the obnoxious Spenser the governor of the city. There can be no doubt that the king's friends industriously kept up the outcry of treachery, for it was their interest to do so; but the manner in which the Monk of Malmsbury speaks of it, shews that this opinion became the public sentiment.⁷⁷ The earl, alarmed at the general feeling against him, went to the king, and offered to purge himself from the imputation, by the hot iron, or by battle. His purgation was admitted, but his popularity was gone. He was now unexpectedly lowered to the level of his enemies attack.

It was the continued character, and the defect of the king's mind, to form an attachment to his favorites, that seemed to his subjects like an enchantment; and this unlimited power over their sovereign,

C H A P.
III.

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EDW. II.

The earl of
Lancaster
becomes
unpopular.

1320.

⁷⁷ He utters a series of indignant apostrophes against the earl, as if he believed the charge. pp. 198, 199.

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fostered in them a spirit of arrogance, and an expression of disdain towards others, which English barons would not brook. The nobles found themselves denied access to their sovereign by the younger Spenser, or received, thro him, in reply to their applications, harsh and adverse answers.⁷⁸ Their general discontent united them into a vindictive confederacy; and as in that age the great were always in the attitude of warfare, they directed their military retainers to attack the estates of the minister's father, in Wales and the Marches; they destroyed his woods, and plundered his moveables; and threatened so fiercely the lives of both the Spensers, that they thought it necessary to evade the storm by flight. The barons met in parliament at Westminster; and the king was compelled to assent to the banishment of his favorite.⁷⁹

The Spensers
banished.

1321.

An insult to the queen, which made the barons unpopular, restored the king's power. Approaching a castle of one of the confederated nobles, she was refused permission to pass the night there. This disrespectful rudeness roused the yet chivalrous feelings of the age; and knights and forces assembled round the king in sufficient number, to enable him to take the castle, and to proceed afterwards thro various parts of the country, apprehending some of the opposing barons, and recovering the submission of others. He sent his captives to the Tower; and

⁷⁸ Ad. Mur. p. 55. Moor, p. 595. He says candidly, 'I confess these errors in Hugh, but not as the vulgar talked of them, who studied by their fictions to show greater crimes, and to make their bad actions worse than they were.'

⁷⁹ Moor, 595.—Pakington describes the elder Spenser as cursing his son as the cause of his disgrace; and the younger as robbing on the sea during his exile, and taking out of two ships, about Sandwich, goods to the value of £.40,000. p. 463.

in a subsequent parliament, procured a revocation of the exile of the Spensers.⁸⁰

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The king advancing in strength against the Northern chieftains, they found themselves unable to withstand him. The question of submission was discussed. It was urged with reproach against Lancaster, that he might submit with safety, because, being a prince of the royal blood, he would find easy grace; but that to them, loss of life, liberty, or property, must be the consequence of surrender. The earl of Hereford, yielding, against his judgment, to their feelings, attempted a battle with the royal troops. The lance of a crafty Welshman, thrust suddenly up a crevice in the bridge on which Hereford was standing, pierced his bowels. The defeat of his friends quickly followed his disaster. Lancaster, and ninety-five of the chief barons, baronets, and knights, were taken.⁸¹ His consanguinity to the crown was no protection against the king's resentment: he was treated as contemptuously as he had behaved to Gaveston.⁸² Eighteen of his friends were drawn and quartered, the rest banished or imprisoned.⁸³ He was carried to Pomfret, underwent the form of a hasty trial, without the opportunity of defence, and was hurried, with every mark of disrespect, to a scaffold.⁸⁴ Power, feeling too strongly

Lancaster
taken and
killed.

⁸⁰ Moor, 595.—Trokelowe remarks, that the affair of the castle hurt the cause of the barons. p. 52.

⁸¹ Moor, 596. 'And then wente Thomas Lancastre into a chapel denying to rendre hymself to Härkeley, and said, looking on the crucifix, 'Good Lord, I rendre myself to the and put me into thy mercy.' W. Paking. Chron. p. 464.

⁸² 'Then they toke off his cote armoires, and put on hym a ray cote or gowne, one of his mennes lyveryes, and caried hym by water to York, were they threw balles of dyrte at hym.' Pak. Chron. 464.

⁸³ Pak. Chron. 465.

⁸⁴ Pakington has preserved a few circumstances of his fate. 'On his

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what it is able to accomplish, is apt to consider too little how much only it is prudent to attempt. The capture of Lancaster afforded to the crown an opportunity of displaying a wise spirit of liberal conciliation, that would have increased the humiliation of its enemy, and have strengthened itself. By destroying him, the government gave a sympathy and a sanctity to his memory, which made his death a formidable evil. The mount on which he suffered, became a consecrated place; and a military force was necessary to keep off the popular veneration.⁸⁵

Edward appointed the elder Spenser earl of Winchester, and the younger, earl of Gloucester, and attempted an invasion of Scotland. Aware of his superior force, the Scots retreated beyond their firths, destroying all the provisions of the country, which they evacuated. Want of food, forced the king to retire. The Scots warily followed him by secret night marches, and made a bold attempt to surprise his camp. The king, ignorant of their vicinity, had scarcely time to escape, and his army was dispersed. His pursuers spread themselves over Yorkshire, ravaging it with fire and sword, and returned home laden with booty.⁸⁶

hasty judgment, he said, 'Shaul I dy withowt answer.' Then a certayne Gascoyne toke hym away, and put a pillid broken hatte or hoode on his hedde, and set hym on a lene white jade withowt bridil, and he than cryed thus, 'King of Heven, have mercy on me, for the king of herth nous ad querpi.' And thus he was caryed, sum throuing pelottes of dyrt at hym, and having a frerer precher for his confessor with hym, on to a hylle withowte the toune, where he knelid doune toward the Este, ontylle one Hughin de Muston caussid hym to turne his face toward Scotlande, where kneling, a villayne of London cut of his hedde.' 11 Cal. Ap. 1321. Chron. p. 465.

⁸⁵ In Pakington's Chronicle, was 'A chapitre of the Miracles that men sayde that God wrought for Thomas a Lancastre.' 'And for resorte of people to the monte where Thomas was beheddid, Baldok the chauncelar caussid 13 Gascoynes well armed to watch the hille a certen tyme.' p. 466.

⁸⁶ Moor, 596.

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III.REIGN OF
EDW. II

1323.

Conspi-
racy
against
the king.

The Spensers, continuing to strike down their enemies, confiscated the property of the bishop of Hereford, as an alleged supporter of Mortimer, one of the revolting barons. The prelate is described as a man of great worldly sagacity; daring; heedless of the means by which he reached his ends; and now provoked to a settled hatred, both of the sovereign and his minister. He applied himself to revive the party of the barons. They found the royal favor still unattainable, but thro the channels of the Spensers, whose ambition and rapacity so much increased with their power, that it was remarked, that England had three kings instead of one.⁸⁷ The favorites even ventured to abridge the state and luxuries of the queen. Their insolence, and the king's preferring attachment to them, filled her breast with contempt and hatred for her husband. The pride of the only daughter and presumptive successor of the king of France was deeply wounded, to find herself married to a man who grudged her the expenditure to which she had been accustomed; and who subjected his queen to be, like a handmaid, dependent on the bounty of his favorites. She entered deeply into the counsels of the disaffected. She was advised, by the subtle bishop, to seek a fair occasion of going to France, and of planning with her brother the destruction of the Spensers. The king had meditated the journey, to appease the subjects of discord that were rising between the two countries; but his ministers, equally afraid of being left in England with-

⁸⁷ We have an instance of the Spensers' violence, on the Parliam. rolls: As a knight was standing in the cathedral at Lincoln, the younger Spenser came up to him, and, because he had arrested one of the minister's household, struck him so fiercely in the face with his fist, that the blood followed. The knight drew his sword; but further consequences were prevented, and the matter came before parliament. p. 352.

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EDW. II.Queen's
visit to
Paris.

out him, and of accompanying him to France, where they would be in the power of the queen's brother, dissuaded him from going. Her blandishments at last persuaded him to let her be the negociator. She went to Paris; and he established himself, during the spring and summer, on the nearest sea coast of England, to receive her letters and expresses more quickly.⁸⁸

The king of France, on the pretence of Edward's disobedience to his summons for homage, had begun to seize his French possessions. After the visit of the English queen, her brother proposed to invest her son with the disputed territory, if his father would resign it to the young prince, and send him to do fealty for it. Edward was advised to take his son over with him, and not to trust him to French duplicity. The interest of the Spencers again urged them to keep the king in England; and the young Edward was sent to France with the required cession, where he did homage to his French uncle, and received the possession of the Duchy of Aquitaine.⁸⁹

1325.

The king now desired the queen to return with her son. She pleaded her brother's kindness, or compulsion, as an excuse for her protracted stay. Mortimer had escaped from the Tower,⁹⁰ joined her councils in France, and was suspected of an unbecoming intimacy. Instead of revisiting England, she went to Hainault, and, without waiting for the king's permission, or the assent of parliament, she

⁸⁸ Moor, 597.⁸⁹ Ibid.⁹⁰ His escape is thus described by Henry de Blandford: In the middle of a stormy night, having lulled his keepers by a banquet, in which a sleeping-draught was administered, finding the chamber-door secured with many fastenings, he broke thro the wall into the kitchen; he got out at the top of that, and by cords made into a sort of ladder, provided by his friends, he descended, reached the Thames, obtained a boat, and, sailing boldly out to sea, landed on the Continent. H. Blandf. p. 84.

contracted for her son a marriage with Philippa, the daughter of its duke. She levied there an army from Hainault and Germany, whom she paid out of the dowry of the bride, and making the count of Hainault, and Mortimer, its commanders, she sailed adventurously to England, and landed, about Michaelmas, at Orwell, on the Suffolk coast.⁹¹

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EDW. II.

She lands
in England.

Invasions like these are never dangerous, unless where extensive discontent pervades a country, and has excited a desire of change. The sentiment of loyalty, then, having ceased, its practice becomes a subject of individual policy and public dispute, generally prevailing only while law has power. The conscientious, always the minority, become neutral; and the moderate, usually the least active, give way to the impetuous, the turbulent, and the enterprising. Ministers, misled by a confidence in their apparent strength, neglect the only true foundation of their safety, the diminution of their unpopularity, by a removal of its causes. In the present case they had relied on the command of the executive sword, and saw the increase of the public displeasure with proud contempt or obstinate incredulity. The progress of the queen dispersed their delusion. Disaffection spread with contagious activity, and magnified her force; tales, that the Pope had absolved all the king's subjects from their loyalty, and excommunicated her opposers, spread largely before her;⁹² every one pursued his own inclinations, and the high and the low, the clergy and the barons, eagerly joined her in all parts. The king and his

⁹¹ Moor, 598.

⁹² Ib. In confirmation of this falsehood, two cardinals were said to be accompanying the queen. Ib.

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ministers in this important hour of trial found no friends. The elder Spenser flew to Bristol Castle, as his refuge; and the younger accompanied Edward to Chepstow, hoping to reach the fertile and well stored isle of Conday in the Severn, where a defensive station might be made,⁹³ from its impregnable position; but the adverse winds precluded approach; and the king, driven by the tempest to the coast of Glamorgan, projected to take shelter in the Abbey of Neath. The queen's pursuit was unintermitted. Her army, continually increasing, passed from Oxford to Gloucester; while the citizens of London rose into insurrection against the king's friends, seized the Tower, liberated its prisoners, beheaded the bishop of Exeter who had espoused the royal cause, and committed the usual excesses of a tumultuary movement.⁹⁴

From Gloucester she proceeded to Bristol, where the elder Spenser surrendered speedily to her summons. She gratified her cruel revenge, by his torture and death. Advancing to Hereford, she rested there a month, and sent one part of her forces, under the earl of Lancaster, son of the preceding earl, and a Welshman, to seize the king and his adherents. They found them at Neath Abbey. The king was taken and conveyed to Kenilworth Castle, where he was served all the winter, with a ceremony suited to

⁹³ Moor describes it as two miles in diameter, of fertile pasture, abounding in rabbits, pigeons, and with fresh water. It had only one entrance, which was so narrow, that two men, with their feet close together, could hardly pass it. The rest of its circuit was inaccessible rock. It was well provided, as if in anticipation of some disaster, with all sorts of provisions. p. 599.

⁹⁴ Moor, 599.—Pakington, after noticing the bishop's violences which had excited it, adds, that they buried him and his two esquires 'yn the hepe of rubusche aboute his toure, as they had ben dogges. And no marvel; for he was fumisch and without pite.' p. 468.

his dignity. The younger Spenser was executed with the loathsome ceremonies then accompanying treason; and many of his supporters suffered by imprisonment and death.⁹⁵

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The rapid success of the queen and her partisans, announce the universal discontent of the nation at the administration which had preceded. A parliament was held in London, which ordered, that on the part of the whole kingdom, three bishops, two earls, two abbots, four barons, two knights of every county, and two burgesses of the cities and county towns and cinque ports, should repair to Kenilworth, where the king was confined. The bishops outstripped the others, and, by threats and persuasions, strove to persuade the king to resign his crown to his son. After many promises that he should continue to receive the same royal respect, and many bursts of vexation and resentment, the agitated prince assented. The other deputies had then assembled, and were introduced. The king came out of his inner apartment, clothed in a black gown, but was so overcome by his feelings, that he fell senseless on the floor. They raised him and brought him back to life and recollection; and the prelate of Hereford mentioned the purpose for which they attended, adding, that on his refusal to surrender the diadem to his son, they would choose another sovereign. The king, with tears, expressed his grief that his people should be so exasperated against him as to be weary of his reign; but at last consented that his son should be substituted for him. The deputies

⁹⁵ Moor, 600.—They put on Spenser and the chancellor's heads 'chapelettes of poignante netles: and this writing was sette on Spenser's briste, in greate lettres, 'Quid gloriaris in malitia? Qui potens est in iniquitate.' Pak. 468.

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then, by one of the knights, in the name of the whole kingdom, renounced their fealty and allegiance to him, and the steward of his household, breaking his rod, resigned his office, and discharged his retinue.

Parliament being again assembled, confirmed the resignation, and raised the young prince, then eleven years old, to the crown, by the title of Edward III. A dower was assigned to the queen, so ample, that scarcely one-third of the royal income was reserved for the new sovereign. One hundred marks a month was allotted for the deposed king's expences, and he was consigned to the care of the earl of Leicester.⁹⁶

The king had all the indulgences which, in his recluse situation, the attentions of the earl could give. But his reflections must have been severe, for, before the English would have suffered the son of their Edward I. to have been deposed, great must have been that son's misconduct, and hopeless his amendment. He lamented bitterly that neither his wife nor children came near him.⁹⁷ His plaintive exclamations interested the earl and his family; but on being communicated to his alienated queen, tho they did not excite her sympathies, they alarmed her by their visible impression on others, and she is charged with combining with the bishop of Hereford to plan his destruction. Two knights, Gorney and Maltravers, were selected as fit instruments to accomplish their base purposes, and were empowered to receive him from the earl of Leicester, and to carry

⁹⁶ Moor, 600, 601.—In one part of this reign, an impostor of low condition attempted to take advantage of the king's unpopularity, by pretending to be a son of Edward I. *Lel. Coll.* vol. 2. pp. 473. 462.

⁹⁷ Ad. Murimuth mentions, that she sent him delicate garments and soothing letters, but pretended that the Commons would not let her visit him. p. 70.

him where they thought most proper, and to treat him as they pleased. They conducted him from Kenilworth to Corffe Castle, then to Bristol, where he was kept till the citizens showed some disposition to liberate him and send him abroad. This desire being known to his keepers, they conveyed him in the silence of the night to Berkley Castle. Anxious for his death, but dreading to produce it by violent means, which would revolt the public sensibility, they strove to harass him into disease by the most cruel and contumelious treatment: they made him ride thinly clad, and with uncovered head, that the severity of the season might affect him; they prevented him from sleeping, when exhausted nature sank into repose; they gave him unsuitable food, and contradicted all his wishes—that by watchings, by cold, and perpetual mortifications, they might hurry him to a premature grave.⁹⁸

Pursuing this plan of crafty villany, they made him a crown of straw, and ironically saluted him with “Fare forth, sir King.” To avoid meeting any of his friends, they turned towards the marshes on the Severn; and to prevent his being recognized, they resolved that his head and beard should be shaved. They stopped him on a small hillock for this purpose, and brought some dirty water out of a neighboring ditch. The king, weeping profusely at the coarse indignity, exclaimed, that he would have warm water, tho from his own tears.⁹⁹

⁹⁸ Moor, 602.

⁹⁹ Ib. 602.—In justice to the king's understanding, we may suppose, not that he shed tears to produce the warm water which he required, but that the tears occurring from his vexation at the indignity, he felt that they would answer his purpose. Moor says, that he had his account after the great pestilence, from William Bishop, who was one of the attendants of the king's tormentors.

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Secured at Berkley, his unworthy queen renewed her consultations with the prelate. Their scheme of contumelies had not answered. But the safety, not only of themselves, but of so many others, was now involved in the king's death, that his life was contemplated with all the impatience of alarmed and conscious guilt. Reproachful letters were sent to his keepers, for behaving to him too delicately. As the bishop knew that they dared not to proceed to the last violence without a written authority, he sent them an ambiguous order, which they interpreted as he wished.¹⁰⁰ They forbid the lord of the castle, who was disposed to treat Edward courteously, to have any more access to him, and the nobleman quitted the place in disgust. They shut their sovereign up in a loathsome chamber, hoping that the foetid exhalations would destroy him; but the king, reaching a window, cried out to some carpenters who were working on one side. The wretches perceiving that nothing but actual murder would avail, rushed upon him one night as he was sleeping in his bed, and holding him down, half suffocated with the bolsters, they thrust a red hot plumber's iron into his bowels, thro a horn, that no external mark of violence might be seen on his person. The poor king screamed in his agonies till some in the castle heard him, and suspecting his catastrophe, began to pray for his departing soul; but no one dared to interfere, and he expired in torture unrelieved.¹⁰¹

¹⁰⁰ Edwardum occidere nolite timere bonum est. Moor, 602. This may be either construed, 'Fear not to kill Edward—it is a good thing;' or, 'Do not kill Edward—it is good to fear it.'

¹⁰¹ Moor, 603.—The next day, many abbots, earls, knights, and burghesses of Bristol and Gloucester, were called in, to see that his body was not mutilated. They privately inspected it, but superficially. Ad. Murim. p. 71.

The murderers fled, on the perpetration of their horrible enormity. One was taken at Marseilles, and beheaded on his way to England, that he might not impeach his employers; the other escaped to Germany, and lingered out there a clandestine and miserable existence,¹⁰² till he obtained a pardon and permission to return.

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The character of this unhappy king seems to have been a compound of indolence, effeminacy, weak judgment, and self-will. His person was tall and strong, and his countenance handsome. His natural capacity was so enervated by indulgences, that tho a reflective contemporary says, that if he had exercised himself in arms he would have excelled the Cœur de Lion, and if he had not followed the advice of bad men he might have been more noble than all his predecessors;¹⁰³ yet his reign was more disgraceful and calamitous to himself than that of any preceding sovereign of the Norman line. Infirm of spirit, and devoted to his enjoyments, he shewed no energy but in striving to be arbitrary, and in supporting his favorites against the united feeling of his nobility and the common sense of the country. Son of one of our most able kings, and father of one of our most celebrated, his reign intervenes like a narrow and rugged isthmus between two great

¹⁰² Moor, 603.—The Parliamentary Rolls have preserved the proclamations and rewards issued for the apprehension of the two murderers. Plac. Parl. vol. 2. pp. 53, 54. There is also a record of Berkley's clearing himself. His statement is, that he certainly received the king into his custody; but that when Edward was murdered, he was afflicted with such a severe malady out of the castle, that he had lost all memory. Pl. Parl. p. 57.

¹⁰³ Mon. Malm. 136.—This author seems to have penned his thoughts in his Chronicle, as if writing a diary from day to day. In this part he exclaims, 'Grant, O Lord! peace in our days, and may the king be harmonious with his barous.' Ib.

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continents, barren itself, but the connecting passage between regions of great produce and renown. It is probable that his life of effeminate imbecility may have been the period of transition of the national manners, to that gay, gallant, and luxurious chivalry, which distinguished the times of his son. Luxury visibly increased in his reign,¹⁰⁴ and the habits of the nation became more splendid afterwards. Two transient observations of reproach, which have been made on him by ancient chroniclers, may lead us to infer, that England is indebted to him for the encouragement of two of the great sources of her prosperity—her agriculture and her navy. One intimation is, that if he had given as much attention to arms as he actually applied to husbandry,¹⁰⁵ his name would have been resounded thro the world. The other remark, meant to be a sarcasm, expresses a mistaken inference of his subjects, or rather their ignorance of the important consequences of his taste: “King Edward kept much the se costes, al delighting in shippes, and too much using the vile company of maryners, wherby he lost much favour of his people.”¹⁰⁶ We may construe this censure to imply that he pursued a wise object in an unwise manner. But he had stamped the character of weakness so indelibly on his name, that his best actions may have

¹⁰⁴ See the feast on the installation of the abbot of Canterbury, in his reign, *Lel. Coll.* vol. 6. p. 34. And see also the king's edict to *restrain* luxury, in 1315, which he begins with reciting, ‘Forasmuch as thre too outrageous and unmeasureable services of measses and meates the whiche greate personages of our realme *at this tyme* have made and used to make, and yet do make and use in their houses—and hereupon other meaner men, to whom it is not convenient to take upon them such thynges, do endeavour and enforce themselves to counterfaite the great estates in doying such outrages farther than their state requireth.’ *Ib.* p. 36.

¹⁰⁵ ‘Circa rem rusticam.’ *Mon. Malm.* p. 136.

¹⁰⁶ *Scala Chronica.* p. 549.

been misconceived and misrepresented. On the whole we may conclude, that from a wiser education he would have derived a stronger judgment, and then might have become an applauded and happy king ; but, blighted in the spring-time of life, his character became such as chiefly to serve

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“ To point a moral and adorn a tale ! ”

NOTE ON THE KNIGHTS TEMPLARS.

IN this reign, the Knights Templars were abolished. The principal facts of the accusation and evidence which were collected against this celebrated and powerful body in England, are contained in the legal records preserved in Wilkins' Concilia, vol. 2. The following statement is a summary of the information which these documents have transmitted to us.

It was in 1309 that the letters of the pope Clement, “ *plumbea bulla bullatæ*,” and therefore, perhaps, more technically to be called his Bull, were read to the bishop of London, and others, sitting in his episcopal hall. In this the Pope stated, that having been privately informed that the Master and Knights Templars had lapsed into apostasy, idolatry, profligacy and heresy, he had been unwilling to believe it. That Philip the king of France had made many representations to him on the subject : That a knight of the order, of high nobility, had sworn privately before him, that every new candidate, before he was received into the order, denied Christ, spat contemptuously upon a cross, and did other abominable things : That official inquiries had been made on this subject, and various depositions and confessions received, which shewed that some were delinquents in many things, and others in fewer : That therefore, as he could not himself inquire into the conduct of the order in every part of the world, where it was spread, he authorized them personally to commence, in the diocese of Canterbury, a careful examination of the evil complained of. He reduces these charges into eighty-seven heads, of which the substance may be comprised in the following paragraph :—

That every new knight, on being admitted, or soon afterwards, denied Christ, or God, and the Virgin, and sometimes the Saints : that the brotherhood generally did this, or the greater part ; that they called our Saviour a false prophet, and said he did not die to

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redeem mankind, and that they had no hope of salvation from him; that they spat on the cross, trampled on it and defiled it; that they worshipped a cat in contempt of Christianity; that some, or all, did not believe in the Eucharist; that they thought their master or commanders could absolve them from all sin; that they kissed their new brother on indecent parts of his body; that their admissions and ceremonies were clandestine, and confined to themselves; that they committed loathsome vices; that they had idols, some with three heads, some with one, and some with a human skull, which they worshipped, and to which they ascribed the power of giving wealth, making trees germinate and flowers blow; that they swore to increase their order by any means; that they enjoined each other to strict secrecy, and that they punished with death or the dungeon, those who revealed their secrets.

On these accusations the inquisitorial commissioners reported, that they had communicated their commission to the Templars of London, and proceeded to examine them and other witnesses separately and apart from each other: and they detail the evidence which they had obtained.

They first examined one, who had been a Knight Templar five years: He had declared, that he had been admitted at Bath, before a hundred secular persons; that he asked the order to admit him to serve God and the Virgin; that he was then informed of the rules of the order, that he should do nothing of his own will, but according to the will of the commander; that he then swore to obey his superior, to have no property, to preserve chastity, not to consent to any one being unjustly disinherited, nor lay violent hands on any one, except Saracens, or except in self-defence; that this oath was taken before two brothers only, and that he had never made any other profession.

The three next examined, declared their admission to have been secret, and that it was the rule of the order that it should be so. One of them, keeper of the Temple chapel in London, was questioned, article by article, on the charges. He positively denied all the imputations, except the secrecy of their admissions, which he understood to be one of the original institutes of the order. All the others gave similar answers; altho some declared that their admissions had not been private.

Fifty Knights Templars, from different counties in England, were sent to the Tower; and other persons were examined, about the secrecy and time of day of the admission, but no criminating facts were obtained.

New questions were then proposed to many Knights Templars; but nothing unfavorable was elicited, except that the admissions were secret, that the chapters were usually held at nights, and that the great master granted absolutions.

Other evidences, however, deposed many things on hearsay, confirmatory of the accusations. A Yorkshire knight swore, that a Templar once, at dinner at his house, declaimed against Christianity, and gave his wife a book to read on the same topics. A country rector said, that a priest had told him that he had taken the confession of a Knight Templar, which proved the charges; and many rumors and stories, at second and third hand, were also repeated.

More direct evidence was obtained, in July 1311, from a Knight Templar who had fled, and was taken at Salisbury. He swore that he was compelled, by the grand master and two knights holding drawn swords, to deny Christ, and to spit upon the cross; that they did not adore a cat in England, but he had heard they did so in other parts. Another knight at first denied the accusations, but on a subsequent examination declared, that he had been forced to deny Christ, and that he had heard one of the grand masters say that the smallest hair on a Saracen's beard was of more value than all the body of Christ. Another Templar admitted that he had been forced into apostasy. From these and other confessions, which are certainly not free from reasonable suspicion as to their veracity; but still more from the general unpopularity and ill opinion under which the Templars labored; their order was dissolved by the Pope, and all its property confiscated.

Acta contra Templ. ap. Wilk. Conc.
vol. 2. pp. 329-401.

In 1792, Moldenhauer published, from the original records, the whole of the process against this order in France. Mr. Raynouard has written ably in their defence. Von Hanmer, in the *Mines de l'Orient*, vol. 6, has, from sources hitherto unknown or unemployed, endeavored to establish the horrible charges against them. De Sacy and Gruber have opposed his authorities or inferences; and Munter, the Danish bishop, has, from the Vatican MSS. published the statute book of the order, with valuable notes. Wilcke, in his German history of them, Leipsic 1826, has gone to original sources of information, and his conclusions are not favorable to them. His work is divided into four books. In the first, he traces the succession of their twenty-seven great

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masters during the 188 years of their duration. His second narrates their suppression. The third presents a view of their constitution; and his fourth book contains a variety of important original documents. There is a very able review of their history, by a friendly hand, in the *Foreign Quarterly Review*, No. 8. pp. 608–641. But it is not possible now to decide on the exact degree of their guilt or innocence; tho ingenuity may argue plausibly on either side of the question.

It may perhaps be most impartial to say, and the truth probably was, that the order had become useless, and, from its great affluence, dissolute and sensual. Many, and perhaps most of its members, from that Epicurean state of mind and habit to which wealthy luxury naturally leads, may have thrown off all regard for either religion or virtue; and some, from enlightened reason, may have emancipated themselves from the superstitions of the day. But that they should have worshipped cats or calves; or made the abnegation of Christianity, or spitting on the cross, any part of the ceremony of their admission into the order, is certainly incredible. Personal vice and irreligion may be believed of them; but not that absurd conspiracy against the faith of Christendom, of which they were accused. Their dissolution was however a benefit to the world; because all societies, that place mysterious secrecy and implicit obedience to its leaders among their essential rules, are dangerous to public order, and disadvantageous to public morals, being founded on principles that are inconsistent with both.

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IT appears that this celebrated Order, which was suppressed by the Pope in 1311, at the council of Vienne, has been since clandestinely continued, in secret and mysterious associations, in various parts of Europe. At the present time, 1830, it claims to exist as the same perpetuated body, which has never been totally dissolved; and which now, by a regular succession of chiefs and fellows that have never been discontinued, is the representative and filial descendant of the ancient Knights Templars. This singular fact was not generally known in the civilized world, from the careful secrecy of their meetings and transactions, till a few years after the imperial elevation of Napoleon Bonaparte. They then chose to avow their existence and descent by a publication of their history and documents, from the papal abolition of their ancient order to the present time, in a work at Paris, which they intituled 'Manuel des Chevaliers de l'Ordre du Temple.' One edition of this appeared in 1818, and the third in 1825; and in this work we find the assertions and evidences of the continuation of the order, and its subsequent members, principles and transactions.

That a branch of the ancient knights had continued to flourish in Portugal under a new title, 'The Order of Christ,' of which Vasco de Gama, Albuquerque, and other celebrated Portuguese were members, is an historical fact; and the emperor Napoleon had the fancy to become one of this body in 1805. The archives of this order are kept at Tomar in Portugal, the chief seat of the fraternity, and are supposed to contain much curious information on their antiquities, customs and transactions. The *Moniteur* of 2 prairial, an. 13, mentions Napoleon's admission to it; and the 'Memoire' of Correa de Serra on this order, in the 'Archives Littéraires,' v. 7, p. 273, with the notice of Don François d'Almeida on Correa's Life, furnishes much information about them.

But the modern publication of the subsisting societies which claim to be the regular continuation of the ancient knights, states in this 'Manuel,' as their authorized history, that when their order was in 1311 suppressed in England, France, and in all

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the rest of Christendom, it had ramifications and relations in all the countries then known, and also, connections of consanguinity with the chief families in Europe; and that, undismayed by the public burning, as a condemned malefactor, of their grand master, Molay, in 1311, they renewed their fraternity, in great secrecy, under Jean Marc Larmenius, whom they made his successor as their grand master; and who, in 1324, published among them his Latin edict, the original of which they profess to have preserved, and which still subsists. It has been critically examined, but bears every mark of being an authentic document of the time in which it is dated.

By this act, in 1324, Larmenius denounces his anathema against the Scotch Templars as deserters of his order, and against the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem as its spoliators. He notices the tokens which are to distinguish the false brothers from the true ones; and declaring that he had received them from the preceding grand master, whom he calls the venerable and most holy martyr, he orders them to be communicated *orally* to the professed and consecrated knights. This act is written in Latin, in the peculiar characters which this order has adopted for its alphabet.

This document has the signatures of all who, since his death, have succeeded to the office of grand master. Among these occur the names of many distinguished Frenchmen: Du Guesclin; three Armagnacs, who followed each other from 1381 to 1451; of Chabot-Montmorency, Valois, Philippe le Régent; three successive Bourbons, &c. The list continues without any chasm up to Fabr  Palaprat, an esteemed French physician, who since 1804 has been its most recent grand master.

It is curious that among the names of those who have been affiliated to this order, occur Bochart, in 1663, tho a Calvinist; Fenelon, in 1699; Massillon, in 1703; and in 1738, the celebrated king of Prussia. In 1745 the abb  Barth lemy and Duclos were added, and in our own days, among others, the natural philosopher Lac p de, General Roche, La Bourdonnaye, the prince Alexander of W rtemberg, and our own sir Sidney Smith, and the duke of Sussex, are mentioned by the abb  Gr goire among those who have become a part of these modern Knights Templars.

Paris is their chief seat; but they declare that they have branches in England, at Brussels, at Rio Janeiro, at Caraccas, in Greece, and at Calcutta. They have, besides their grand master, four

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lieutenant generals, and eight grand preceptories, besides grand priories, balliages, commanderies, abbeys commendatories, &c. They have even divided the world into grand priories, and have made some nominally of Japan, Chinese Tartary, Congo, Monomotapa, and Nigritia. They profess to have the ashes of their grand master, burnt in 1311, taken from his fatal pile, with his sword; and the helmet of another of their martyrs, Guy, the dauphin of Auvergne. They have an ecclesiastical primate, who, in 1828, was Vi-Césarini, commander conventual of the order of Malta.

At their conventual meeting on the 29th of March 1824, of one hundred and fifty knights, eight of these came from England as representatives of the Templars of Great Britain; among whom Sir Sidney Smith recommended the acquisition of an island in the Mediterranean, for the public establishment and use of the fraternity. They celebrate the anniversary of Molay's death every year at Paris, and with some religious pomp.

They have an ancient Greek parchment MS. which contains what they choose to revere. Its characters are traced in gold, and have the appearance of being of the thirteenth century. The first part is their 'Leviticon.' The second, a mutilated copy of St. John's Gospels.

The Leviticon is their ritual, and comprizes the religious doctrines of the initiated, and the 'formes liturgiques' used on the admission of members. They are in nine classes, and all called Levites. The first of these is the 'Levite de la garde extérieure,' or knight. The abbé Grégoire, in his *Historie des Sectes Religieuses*, v. ii. p. 408-19, has stated the principles which the Leviticon inculcates, and which he terms, not unjustly, 'an incoherent and confused medley of a species of Eastern Pantheism, of Deism, of Socinianism, and of Catholicism.' In their St. John's Gospel the two last chapters are omitted, because their system denies the resurrection. There are, no doubt, different doctrines for the common knight, and for others who choose to have more infidel or absurd opinions; but some of the tenets in this venerated MS. of their Leviticon strongly confirm the idea, that the ancient Knights Templars were not unjustly charged with the abnegation of Christianity, or with such corruptions of it as amounted to a virtual dereliction of its real truths and doctrines.

The abbé Grégoire mentions some illustrious Englishmen as part of the present Knights Templars. I have been assured by an intelligent friend, that on his noticing this to one of these gentlemen,

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he acknowledged the circumstance, and intimated that the general outlines of the abbé's account were not incorrect.

The probability is, that there are many of these sorts of private or mysterious associations in every country: several of them, like the Knights Templars and Freemasons, often connected with some principles and several acts of benevolence, and used by many as mere convivial societies; but in some of them, recondite principles of the worst kind are reserved to be communicated to those who are found to be susceptible of their deteriorating effects. Truth, honor, integrity, virtue, intelligence, and genuine religion, require no concealment, and never like or befriend it. When secret doctrines and mysterious confraternities begin, something may then be supposed to be desired or meant by the hidden rulers which is not consistent with sound judgment, with true morality, with social reputation, or with enlightened piety. Human mystery is rarely allied with wisdom, truth and probity.

The abbé's book contains a print of the grand master in the robes of his order, p. 392; and a plate of the secret characters or alphabet of its ancient MSS. p. 428.

CHAP. IV.

History of the Reign of EDWARD III. to the Conquest of Calais—His Campaign in Scotland—Invasions of France.—Expedition to Guienne—Battle of CRESSY—Siege of Calais.

IT is a general persuasion among Englishmen, that the reign of Edward III. is the most illustrious period of their ancient annals. The victories of Cressy and Poitiers, may have produced the popular sentiment; but the reflective mind will adopt the opinion as steadily, when it observes, during this reign, That our navy established its preponderancy over the most celebrated fleets that were then accustomed to navigate the British channel: That our parliament enjoyed, in full and upright exercise, those constitutional powers, which the nation has long learnt to venerate as its best inheritance; but which weaker sovereigns have, too eagerly, contested: That our manufactures and commerce began to exhibit an affluence, and an expanding growth; and to be conducted on the true principles of public improvement: That our clergy evinced a disposition to emancipate themselves from the papal despotism; and some, to exercise a just freedom of thought, on the most important of all human concerns: That the lineaments of our prose literature became distinctly discernible: That the pursuit of the mathematical and natural sciences, and of the art of reasoning, at one or both of our venerable Universities, was ardent and successful: That our poetry assumed the attractive form,

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with which its life, sympathy, utility, and immortality are most surely connected: And that our manners displayed a moral sentiment, which, tho somewhat fantastic, and not always pure, yet contributed to soften the horrors of war, and has led to that more cultivated feeling, which, continually increasing and refining, has made Englishmen distinguished for their generosity, magnanimity and honor. The historical picture appears with these subjects before us, as we contemplate the reign of Edward III. The monarch himself, for a time advancing with his age, and sometimes preceding it, in what was then considered to be the perfect gentleman, was, for many years, and until prosperity, grief, and age, debilitated him, a model for the imitation of his contemporaries, and, except in his love of war, to his successors. He was rewarded for his utilities with a reign long enough to give, to all the improvements which it fostered or occasioned, a sufficient period for their due development and effective establishment. England appears with new features after his death. She became a country of larger mind and nobler manners, hastening rapidly to more glorious destinies.

For the deposition and murder of his father, he was in no respect answerable; the plans of others had produced those events, when he was too young to be consulted or to assist. For the same reason, he is not responsible for the deceitful proclamation issued in his name, assuring the nation, that his father had voluntarily abdicated, and wished him to assume the government of the kingdom.¹ Scarcely fourteen, he was not even allowed the limited interference to which that age might have entitled him.

¹ See it in Rymer, Act. Fœd. vol. 4. p. 243.

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A council of regency, composed of twelve distinguished persons, was assembled, to conduct the affairs of state;² and the queen, and Mortimer, under her influence, struggled to monopolize to themselves the chief power of the administration. It was soon thought politic, after reversing the attainder of the duke of Lancaster,³ and issuing parliamentary indemnities to the queen's adherents,⁴ and promising to the commons the amendment of the grievances, and the preservation of the liberties, on which they petitioned,⁵ to employ the young king, and the active part of the country, in some warfare that was neither dangerous nor distant: and Scotland soon furnished a convenient necessity for a summer expedition, in which Froissart has presented us with a living picture of the times.

The invasion of the northern counties by the Scottish army, intrusted by Robert Bruce, now fast declining in health,⁶ but unbroken in spirit, to the earl of Moray and Douglas, occasioned Edward to have his first experience of military life. The objects of the Scots were plunder and devastation, and their army was adapted to their purposes. Four thousand knights and esquires, well mounted, and twenty thousand fierce and daring followers, on little gallo-

His campaign
against the
Scots.

1326.

² The Chronicle of Peter College Library mentions them to have been, the two archbishops, two bishops, the king's three uncles, another earl, and four barons. *Lel. Collect.* vol. 2. p. 476.

³ The record of this reversal is printed in the *Plac. Parl.* vol. 2. p. 3. At the next meeting of the parliament, the Commons petitioned for his coronation. *Ib.* p. 7.

⁴ *Plac. Parl.* p. 5.

⁵ *Ib.* pp. 7-12.

⁶ 'Moult vieil et malade de la grosse maladie.' *Froiss.* c. 16. The French edition of Froissart which I use, is Paris 1574. Its chapters differ from those of Mr. Johnes's translation. To suit the readers who are possessed of this, tho I shall quote the chapter from the French edition, I will, in this part, add the page of Mr. Johnes's translation, which I shall sometimes adopt.

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ways, that rode twenty leagues a day without halting,⁷ with no baggage, but an iron plate under the flaps of their saddle, and a little bag of oatmeal behind it, could move with a rapidity that ensured both success and escape. Their drink was the water of the streams they passed, with which they made their meal into a paste, and, on their little plates, baked it into thin cakes over a hasty fire; their more luxurious food was the half sodden flesh of the cattle they seized and skinned. Thus prepared for depredation, they suddenly reached and passed the Tyne before the army appointed to defend it was apprized of their vicinity.⁸

The English administration had summoned a large force to meet the king at York; where a subsidiary body of the Hainaulters joined them, who were endangered by a quarrel with the English archers, during the six weeks festivity of the court in this town.⁹ At last Edward marched to Durham, near the beginning of a country called Northumberland, which Froissart characterizes as wild, full of deserts and mountains, and very poor in every thing but cattle. Advancing towards the Tyne, he beheld the smoke of the Scottish fires. The alarm was sounded. Every one hastened to his proper banner: and in the fields, three bodies of infantry were formed, with two wings of five hundred horse to

⁷ These horses were never tied up or dressed, but were let loose, to pasture in the meadows or heaths. Froiss. c. 18. p. 47.

⁸ Froiss. c. 18. p. 46.—Barbour, in his 19th book, versifies his account of this invasion, vol. 3. pp. 130–152. Lord Hailes gives a portion of his appendix to it, vol. 2. p. 285.


⁹ Froiss. c. 17. 41–45. But for this quarrel, says Froissart, they would have passed their time very pleasantly, for, ‘Good wines from Gascony, Alsace, and the Rhine, were in abundance, and reasonable. Poultry and other provisions at a low price. And hay, oats and straw, of a good quality, and cheap, were delivered at their quarters.’ p. 45.

each,¹⁰ who marched in this battle-array, till night, towards the place whence the smoke was seen ascending. The army halted in a wood by the side of a small river, to rest themselves, and to wait for their baggage and provisions. The Scots had disappeared.¹¹

At daybreak, the banners in each party were displayed, and they marched, in their respective order, over the mountains and thro the valleys. The Scots easily kept before them. They were obliged to toil after their less incumbered enemies, thro marshes, and over hilly and dangerous ground, till, as night approached, they were all so fatigued as to be unable to proceed. The king and the marshals ordered the army to encamp where they were; and they lay that night in a wood on the banks of a small river, while he retired to a poor abbey just by. A council was then held, to devise the best means of bringing the Scots to battle; and it was agreed to break up at midnight, and endeavor to reach the Tyne before their enemy could pass it, and thus compel them to surrender, or to fight with disadvantage. With this resolution each retired to his quarters, to refresh himself with what he found there; and all were ordered to be silent, that the signal-trumpets might be heard. At the first sound the horses were to be saddled; at the second, every one was to arm;

¹⁰ Froiss. c. 18. 19. p. 48. He states Edward's army to have contained 8,000 men at arms, knights and esquires, and 30,000 men armed and provided; of whom, half were mounted on little hackneys, and half on foot. The text adds, that there were 24,000 archers on foot. This is so far beyond the usual proportion of archers, that I would read it 4,000, or at the most 14,000.

¹¹ On 10th July 1327, the king marched from York to Top Cliff; on the 13th, he arrived at Durham, where he remained till the 14th. Hailes, 286.

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at the third, they were to mount and join their banners. Rapidity of movement being the only chance of success, each was to carry but one loaf of bread, slung behind him ; all unnecessary arms, harness, and baggage were to be left behind.¹²

These measures allowed little rest, notwithstanding the preceding day's fatigue ; but they were punctually executed. At midnight, the army was mounted, and was fully arranged as day began to break. The banner-bearers then hastened on : all followed, over heaths, hills, valleys, and rocks, without the comfort of finding a level surface. In some parts, the marshes and bogs were so spacious, that many fell ; and, as every one galloped forwards without waiting for commander or companion, few of the unfortunate could get assistance to extricate them. Many of the banners and horses were left where they were entangled. Sometimes cries of alarm made those behind believe that the front ranks were engaged with the enemy. Eager to assist, the rear hurried forward over the stones and heights, each with his shield on his neck and his sword in his hand, to partake the fray, and were as often disappointed to find that the noise had proceeded from the herds of wild animals flying terrified before the unusual visitants, and pursued by the shouts of the advance of the army, enjoying and increasing their dismay.¹³

Having rode all that day over hills and across deserts, without keeping to any fixed road or path, or meeting with any town ; at last, about evening, they reached the Tyne. They found no enemy, and hoped the Scots had not yet arrived. They crossed

¹² Froiss. c. 19. p. 50.¹³ Ib. c. 19. p. 51.

the ford before they rested, but with great difficulty, from the large stones that lay at the bottom. After passing the river, each took up his lodging on its banks as well as he could. The sun was now set. Few had any hatchets or wedges to cut down trees, to make themselves huts or fires. They had travelled that day above sixty miles on a gallop, without stopping, except to arrange the furniture of their horses, as the violent motion loosened it. They were forced to lie all night on the banks of the river, in their armor,¹⁴ and at the same time to hold their horses by their bridles, for there was nothing to which they could tie them. The poor animals had neither forage nor oats to eat, after their hard labor; and the men had only their loaf, now wet with the perspiration of their steeds. No one had either fire or light, but a few lords, who had brought some torches with them. In this melancholy state they passed the night, without disarming themselves or unsaddling their horses. When the desired morning came, from which they expected some comfort, it began to rain; and the showers continued to fall all day, till the river was so swelled at noon, that no one could repass it, nor be sent to inquire where they were, or from what place to get any forage or litter for their horses, or any bread and wine for themselves. The whole army had to fast another day and night. Some leaves and grass were found for their horses. They hewed down some young trees with their swords, and drove them into the ground, to tie their horses to; and cut some brush-wood, to raise scanty huts for themselves.¹⁵

¹⁴ The place where they crossed the Tyne, is called, in the *Scala Chronica*, p. 551, Eiden, or Haidon.

¹⁵ *Fruiss.* pp. 52, 53.

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In the afternoon, a few straggling peasants were seen, who informed them, that they were fourteen leagues from Newcastle, and eleven from Carlisle, and that no accommodation could be had nearer. Messengers were sent off with horses, to procure provisions. After passing three days and nights without any, an indifferent supply at last arrived. When it came, it was so dear and so scanty, that frequent quarrels occurred, from the tearing the food out of each others hands. They lay four days more at this place: it rained the whole time: the wet rotted their saddles and girths. They had no shoes for the horses which wanted them; and no clothing to keep themselves from the rain and cold, but their jerkins and their armor. Their green huts were an insufficient defence against the weather, and they had no wood to burn, but such as was too moist to take fire.¹⁶

Not believing that the Scots had got over the river before they arrived, they continued expecting their approach. Neither army knew where the other was. The king promised the grants of knighthood, and of land to the amount of a hundred a year, to the first person who should bring correct information where the Scottish forces lay. Sixteen persons ascended the mountains, and scattered themselves on all sides, to reconnoitre; and the English repassed the river, and marched on. On the fourth day of their advance, an esquire was seen galloping hastily towards the king;¹⁷ he had discovered the Scottish army on a hill, where they had been some days

¹⁶ Froiss. p. 54.

¹⁷ Rymer has inserted, in his *Fœdera*, the grant of one hundred a year to Thomas de Rokesby, for his life, for this service, vol. 4. p. 312. —Hailes makes Beltingham the point where the English recrossed. 289.

resting, about nine miles off. The king ordered the horses immediately to be turned into the fields to feed, masses to be said, and every one afterwards to repose.¹⁸ When they had arisen and breakfasted, the trumpets sounded; each battalion, regularly formed, advanced by itself over the hills and dales, and about noon they came in sight of the host they were pursuing. The Scots, issuing out of their huts, hastened into a military order, and formed into three bodies, on the descent of the eminence where they had lodged.¹⁹ The river on which the Scots were stationed, the Were, ran with a strong and rapid stream at the foot of the hill, and so close to it, that there was no room for the English to draw up in a line of battle when they had passed. The Scots were so posted as to annoy their enemy with stones, while crossing. The king ordered his men to dismount, take off their spurs, and advance to the river on foot, in slow time, and keeping their ranks. It was meant by this firm countenance, to see whether the Scots would retire, or dispute the passage. They continued immoveable: and both armies now approached so near, that they could discern the arms on each others shields.²⁰ The English halted. A few were remounted, to skirmish with their opposers, and to examine the river more closely. Heralds were sent, to invite the Scots to pass and fight upon the plain, or to allow the English to come over unmolested, and try their prowess on the other side. Aware of their advantages, the invaders would not forego them; and it was proclaimed thro the English army, that each was to take up his quarters, where he was,

¹⁸ Blanch Land, on the Derwent, was the place of this halt.

¹⁹ Froiss. pp. 55, 56.

²⁰ Ib. pp. 57-59.

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without quitting his ground or his arms. All lay that night uncomfortably upon the hard ground, among rocks and stones, with their armor on, without fires, and obliged to hold their horses as they slept. But, to deprive them of the comfort of repose, the Scots, about midnight, made such a blowing and noise with their horns, all together, "that it seemed as if all the great devils of hell had come there."²¹

The English did not venture to cross the river in the front of an enemy so strongly posted, and remained on its bank three days, hoping that want of food might compel the Scots to some movement. On the fourth morning, not one was to be seen; they had decamped at midnight. They were pursued, and found stationed on another mountain, stronger than before, on the same river, and protected by a large wood. The English marched along the river, on the opposite bank, watching an advantageous moment to cross it, and attack.²² In the dead of the night, lord Douglas, with two hundred men from the Scottish camp, passed over the river considerably beyond the English camp, and, riding suddenly upon it, surprised the sleeping warriors with an attack, shouting vociferously, "Douglas for ever! Die, ye thieves of England." They killed more than their own number, and even pierced to the king's tent, and cut some of its cords. The general alarm forbidding further achievements, Douglas retired with little loss, and rejoined his friends.²³

²¹ Froiss. p. 60.

²² This was near the place called Stanhope Park. Hailes, 291. We derive this name from Scala Chron. 551.

²³ Froiss. 61, 62. ~ Froissart declares Douglas to have been esteemed the bravest and most enterprising of any in the two countries. c. 18. Barbour makes Bruce, on his death-bed, select him to carry his heart to the Holy Land. l. 20, p. 162.

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The Scots
retreat.

The English, keeping better guard, and skirmishing perpetually with their enemy, at last took a Scottish knight prisoner, who declared that orders had been issued, for every one to be armed by vespers, and prepared to follow the banner of their Douglas. This looked like an intended repetition of the night attack. The English were formed into three battalions, made large fires, and continued in arms all the night; but the darkness passed without disturbance. At dawn, their scouts overtook two Scottish trumpeters, who told them that they were losing their time, for that Douglas had decamped with the army at midnight, in his way home, and was then several leagues off. The English chiefs agreed that it was in vain to follow them; and the young, but high-spirited king, wept with vexation at the disappointment. They inspected the remains of the Scottish camp, released a few English prisoners, whom they found naked and fastened to trees;²⁴ then marched back to Durham, and thence to York, amid great murmuring, and with a popular belief that Bruce had bribed Mortimer with thirty thousand pounds, to allow his army to escape. On this charge we may remark, that there was a want of enterprise, at least, in the English leaders, who could be twice for several days directly opposite to the Scottish camp, without venturing to cross the river to attack it, tho they had endured such fatigues to overtake

²⁴ Froiss. 63. Scal. Chr. 551. They found there more than 500 large cattle, which, being too slow to follow them, the Scots had killed, that they might not fall into the hands of the English alive; also more than 300 cauldrons made of leather, with the hair on, which were hung over the fires full of water, with meat ready to be boiled. Above a thousand spits had meat on them to roast; and more than 10,000 pairs of old worn-out shoes, made of undressed leather, with the hair on, were also left by the Scots. Ib. 64.

BOOK
II.REIGN OF
EDW. III.King's
marriage.

it.²⁵ A peace followed, which the veteran Bruce did not long survive; but he had secured the independence of his country, and deservedly lives still in the affectionate memory of his grateful nation.²⁶

At the age of sixteen, Edward married Philippa, the daughter of the count of Hainault and Holland. He had seen her when his mother returned with him from Paris to Valenciennes, and had distinguished her from her three sisters, by his attentions.²⁷ The court of Hainault had a chivalric taste: its lord had recently celebrated a tournament at Condé, with the king of Bohemia, and many of the great lords of France;²⁸ and Philippa proved, during her husband's reign, that she had imbibed no small portion of the heroic spirit of the day.

His chival-
ric taste.

The magnificent or ostentatious disposition of Mortimer contributed to give Edward a love of chivalry and romantic praise. Mortimer, after he was created earl of March, is described to have become "proud beyond measure." Even his son remarked it so strongly, as to call him "King of Folly."²⁹ A desire of emulating the feats or the fame of the

²⁵ Anon. Hist. Ed. II. p. 298.

²⁶ No sovereign of Scotland has upheld its national glory with more personal exertions than Robert Bruce. His victory at Bannockburn was a fine instance of military talent triumphing over a force apparently irresistible. His successes contributed to postpone the union of Scotland with England, till the two countries could combine on the terms of fraternal equality, and not on those of conqueror and vanquished. Froissart's account of his death, has, like all his dialogue stories, a romantic air, c. 21. p. 71-78; and yet Barbour's is similar, 161-166. But the request of Bruce to Douglas, to carry his heart to Palestine, tho romantic, is a truth. Rymer has printed Edward's passport to Douglas for this journey, vol. 4. p. 400.

²⁷ Froiss. c. 9. p. 22. and c. 20. p. 68. A youth, one of her countrymen, came over with her, to wait on her and to carve for her. He became, as Sir Walter Manny, one of the greatest warriors of the age.

²⁸ Un tournoy qui la estoit crié. Froiss. c. 15. p. 36.

²⁹ Chron. Pet. Coll. 2 Lel. Col. 476.

renowned Arthur, incited him to keep a round table of knights, in imitation of this favorite hero of romance.³⁰ Edward, then about eighteen, was of the age to be impressed by the gallant ceremonies of this knightly entertainment. A few years afterwards, he imitated them himself, in a great tournament and hastiludia, in London and at Dunstaple, and in feasts and jousts of the same character, at Windsor and elsewhere.³¹

The conduct of Mortimer and the queen excited so much public discontent, that an attempt was made to overawe it, by the arrest of the earl of Kent, the king's uncle, and one of the leading opposers of the government. He was accused of treason on a fabricated charge, condemned and executed. In choosing this nobleman for the victim, they had the art to fix on an unpopular person;³² but the benefit they derived from this gross act of legal murder, was transient. The king was displeased at its perpetration;³³ and his visible dissatisfaction encouraged some to inform him, that Mortimer was implicated in his father's destruction. Being now eighteen, the age at which, according to the English law, the

Earl of
Kent de-
stroyed.

³⁰ We derive this incident, which casts a ray of light on the origin of Edward's chivalric taste, from the same old chronicle. 'Erle Mortimer kept the rounde table of knightes in Wales for a pride, in figure of Arture.' *Ib.* p. 476. Avesbury says that he held a round table at Wigmore, and gave gifts like a king. p. 7.

³¹ *Chron. Pet. Coll.* p. 478.—In 1331, he held a tournament for fifteen days at Dartford; and on the Monday after St. Matthew, thirteen knights held a hastiludia for three days, against any willing to come. *Wal. Hem.* p. 72. And Avesbury remarks, that at Michaelmas, in his fifth year, he held a solemn hastiludia in Cheapside, between the conduit and the cross, such as had not been seen before. p. 9. The wars of Edward I. had led to a renewal of these warlike exercises.

³² *Anon. Hist.* p. 395. The author says, that he was less regretted by the people, because he had allowed his household to seize the property of others without paying for it.

³³ *Chron. Pet. Coll.* 477.

BOOK
II.REIGN OF
EDW. III.Mortimer
seized and
executed.The king's
invasions
of Scot-
land.

1332.

royal minority ceases, he resolved to emancipate himself from his degrading tutelage. The queen and Mortimer were too powerful to be attacked by open force. But on the meeting of the parliament at Nottingham, a scheme to apprehend them was successfully executed. They resided in the castle, for security, guarded by their military friends. The king, by the connivance of the governor, was admitted secretly at night, with a few brave friends, through a subterraneous passage. Mortimer was seized in his bed-room and secured, after killing the first who entered.³⁴ He was arraigned before his peers in parliament, convicted, and executed.³⁵ The queen dowager was confined in an appointed castle, with every appendage of dignity and comfort. The king paid her the filial attention of a visit, twice or thrice a year; but she was not suffered to come abroad.³⁶

The first years of Edward's reign continued to be occupied by wars in Scotland. That country, like Wales and Ireland, was too near England, and the national feeling of both countries was then too hostile to each other, for either to be at peace. Causes of dissension are always arising between jealous and irritable tempers; and, ambition is never at a loss for pretexts, if opportunity invite. The restoration of the Scottish estates to some English noblemen, pursuant to the last treaty, not having been fulfilled,

³⁴ Avesb. p. 8. Wal. Hem. 271. Anon. Hist. 396. 'Sir Hugh Trumpeton, redy to resiste the taking of Mortimer, was slayne and braynid with a mace by one of Montacute's company.' Chron. Pet. Coll. 477.

³⁵ The accusations against him may be seen in the Record. Parl. Plac. vol. 2. p. 52; and in Knyghton Chron. p. 2556.

³⁶ Froiss. c. 24. p. 84.

was the alleged cause of a renewed warfare.³⁷ The son of Baliol, the competitor of Bruce, was encouraged to claim the crown, on the promise of Edward's support. A romantic victory, obtained by less than 3000 men, over the Scottish regent, at the head of 40,000, raised Baliol to the throne.³⁸ His confidence led to a surprise, which divested him of his crown as easily as he had attained it.³⁹ The Scots were encouraged by his expulsion, to renew their depredations in the northern counties of England; and this attempt brought Edward into the field against them with all his force. The first plan of his campaign was to retake Berwick. The regent who governed Scotland for king David Bruce, had the impolicy to engage in a pitched battle for its relief. Here Edward fought his first general engagement at Halidon Hill. He is described as having exerted himself greatly on foot, preceding his army, and animating every one by his cheerful countenance and valor.⁴⁰ The Scots received a defeat so decisive

³⁷ The public correspondence on this subject may be seen in Rymer, vol. 4; and on this war with Scotland, Hailes' Annals, 137-170, should be read.

³⁸ Hemmingford's account is, that 40,000 Scots collected at Glasmore under the earl of Mar; that the English passed the water at night, ascended the mountain where the Scots were encamped, and suddenly attacked them at dawn. Seized with a panic, they crowded on, and destroyed each other, so that the English only had to slaughter. Of the Scots, five earls, two of the Bruces, nearly 3,000 knights and men at arms, and 13,300 infantry, perished. The annalist says, that more were suffocated and trodden down by themselves, than were slain by the enemies' sword. Very few of the English fell. p. 273.

³⁹ Knyghton, 2562. Wals. 114. Hailes' Ann. 158.

⁴⁰ Anon. Hist. 402. Heming. 274-277. The contemporary poet, Laurence Minot, thus mentions this battle:

A litell fro that forsaid toun,
Halydon hill, that es the name,
There was crakked many a croune
Of wild Scottes, and alls of tame.

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II.
REIGN OF
EDW. III.
1333.

and destructive, that Baliol was re-established on this perilous throne.⁴¹ In gratitude to Edward for his help, the restored king did homage for the kingdom of Scotland, and ceded to him several of its southern counties.⁴² But it was impossible that a king forced on them by their national enemies, could be popular. New efforts to expel him, produced new invasions from England; which afflicted the country, without subduing its spirit.

He claims
the crown
of France.

His Scottish successes, and the applause he derived from his own exertions in obtaining them, confirmed in Edward's mind that passion for military fame, which soon exerted itself in the kingdom of France; obtaining great personal renown to himself and his people, but neither realizing his ambitious expectations, nor acquiring much permanent advantage. To become the king of France, was one of the earliest projects of his youthful ambition: and it arose naturally enough from the circumstances of the times, and from his maternal parentage. The death of Charles the Fair, in 1328, had left that

There was thaire baner born all doune,
To make silke boste thai war to blame.
But nevertheless ay er thai boune
To wait Ingland with sorow and schame.

Minot, p. 4. Ritson ed.

⁴¹ Nothing is more illusive than the various statements of the numbers of contending armies, and of their losses. Hailes is desirous to adopt the enumeration of the continuation of Hemingford, being 14,056; the Anon. Hist. Edw. III. extends the number to 60,000, p. 402, whom Walsingham seems to follow, p. 114; the Chron. 2 Lel. 478, makes the slain 25,712. Barnes quotes a MS. at Cambridge, which reckons 56,640 men, Edw. III. p. 78. The numbers in Knyghton are not consistent; he makes 40,000 to have fallen, in p. 2563; but in his detail, p. 2564, he differs from himself, and his numerals are obviously corrupted. The military reputation of a general may sometimes rest on any one defeat or victory; but that of a country, never. It is therefore a subject not worth disputing.

⁴² Froissart's chapter on the taking of Berwick, c. 27. pp. 95-106, is an instance that he sometimes writes loosely and inaccurately.

crown without direct male descendants to inherit it. Its three last kings were the sons of Philip the Fair. As they had all reigned successively, and died without issue, the question arose, whether Edward III. the son of Philip's daughter, Isabella, should succeed, or Philip de Valois, the son of her brother, and grandson of the preceding sovereign, entitled Philip the Hardy.⁴³ According to the English law, the son of the daughter precedes the nephew in inheritance; but the French Salic law excluded females. It was contended by Edward, that the feudal laws of France forbade females to inherit, who could not perform the feudal duties; yet, that their male heirs were not debarred by the spirit of this law, because these were competent to discharge all the military services required. On the other hand, it was insisted by the French advocates for Philip de Valois, that the exclusion of the female in the first instance, was an exclusion of all her descendants, of either sex. If it had been a question of succession to the English crown, it would have been rightfully determined by the parliament and law of England; but, as it concerned the crown and law of France, it was clearly a matter for the French state and lawyers to decide. They adjudged in favor of Philip de Valois, and he was crowned king of France.⁴⁴ In

⁴³ The preceding French kings were,

Philip III. the Hardy; acceded 1270.

Philip IV. the Fair, his son; 1285.

Lewis X. or Hutin; 1314.

Philip V. the Long; 1316. } Sons of Philip IV.

Chas IV. the Fair; 1322. }

——— died 1328.

Isabella, the mother of Edward, was daughter of Philip IV.; and Philip Valois was grandson of Philip III. by Charles de Valois, the brother of Philip IV. Lewis X. had left a daughter Jane, who was then alive.

⁴⁴ Jean de Monstreuil, who lived about 1400, has left a candid state-

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II.REIGN OF
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this decision they acted on the soundest rules of national policy, which can never leave it doubtful whether a native prince, or a foreign king, would be the preferable sovereign; and Edward ought to have acquiesced in their determination. But it was flattering to Isabella, the mother of Edward, to consider her son as entitled to a crown so illustrious, on her brother's death; and it was an object brilliant enough to captivate the fancy of a young prince, who was only sixteen when the vacancy occurred, and who, in addition to his mother's conversation, had the unanimous opinion of his countrymen, reasoning from their own laws, in his favor. The idea thus impressed, mingled with his feelings, and became the idol thought of his maturer age. He pursued, with new ardor, the joust, the tournament, and the round table, that by these favorite exercises he might make himself and his people both able and desirous to excel in war; and as soon as he had completely ended his Scottish contest, and obtained from it reputation and military practice enough to make his future undertaking effective and popular, he prepared, notwithstanding his homage to Philip, to begin his arduous enterprise.⁴⁵

ment of the arguments between Philip and Edward. He says, that Philip had the decision in his favor, 'des pers, des barons, des prelates, et autres sages du royaume de France, et de tous les habitans du dit royaume.' The Abbé Sallier has given extracts from his curious work, and also from another on the same subject, composed 1461, both in the public library at Paris, in the Mem. Acad. Inscr. vol. 34. pp. 250-279.

⁴⁵ The Abbé Sallier remarks, that in 1330 Edward had done liege homage to Philip. And Jean de Monstreuil, from this incident, makes these inferences: 'Il monstra bien et declara qu'il n'avoit nul droit, ne cuidoit avoir, à la couronne de France; il attendit à se dire roy de France par maintes années, et toutesfois n'est pas le royaume de France si petite seigneurie, que l'on doive ainsi ignorer son droit et son action par si long temps, se l'on tient y avoir droit.' p. 271. So the old French lawyers thought on Edward's claim.

CHAP.
IV.REIGN OF
EDW. III.He makes
alliances
on the con-
tinent.

It was in the eleventh year of his reign, and at the age of twenty-six, that he publicly avowed his project, and provided for its execution with all the sagacity of a statesman. He purposed to make his attack on the side of Flanders, and he applied his first care to make those alliances which would most facilitate his invasion. He concluded a treaty with Lewis of Bavaria, then the emperor of Germany, and obtained from him the title of his Vicarius over that part of the empire west of Cologne, which gave him the right of commanding the feudal princes. Under this sanction, he made engagements with the duke of Brabant and Gelders; with the archbishop of Cologne; the marquis of Juliers; the count of Hainault and Namur, and grand constable of Zealand and Holland.⁴⁶ All these powers bound themselves, for stipulated subsidies, to assist him with their forces, in his enterprise. Secure of their co-operation, he sailed to Antwerp; and from that city explained his claims to the Pope, in a long and respectful letter, drawn up with much civilian ability, hoping to obtain his then important sanction. But the Pope, in answer, reminded him that he had allied with an emperor who had invaded Italy, and favored heretics.⁴⁷ Sanguine in his hopes of conquest, Edward assumed the title of King of France, quartered his arms with the Gallic lilies, and published manifestoes, asserting his rights, which he caused to be fixed on the doors of several of the French churches. Philip

⁴⁶ Rymer has collected the official documents of these negotiations, in the fourth volume of his *Fœdera*.

⁴⁷ See these letters in Hemingford, pp. 282 to 303; and in Walsingham, 119 to 128. The count d'Artois, whom Philip banished, is described by Froissart as urging Edward to this invasion. c. 29. p. 110.

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EDW. III.
Brewer
of Ghent.

assembled his feudatories and allies, and prepared to watch the movements of his competitor.

It was important to Edward's success, that the Flemings should befriend him; but their earl was attached to the French king. The state of Flanders, however, favored his attempt. An ambitious brewer, of Ghent, Jacob Von Artaveld, had excited a revolting spirit among the Flemings, had banished the knights and esquires who had supported their legal sovereign, and had established in every city such a strong democratic party, obedient to his will, that he governed the country more absolutely than any preceding lord. He affected a sort of princely pomp; was attended in public by sixty or eighty soldiers; collected the earl's revenues for his own use; raised subsidies when he wanted them; paid liberally his troops and adherents; and killed, without remorse, all those whom he disliked or suspected.⁴⁸ Edward, advised to gain the friendship of this dominating brewer, sent his ablest courtiers to flatter and bribe him. Their efforts succeeded. Artaveld persuaded or intimidated the chief lords of the Flemish towns to give free passage to the English army; and Edward, sending sir Walter Manny to attack the island of Cadsand,⁴⁹ proceeded, at the end of September, to enter France from Valenciennes, into the district of Cambray, burning and plundering all around.⁵⁰

⁴⁸ Froiss. c. 30. pp. 116-118. Froissart calls him, 'Brasseur de Miel.'

⁴⁹ Froiss. c. 31 & 32. Anon. Hist. Ed. III. p. 413.

⁵⁰ The king's own account, in his letter to his son, is, 'We passed out of Valenciennes, and the same day began to burn in Cambresyn, and burnt there all the following week; so that this country is very completely destroyed, as well in its corn as in cattle and other property.' Avesbury, 47. This author was keeper of the registers at Canterbury, and died about 1357: he has inserted several of the public dispatches, and some original account of these French campaigns, in his work.

CHAP.
IV.REIGN OF
EDW. III.Edward
invades
France.

1339.

He was joined by the margrave of Brandenburg, son of the emperor; heard and dismissed some cardinals, who came to treat for peace; proclaimed peace and safety to all who should join him; and, to intimidate others, ravaged the country for ten miles round with fire⁵¹—an act expressive both of the barbarism and folly of the age; for, hearing that Philip was at Noyon, and having crossed the Oise, and advanced to St. Quentin, on his way to his rival, he was informed, in the middle of October, by his allies, that their provisions were exhausted, that the winter was opening with severity, and that it was expedient to retreat. From the belief that the French would have early given battle, they had provided but a short supply.⁵² This ill-boding intimation was balanced by letters from the king of France, that he purposed to fight him on the ensuing Thursday. Edward withdrew a little towards Flanders. Messengers from the king of Bohemia announced the impending conflict; and three spies, taken and examined separately, declared that Philip had fixed on Saturday for the struggle.⁵³ The French army was seen approaching at the time expected. Their advanced guard took an appropriate station; and Edward drew up his forces in a suitable plain into an array, which the Germans and Brabanters came to behold, and contemplated with admiration. The duke of Brabant was so animated with the sight, as to promise a thousand florins to the man who should bring him a hand-breadth of the king of France's banner,⁵⁴ and every heart beat high with courage

⁵¹ Heming. 306.⁵² The king in his letter assigns this reason. Hemingford says, he proposed to them to share his provisions, to induce them to stay. p. 306.⁵³ King's letter. Avesb.⁵⁴ Heming. 310–312. 'When every thing had been thus arranged, the

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II.REIGN OF
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and hope.⁵⁵ But still no opposing battalia approached. As yet the cloudy distance glittered with no moving helms or spears; no trampling of steeds, no clashing of arms, no vague sounds like those of an advancing host were heard.⁵⁶ Explorers went out, and found Philip's advanced guard withdrawn, and his soldiers digging ditches, and felling and fixing thick trees round their position, to preclude attack.⁵⁷ Enraged, yet still unwilling to abandon

king, mounted on an ambling palfrey, and attended only by three knights, rode along the line of his army, and right sweetly entreated the lords and their companions, that they would aid him to preserve his honor; which they all promised: he then returned to his own division, and ordered that no one should advance before the banners of the marshals.' Froissart, c. 42. p. 158.

⁵⁵ 'It was a fine sight,' exclaims Froissart, 'to see the banners and pennons flying in the plain, the barbed horses, and the knights and esquires richly armed.' p. 159.

⁵⁶ One alarm occurred: 'About noon, a hare was started in the plain, and ran among the French army, who began to make a great shouting, which caused those in the rear to imagine that the combat was begun in the front, and many put on their helmets, and made ready their swords.' Froiss. 160. We may here call the reader's attention to Laurence Minot's description of this day, as presenting some analogy between Edward III. and the Ajax of Homer. When a foggy darkness spread over the Grecian host, Homer represents his hero as praying,

If Greece must perish, we thy will obey,
But let us perish in the face of day.

Minot, who knew nothing of Homer, but was acquainted with his own sovereign, having mentioned that the falling of a mist had changed all the cheers of the English, represents Edward, from his own natural heroism, as praying, like Ajax, to God, to make it clear. It is probable that both Homer and Minot have given us real incidents:

In that morning fell a myst,
And when oure Inglissmen it wyst,
It changed all thaire chere:
Our king unto God made his boone,
And God sent him gude comfort soone,
The weder wex ful clere.

Oure king and his men held the felde
Stal-worthy with spere and schelde,
And thocht to win his right;
With lordes and with knyhtes kene
And other doghty men by dene,
That war ful freke to fight.

Minot, p. 15.

⁵⁷ Heming. King's letter, ap. Avesb.—Minot wrote this stanza upon it:

the hope of battle, Edward remained in his array till the shades of evening fell, when the exhausted allies determined to retire. Two days afterwards, the unwelcome tidings came, that Philip had broken up his tents,⁵⁸ and retreated in great haste to the interior; leaving the king of England astonished, that a people of old so famous for valor, should have made a solemn engagement for battle, and yet not have kept it.⁵⁹ But it was obvious that Philip, aware of the necessities of his antagonists, had been detaining them with a vain hope, in order that their difficulties might increase. Sensible of the superior means or prowess of the invading army, or preferring certainty to chance, he had adopted the Fabian system of defence, instead of the chivalric glory of an ardent conflict.⁶⁰ The confederated forces, baffled by his policy, fell back to Brussels; and the campaign ended without Edward's having obtained any advantages commensurate with his preparations. He had moved a larger force against France than he would be probably able to combine again; and yet, with all the effect of a young enthusiasm in his favor, he had achieved no more than a temporary devasta-

When Sir Phelip of France herd tell
That king Edward in feld wald dwell,
Than gayned him no gle;
He traisted of no better bote;
But both on hors and fote,
He basted him to fle.

Minot, p. 15.

⁵⁸ King's letter, *Ib.*—His commissioners, in their address to parliament, stated, that he had got in France as far as 'Saint Quyntyn.' *Plac. Parl.* 2. p. 103.

⁵⁹ Heming. 312.

⁶⁰ Froissart says, that Philip's council 'told him he had acted right well, and had valiantly pursued his enemies, insomuch that he had driven them out of his kingdom; and that the king of England must make many such expeditions, before he could conquer the kingdom of France.' c. 41. p. 161.

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II.
REIGN OF
EDW. III.

tion of its northern province. From this experiment he might have seen the futility of his aggrandizing schemes. But the disappointment, instead of suggesting wisdom, only added resentment to ambition. He asked of his parliament three hundred thousand pounds to meet his expenditure;⁶¹ and, notwithstanding their hesitation, he resolved to obliterate the mortification of his failure by renewed effort and obstinate perseverance.

His second
Campaign;
1340.

The next year was distinguished by his achieving a brilliant exploit, which may be classed high in the catalogue of heroic feats. He was about to sail with forty ships to Flanders, and had shipped part of his horses, when his chancellor informed him that Philip, aware of his intended passage, had stationed a large fleet to intercept him. Edward discredited the intelligence; and the minister, alarmed at the consequences likely to result from his incredulity, resigned his seals. This manly firmness induced the king to direct his admiral to explore the truth, who found the French fleet awaiting to surprise him.⁶² Philip had secretly assembled at Sluys one hundred and twenty large vessels, and above an hundred others, manned with forty thousand Genoese and French. The king, reflecting on the mischief which this fleet might inflict on his dominions,⁶³ instead of being deterred by its magnitude, with that instinctive heroism which pervaded his mind, resolved to convert the plan for his destruction into an occasion of his triumph. He told his captains, who hinted

⁶¹ Plac. Parl. 2. p. 103.

⁶² Avesbury, p. 55.

⁶³ In his letters to his parliament, he says, 'The perils which might happen, if they went to injure our kingdom, being considered, and the comfort it would afford to our enemies, and especially to Scotland, if they should have that power, we resolved to seek them.' Pl. Parl. vol. 2. p. 118.

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IV.REIGN OF
EDW. III.

danger, that they were in a confederacy to stop his passage. "But I will go, and you, who are afraid where no fear is, may remain at home." All exclaimed, that they would go before him, or they would perish. He returned the seals to the prelate; sent messages to all his ports, for every ship that was ready, to meet him at an appointed station; and, by riding himself from place to place, to accelerate their preparations, he collected in a few days a force with which he resolved to attempt the enterprise.⁶⁴

On Midsummer eve, he approached their station in the Swyn; and the next day, as the sun was rising, he beheld their fleet with their sails down, arranged into four lines, and fastened together with ropes and great iron chains, that they might not be penetrated. They had wooden castles erected at the top of their masts, and small skiffs, full of stones, suspended half way down.⁶⁵ Edward drew up all his ships, placing the strongest in the front, and on the wings his archers. Between every two vessels with archers, there was one of men at arms. Detached ships, with archers, were placed in reserve, to assist such as might be damaged.⁶⁶ The king sent the bishop of Lincoln towards the shore, to reinforce himself with the Flemish troops; but they declined to embark, and appeared to wait the issue of the battle, to join the conquering party. Edward then resolved to attack with his English force; and, hoisting his sails, stretched out a little, to gain the wind and put the sun on their backs.⁶⁷

His great
naval
victory.⁶⁴ Avesbury, 55. Hem. 320.⁶⁵ Hem. 320.⁶⁶ Froiss. c. 51. p. 208. 'There were in this fleet a great many ladies from England, who were going to attend on the queen at Ghent. The king had these carefully guarded by three hundred men at arms and five hundred archers.' Ib.⁶⁷ Froiss. 209.

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A gallant veteran began, by attacking one of the ships of their front line; the earl of Huntingdon selected another; the earl of Northampton a third; sir Walter Manny a fourth; and others in succession engaged with individual antagonists. The trumpets sounded, and the battle fiercely began. The archers and cross-bowmen shot with all their might; the men at arms engaged hand to hand. The English threw out their grappling irons, to link themselves to their enemies; and their determined bravery, after a long resistance, mastered the first line. The French king's flag was torn down, and the English standard was mounted in its stead.⁶⁸

The two next lines, dismayed by the capture of the first, which had been made a floating fortification, and had been thought invincible, attempted to escape. The English surrounded them before they could separate. The crews threw down their arms, and jumped into their boats: most of these, overladen, sank in the waves, and two thousand men perished. Three lines thus subdued, the English assaulted the fourth, consisting of sixty ships: and here the severest part of the conflict occurred. Some of the bravest defenders of the other lines rallied in these. Night came on in the midst of the struggle, and the impossibility of relief but from their success, produced a desperate courage. Two English ships, with their defenders, were overwhelmed by discharged stones; the rest were in proportionate peril. The king and his nobility were examples to all, of undaunted and indefatigable valor. The conflict continued in the horrors of darkness, beyond the time of midnight, thousands perishing every hour before

⁶⁸ Hem. 320. Froiss. 209.

the victory was decided. The French had outnumbered their assailants four to one, with the additional advantage, of being more experienced mariners. But the English resolution triumphed. The whole of the hostile fleet was captured, and thirty thousand of its fighting men perished in the action⁶⁹—a dreadful consumption of human life, that one individual king, already lord of a noble country, might have also the sovereignty of another! But the improvement of human nature is destined to be progressive, and much imperfection will cling to it till the progress is completed. Edward, however, felt that the award of victory to him was a claim on his personal gratitude. On reaching the shore, he knelt down, and humbly breathed his thanks to heaven for his success, and sent letters to England directing a national thanksgiving. His fleet spent the night with all the merriment and noise that trumpets and vociferous exhalations could exhibit.⁷⁰ This decisive achievement gave a superiority of spirit and strength to the English navy, which was displayed on other occasions during this reign, and which has since become the inseparable character of the British islanders.

Edward profited by his success to make another attack on France. Again his force seemed calculated to annihilate opposition. His allies from Hainault, Brabant and Flanders, swelled his army to nearly 100,000 men.⁷¹ But the whole campaign consisted

He attacks
Tournay;
1340.

⁶⁹ Hem. 320–322. Froiss. 210. Avesbury, 55–57. In one ship, four hundred bodies were found dead. Ib. The king's public letter states, that all the French fleet was captured, with a moderate loss on his own side. Avesb. 58.

⁷⁰ Hem. 321. Froiss. 211.

⁷¹ The Brewer, whom Froissart sends with 60,000 men against the duke of Normandy, c. 51. is described as haranguing the people in favor

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of the siege of Tournay, which detained his main body eleven weeks; while several minor excursions were prosecuted in the vicinity.⁷² The king of France assembled a large army, and encamped near him, in a position which was so strong, from the surrounding marshes, that it could not be attacked. Edward amused himself with sending Philip a challenge to a personal combat, who in answer rebuked him for not considering what he owed to his liege lord. The failure of supplies at last compelled Edward to accept of a proposal for a truce.⁷³ He retired from the untaken town, and strove to avenge his disappointment on his own ministers, by arresting and accusing them of treason, in not forwarding due means for his subsistence.⁷⁴ The French were certainly justified for their triumph in their defensive policy. They had prevented the city of Tournay from being lost, and had compelled the great army, that lay before it, to separate without success. In a court of chivalry, the English boast, that they had been suffered to besiege one of Philip's best towns, and to ravage his country, without his punishing them for it as he ought to have done, would be allowed its due weight; but perhaps reason would decide, that

of Edward's right. 'His hearers declared, that he had spoken nobly and with much experience. He was greatly praised by all; and they declared that he was worthy to govern, and to exercise the dignity of earl of Flanders.' c. 51.

⁷² Froissart narrates all these enterprises in his characteristic style, c. 54-64. pp. 215-226.—The campaign is more soberly and concisely intimated by Avesbury, 55-65; and by Hemingsford, 323, 324.

⁷³ Avesbury inserts it verbatim, 65-70.

⁷⁴ Avesbury has preserved the archbishop's justificatory letter, 71, 72; and the king's invective against him, 77-89, in which he asserts that he was compelled to make the truce for want of money, and not, as Froissart intimates, from the intercession of lady Joan.

Edward had the honor, and Philip the profit, of the campaign.⁷⁵

CHAP.
IV.

A dispute as to the succession to the dukedom of Bretagne, in which one of the candidates claimed Edward's assistance, was a temptation to his ambition to interfere, which neither he nor his parliament could resist. Montfort, whose cause he espoused, obtained a temporary possession of the country, and did homage to him for it; but he was at last taken prisoner, and destroyed by Charles de Blois, his rival, and the French parties.⁷⁶ His widow displayed, after his death, all the personal heroism of this romantic period;⁷⁷ and sir Walter Manny conducted to her relief a powerful English force. It is unnecessary to detail his brave exploits; they are blazoned by Froissart with all the enthusiasm of his pen.⁷⁸

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EDW. III.
His third
campaign.
1341-
1343.

Naval victories again graced the English skill and courage, and gave to the country a substantial benefit, far superior to their glory;⁷⁹ but the continental operations ended unfruitfully in a necessary truce.⁸⁰

The war was soon renewed, and Edward adopted a larger plan of operations. He sent the earl of Derby, another of the distinguished warriors of the day, to Guienne, with 300 knights and squires, 600 men at arms, and 2,000 archers, to make an active diversion in that quarter.⁸¹ The earl landed at

⁷⁵ Froissart has preserved to us the rival discussions on this subject, c. 64. p. 249.

⁷⁶ Froissart, c. 66-73. pp. 254-278.

⁷⁷ Froissart's account of her conduct is highly interesting, c. 81, 82. pp. 300-309.

⁷⁸ Froissart, vol. 1. c. 82-86.

⁷⁹ Avesbury has inserted in his History, Edward's letter to his son, which gives an outline of this campaign, 98-102.

⁸⁰ A truce was also made with Scotland, which had renewed its incursions.

⁸¹ Froissart, c. 101. vol. 2. p. 51. 'The king advised the earl to take plenty of gold and silver with him, and to bestow it liberally among the

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Bayonne 6th June 1344, and proceeded to Bourdeaux, where he rested a fortnight to prepare for his campaign; while the comte de Lisle collected all the barons and knights of Gascony to resist him.⁸² Finding these to be assembled at Bergerac, the earl made that town his first point of attack. His efforts at last succeeded.⁸³ The comte de Lisle, and his

knights and squires, in order to acquire their good opinion and affection.' Froiss. p. 51.

⁸² 'The count was at that time like a king in Gascony. He had taken the field, captured towns and castles, and waged war upon all who were of the English party.' Froiss. p. 54.

⁸³ Froissart's description of the enterprise may be cited as a picture of the military exploits and spirit of those times. 'This day the English dined early, and during the repast, sir Walter Manny said to the earl of Derby, 'My lord! if we were good knights, and well armed, we might, this evening, partake of the wines of these French lords who are in garrison in Bergerac.' The earl answered, that it should not be his fault if they did not. When their companions heard this, they said, 'Let us hasten to arm ourselves; for we will ride towards Bergerac.' It was no sooner said than done. They were all immediately armed and mounted.

'They rode on, with banners displayed, during the greatest heat of the day, until they came to the barriers of Bergerac; which was not a place easily to be taken, for a part of the river Dordogne surrounded it.

'The French lords who were in the town, seeing the English coming to attack them, said, 'They shall be well received;' and sallied forth in battle array, having with them a multitude of foot soldiers and some country people badly armed. The English approached in close order, and their archers began to shoot quickly. When the foot soldiers felt the points of the arrows, and saw the banners and pennons glittering in the air, which they had not been accustomed to see, they fell back upon their men at arms, while the archers continued to shoot at them with great quickness, doing much mischief to them.

'The lords of England then advanced, mounted on their excellent steeds, with lances in their rests. Dashing into the midst of this infantry, they drove them down at pleasure, and killed and wounded the Frenchmen at arms in great abundance, as these could not exert themselves, because the runaways blocked up the road.

'Thus were those of Bergerac driven back again to the suburbs; and with so much loss, that the first bridge and bars were taken by storm. The English entered with them, sir Walter Manny the first.

'The comte de Lisle and the lords of Gascony passed the bridge with great difficulty. At this place the engagement was very severe, and lasted a considerable time. The noblemen of France and England combated most valiantly, hand to hand. Neither knight nor bachelor could there conceal himself. The English took several lords prisoners.

'Sir W. Manny advanced so far among his enemies as to be in great danger; but the French retreated into the fort; let down the portcullis; and getting upon the battlements, threw down stones and other things to

barons, finding themselves unable to withstand the English strength and prowess in the field, resolved, in a council, to separate and withdraw into fortresses; to carry on the war from these garrisons, and to form a body of 500 combatants by way of frontier guard, under the command of the seneschal of Toulouse.⁸⁴

On this plan the knights departed to their different garrisons. The English general then employed himself in Perigord and Upper Gascony, in reducing several defended towns and fortresses, till, satisfied with his successes, he returned with gratulation and

drive away the assailants. This lasted until vespers, when the English retreated, quite weary, into the suburbs which they had won; where they found such quantities of provision and wine as would have lasted them four months.

‘When the morrow dawned, the earl of Derby had his trumpets sounded, drew out his forces, and made a mighty assault on the town, which lasted till noon; but the men at arms within defended themselves valiantly, and at noontide the English retreated, perceiving that they only lost their time.

‘Their chiefs assembling in council, determined to attack the town on the side next the river; because it was there fortified only by palisades. The earl sent to Bourdeaux for vessels, and sixty barks came up the Dordogne to Bergerac. The townsmen, seeing these preparations, solicited the French lords to surrender, that they might not lose all that they had, and their lives. The comte replied, ‘We will go to that part where you say the danger is; for we will not consent to surrender it so easily.’ The Gascon knights and squires came therefore to defend the palisades: but the archers, who were in the barks, kept up so quick an attack with their arrows, that none dared show themselves, unless they chose to run the risk of being killed or wounded.

‘In the town, there were with the Gascons 300 Genoese cross-bowmen, whose armor shielded them from the arrows. These kept the archers well employed all day; and many on each side were wounded. At last the English in the vessels exerted themselves so much that they broke down a large piece of the palisades. Those of Bergerac then retreated, and requested time to consider if they should not give up the place. The remainder of the day and night was granted, upon condition that they should not repair the breaches.’ The lords of Gascony withdrew in the night. The townsmen sued for mercy; and the earl of Derby answered, ‘He that begs for mercy shall have mercy shown him; but open the gates and let us enter.’ The people assembled in the market-place, set the bells ringing, and both men and women went out in procession to the earl, and with great humility conducted him to the church, where they swore fealty to him and to the king of England.
Froiss. c. 102. v. 2. pp. 55–60.

⁸⁴ Froiss. 60.

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triumph to Bourdeaux.⁶⁵ But this interval of rest and feasting roused the comte de Lisle to profit by the absence of his adversary. He summoned all the barons of Gascony to attend him with celerity, with all their forces, and collecting their powerful machines, which were then nearly as effective against the walls and battlements of that day, as our cannon and gunpowder are now against the skilful fortifications of modern warfare, he laid an urgent and well supported siege to AUBEROCHE, before the earl of Derby knew of his attack.⁶⁶

The endangered garrison endeavored in vain to apprize him of their danger and distresses. Their messenger was intercepted and perished.⁶⁷ But a

⁶⁵ Froiss. c. 105, p. 67. As he was besieging the castle of Pelagrus, the French executed a daring exploit: 'Towards midnight about 200 horse, well mounted, sallied out of Perigueux. They rode so fast, that they came to the English camp before day-light; and falling upon it, killed and wounded many. They entered the tent of the earl of Oxford, whom they found arming himself; he was immediately attacked and taken prisoner, as well as three knights of his household. The Gascons, finding they had awakened the whole army, retired back on the road to Perigueux. It was time for them to do so, and fortunately they found the gates of the barriers open, for they were so closely pursued that they were thrown into confusion. As soon as they could rally themselves, they dismounted, and, sword in hand, fought with the English. They maintained their ground so well that they lost nothing.' Froiss. ib. 65. Oxford and his companions, were exchanged for four French nobles, on the condition that the *lands* of Perigord should be in peace for three years. Knight or squire might take up arms, but nothing was to be burnt or pillaged in the country for that time. Ib.

⁶⁶ 'The French brought from Toulouse four large machines, which cast stones into the fortress night and day. They made no other assault; but in six days they had demolished all the roofs of the towers, and some within the castle dared to venture out of the vaulted rooms on the ground floor. It was the intention of the army to kill all within the castle, if they would not surrender themselves unconditionally.' Froiss. p. 68.

⁶⁷ When the English chiefs 'saw how desperate their situation was, they asked their servants, if there were not one among them who would, for a reward, undertake to deliver the letters they had written to the earl of Derby at Bourdeaux? One stepped forward from among them and said he would be the man, who would cheerfully undertake the commission; not thro desire of gain, but to deliver them from the peril they were in. The following night he took the letters and sewed them up in his clothes. He was let down into the ditches, and climbing up to

spy in the French camp informing him of what was passing, he sent in haste for the earl of Pembroke to join him, and marched with sir Walter Manny, with great secrecy, towards the assaulted castle.⁸⁸ Their inferiority of number compelled them to wait for Pembroke's arrival; but they paused in uneasiness at the dangerous delay.⁸⁹ At this juncture, the united judgment and bravery of sir Walter, by the suggestion of a possible surprise, effected the deliverance of the garrison by a splendid discomfiture of the besieging army, and the capture of their most important chiefs, without waiting longer for the co-operation of Pembroke.⁹⁰ He arrived after the

the opposite side, took his road thro the army, for he could not avoid passing thro it. He was not stopped by the first guard he met, because he understood the Gascon language well, and named one of the lords of the army, as if belonging to him. But as he passed on he was arrested near the tents of other chiefs, who brought him to the main guard. He was interrogated and searched till the letters were found upon him. In the morning these were read in the tent of the comte de Lisle: they rejoiced to find that the garrison was so straitened that it could not hold out much longer; but seizing the servant, they hung the letters round his neck, *thrust him into one of the machines*, and discharged him into Auberoche. He fell down quite dead within the castle.' Froiss. p. 69.

⁸⁸ 'The earl of Derby, accompanied by sir Walter Manny and the forces he had with him, took the road toward Auberoche as secretly as possible, for he had guides who were acquainted with all the bye-roads. They came to Libourne, where they stayed a whole day for the earl of Pembroke; but hearing no tidings of him, and being impatient to succor their friends who were so distressed, they set out from Libourne, and riding all night, they came on the morrow within two leagues of Auberoche.' Froiss. p. 71.

⁸⁹ 'They entered a wood, and alighting from their horses, tied them to the trees, and allowed them to pasture, while they remained expecting the arrival of Pembroke. They waited all that morning and until noon in vain, not knowing what to do; for they were but 300 lances and 600 archers, and the French were from 10,000 to 12,000 men. Yet they thought it would be cowardice to suffer their friends to be lost when they were so near.'—Froiss. ib.

⁹⁰ 'At last sir Walter Manny said, 'Gentlemen! let us who are now here mount our horses, skirt this wood, and advance until we come to their camp. When we reach it, we will stick our spurs into our horses, and, with loud shouts, fall upon them. It will be about their supper hour, and we shall see them so much discomfited, that they will not be able to rally again.' The knights replied, that they would do as he pro-

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brilliant attempt had succeeded, and expressed his regret and displeasure that such an applauded and distinguishing enterprize had not been delayed till he could have assisted to achieve it.⁹¹

posed. Each went to his horse, regirthed it, and tightened his own armor, ordering their pages and servants to remain where they were.

‘ They advanced in silence by the side of the wood, until they came to the other end, where the French army was encamped in a wide valley, near a small river. Then, displaying their banners and spurring their horses, they dashed into the midst of the French and Gascon forces, who were quite unprepared for this attack, as they were busy about their sappers, and many had set down to table.

‘ The English crying out, ‘ Derby! Derby, for ever!’ cut down tents and pavilions, and slew and wounded all that came in their way. The French did not know where to turn, so much were they surprised; and when any large body of them got into the plain, the archers and cross bowmen made such good use of their weapons, that they were slain or dispersed.

‘ The comte de Lisle was taken in his tent, badly wounded; the earl of Perigord in his pavilion, with his uncle; others were killed or made prisoners. Every one took to his heels as fast as he could, except the earl of Comminges and some nobles, who were quartered on the opposite side of the castle. These displayed their banners, drew up their men, and marched to the plain; but the English having defeated the largest body of the army, fell vigorously on these. The garrison, seeing the exertions of their friends, sallied out of the fortress into the thickest of the combat. Many gallant deeds of arms were performed; many captures made, and many rescues. At length all the comte de Lisle’s party were discomfited, and mostly taken prisoners or slain. Nine earls and viscounts were captured; and so many barons, knights and esquires; that every man of arms among the English had for his share two or three. This battle was fought on the eve of St. Laurence, 9 Aug. 1344.’ Froiss. *ib.* 71–3. ‘ They gave thanks to God for having enabled them to overcome upwards of 10,000 men, when they themselves were not more than 1,000, including every one.’ *ib.*

‘⁹¹ On the next morning, a little after sun-rise, the earl of Pembroke arrived with three hundred lances and 4,000 archers. He had been informed of the event of the battle as he came along, and said to the earl of Derby, ‘ Certainly, cousin! you have neither been courteous, nor behaved honorably, to fight my enemies without waiting for me, seeing that you had sent for me; and might have been assured that nothing should have prevented my coming to you.’ Derby explained, that they had duly waited for him, but ‘ when we saw no appearance of your coming, we dared not wait longer; for if the enemy had been informed of our arrival they would have had the advantage over us.’ Froiss. p. 74.

SIR WALTER MANNY, after a life of great military and chivalric celebrity, died at last in London, and was buried with great public pomp in the CHARTER HOUSE, which he had built at his own expense. The king with his sons, accompanied by the barons and prelates of England, attended his funeral ceremony. Froiss. v. 4. p. 151.

After these incidents had occurred in Guienne, the king prepared for his own more formidable attack. Having lost his great supporter in Flanders, by the destruction of Artaveld in an insurrection of the populace of Ghent,⁹³ he was persuaded to select Normandy as the point for his own invasion, a province abounding in wealth, and with defences of no great strength. It was this enterprise which Edward probably meant more to be a vindictive and predatory excursion for fame and booty, than a serious conflict for the crown of France, which led to the celebrated battle of Cressy.⁹³

Edward landed at La Hogue,⁹⁴ lay the first night on the sands, and having made the prince of Wales a knight, he advanced in three divisions, leading himself, with the prince, the centre. They found the country abounding with provisions, and proceeded by short marches to Caen.⁹⁵ Having loaded a fleet with the plunder thus far obtained, they marched to

He again
invades
France;
1346.

⁹³ Froissart describes this tumult, c. 116. Johnes's Trans. vol. 2. p. 95. It seems to have arisen from the Brewer's efforts to get one of Edward's sons appointed earl of Flanders.

⁹⁴ The force which Edward led on this expedition is not accurately stated. Froissart, c. 121, p. 122. mentions 4,000 men at arms and 10,000 archers; besides Welsh and Irish, who are usually reckoned at 12,000 Welsh and 6,000 Irish. This seems too small a force to fill 1100 large ships, mentioned by Knyghton, p. 2585, besides 500 smaller ones, which we may suppose carried the supplies. It is probable that Froissart has understated the proportion of English. Indeed his words imply a loose statement: '*Si pouvoient bien estre en nombre de quatre mille hommes d'armes et dix mille archers.*'

⁹⁵ The king fell, as he sprang out of the ship, and the blood gushed from his nose. His knights supported him, and recommended him to return to the ship, as this was but a '*petit signe*' for him. His immediate answer was, '*Return! this is a very good omen: it proves that the land desires me.*' c. 122.

⁹⁶ Avesbury inserts an official letter of Magister Northbury, one of the king's counsellors and companions, giving a narrative of this expedition. He says they landed at La Hogue the 12th July, that they found Barfleur to be as large as Sandwich, and Carenton as Leicester; St. Loo he thought larger than Lincoln. He makes Caen to have exceeded in size every city in England, except London. Avesb. p. 123.

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Evreux; but its fortifications preventing an immediate capture, they ravaged along the Seine from Pont l'Arche, to Gisors, Mantes, and Meulan, and reached Poissy. Here the king repaired the bridge, and, spreading out his troops, burnt St. Germain, St. Cloud, and Bourg le Reine, and threatened Paris itself, which became doubtful of its safety, as it was then unfortified.⁶⁶ But these were mere demonstrations, to alarm. The king, after skirmishing advantageously with several French parties, found that Philip was at Paris, collecting his allies, and with a force continually increasing, and that he was breaking down all the bridges near, not only to check his progress, but to intercept his retreat.⁶⁷ Deceiving Philip by an attempt to advance, he declined from Paris suddenly to Beauvais, and, abandoning all attempt to conquer France, he directed his movements to get safely out of it. With this view he fell back to Poix, near Amiens, burning and plundering on his way.⁶⁸

He re-
treats.

The king of France, vexed that Edward had escaped and deluded him, followed leisurely to the Somme. He had expected that the English would have been unable to force the passage, and in that case he intended to confine them in a corner of the coast, and either starve them into surrender, or force them to a disadvantageous battle. Pursuing this plan, he placed strong guards on all the bridges, and

⁶⁶ Froiss. c. 125. vol. 2. p. 143.—At Poissy, Edward celebrated the feast of the Assumption. 'He sat at table in his scarlet robes, without sleeves, trimmed with furs and ermines.' Ib. p. 144.

⁶⁷ Knyghton, p. 2587.—When the Parisians, in their alarm, requested Philip not to quit 'la noble cité de Paris,' the king, sure of the effect of his defensive measures, calmly answered, 'My good people, be not afraid; the English will not approach you nearer than they are.' c. 125.

⁶⁸ Mag. Northbury, 136.—Froissart, c. 126 & 127. pp. 148–154..

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the fords of the river, and broke down those which are less defensible. Edward now became embarrassed and apprehensive. His daring enterprise was owing to a calamitous termination. The Somme is wide, strong and deep; and his safety depended on crossing it. He sent two marshals, with a strong detachment, to march along the river, and to find a passage. They tried three several bridges, but were repulsed at all by their defenders, and returned in the evening to the king, with the disheartening information of their failure. This became more alarming, because Philip the same night arrived at Amiens with 100,000 men. Edward became very pensive.⁹⁹ He heard mass before sunrise, and ordered the trumpets to sound for decamping. At ten, the English left Airaines with such precipitation, that the French, who arrived there two hours after them, found the meat of the retreating army on the spits, the bread and pastry in the ovens, and some tables already spread. Edward reached Oisemont, and again examined the Somme; his efforts were this day also unsuccessful; his enemy was close upon him, and the impassable river seemed to consign him to destruction, when the shades of night gave a small interval of safety and repose.¹⁰⁰

He had taken some prisoners that afternoon; he told them with anxious courtesy the reward he would give, if any of them would show him a ford below Abbeville, where his army might pass without peril. One of them declared he knew a spot, where, at the ebb of the tide, twelve men might cross abreast; but must be done before day-break. This news was

In danger
of being
cut off.⁹⁹ 'Le roy d'Angleterre fut moult pensif.' Froiss. c. 126.¹⁰⁰ Froiss.

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like the voice of a guardian angel to Edward. His army was ordered to be ready, and at midnight every one was in march to the point of preservation. They reached the ford at sun-rise, but they found themselves too late, the river was so full that they could not cross; it was necessary to wait till the next ebb. Philip, informed by his scouts, of the movement of the English, dispatched a competent force, to guard the ford; and Edward found that he must pass it in the face of 12,000 men, who were assembled to prevent him. Perhaps no army was in a greater military crisis. The king of France was hastening to the river with all his powers, and Edward had to force his passage against such a formidable opposition, before the main French army arrived.¹⁰¹ It was a moment of animated despair. But it is on these occasions that the English resolution shines most pre-eminent.

He escapes
by passing
the river.

At the instant that the tide had sufficiently receded, the king ordered his marshals to plunge into the water in the name of God and St. George. The bravest, and the best mounted, went in first; they were eagerly followed; and a fierce engagement began. Many on both sides were unhorsed in the water; and when the English gained the land, they had to force their way thro a narrow pass. Their valor and constancy at last surmounted the opposition, and so critically, that, as they reached the farther bank, the light cavalry of the advance of the French army came up to the river, and destroyed some of the rear troops, who were late in crossing. Edward breathed his thanks to heaven for his pre-

¹⁰¹ Froiss.

servation, and marched on, sending a force to secure Crotoy, on the sea shore. This unexpected passage compelled Philip to pause. The returning tide made it impossible for him to pass the ford in pursuit; he had no choice but to go round by Abbeville;¹⁰² while Edward proceeded to the forest of Cressy, and there encamped. "Here let us place ourselves," he exclaimed; "we will not go further, till we have seen our enemies: There is reason to wait for them here, for I am on the lawful inheritance of my mother; and I will defend it against my adversary, Philip de Valois."¹⁰³ From the closeness of the pursuit, it was evident that the king could not embark without a battle; and he had now done every thing to fight it with most advantage. He had secured a point of embarkation in case of disaster, by which, at least, some part of his army might escape; and he had taken his post on strong ground, which would make his enemy's superiority least available against him.

Both parties now prepared for the decisive conflict. On Friday, the English repaired and furbished their armor. The king gave a cheerful supper to his nobles; and when they withdrew to their repose, he retired into his oratory, fell on his knees before its altar, and prayed God, that on the morrow, if they should fight, he might come off with honor. At midnight, he laid down on his couch. He rose early, and, with the prince of Wales, heard mass and communicated; and the larger part of his army made their confessions. He moved to the ground near Cressy, which he had fixed upon, put his baggage in a park in the wood, in the rear of his army. He dismounted all his men, and put their horses in the

Prepares
for the
battle of
Cressy.

¹⁰² Froiss. Mag. North.

¹⁰³ Froiss. c. 127.

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same place. He divided his force into three divisions. To the first, consisting of 800 men at arms, 2000 archers, and 1000 Welshmen, he appointed the prince of Wales. They advanced in regular order to their ground; each lord under his banner and pennon, and in the centre of his men. The second battalion, under the earl of Northampton and others, contained 800 men at arms, and 1200 archers. He made the third his own corps; it had 700 men at arms, and 2000 archers. He mounted a small palfrey, and, with a white truncheon in his hand, attended by two marshals, he went from rank to rank, exhorting and entreating them to guard his honor and defend his right. He spoke so sweetly and so cheerfully, that even the disheartened became animated, as they beheld and heard him. He then bade them all eat, and drink a draught. They took their repast at their ease, resumed their ranks, and sat down, with their helmets and bows before them, that they might be fresher when the enemy arrived.¹⁰⁴

The battle. The French king had, on the preceding evening, entertained his chief lords, and urged them to mutual friendship. In the morning, he heard mass at Abbeville, and marched to Cressy. He sent a party to reconnoitre Edward's position. The English observed their object, but let them make their observations unmolested. On their return, they advised the king to halt for the night, as evening was coming on, and his men were fatigued. The king assented; and his marshals rode to the front and rear, calling out, "Halt, banners, for the love of God and St. Denis." The front obeyed; but the rear pressing on them, the others were compelled to move forward.

¹⁰⁴ Froiss. c. 128. pp. 157-159.

Neither the king nor the marshals could stop them; and all marched without any order, till they came in sight of the English. The foremost ranks then suddenly falling back, alarmed those in the rear, who thought they had been defeated; while others were eagerly pressing on, to show their courage. The confusion of the whole became indescribable.¹⁰⁶ Philip ordered the Genoese bowmen to begin the battle. They had marched six leagues that day, in complete armor, with their cross-bows, and were so fatigued, that they told their commander they were not fit to do great exploits. The count d'Alençon, on this remark, peevishly exclaimed, "It is of much use to encumber oneself with such rabble, who always fail us in our greatest need." At this juncture a heavy rain and thunder storm came on, and darkened the sky, while large bodies of crows flew screaming thro the air. Suddenly the sun shone out, but full in the face of the French. The Genoese, getting at last together, advanced with a loud shout to frighten the English, who heard it unmoved. They uttered another, and another, with as little effect; and then presenting their bows to shoot, the English archers stepped forward one pace, and discharged their arrows with such force and quickness, that they fell like snow, pierced the armor of the Genoese in every part, and made them turn back in disorder. Enraged at their retreat, the king of France called out to his men at arms, "Kill those scoundrels, for they stop our way without any use." His absurd order was obeyed. But the English arrows falling as heavily and as destructively amongst his superb cavalry, threw them into similar confusion. The

¹⁰⁶ Froissart says, that no man can imagine or relate the disorder.

BOOK
II.
REIGN OF
EDW. III.

Welshmen rushed in upon them, in this state, with their large knives, and killed many of the French nobles before they could recover themselves. The old king of Bohemia, who had joined Philip, and was blind, had inquired of his knights, how the English were stationed? He was answered, that they stood in fine array, with the baggage behind them. "Then," said the experienced veteran, "they are resolved either to die in the field, or to be our conquerors: lead me near to some noble warrior, if you can, that I may have a blow with my sword." They complied with his wish, and linked his horse with theirs, that they might not be separated from him. They were all found dead together.¹⁰⁰

Decisive
victory of
the Eng-
lish.

Two bodies of the French, under the earls of Alençon and Flanders, advanced more regularly against the prince's battalion; and some of them broke thro his archers, and attacked his men at arms. Their number endangered him. A knight rode off to the king who was posted at a windmill with his battalion, as a reserve, entreating his aid. "Is my son dead, unhorsed, or hurt?" No, sire; but he is hardly pressed, and needs your help. "Return, sir Thomas, and tell those who sent you, not to expect me while my son is alive: Tell them, that I command that they let my boy win his spurs; for I wish, if God has so ordained, that the day be his own, and that the honor rest with him, and those in whose care I have placed him." This noble answer redoubled the courage of those to whom it was reported; and the second division, aiding bravely the prince's exertions, the victory was

¹⁰⁰ Walsingh. p. 157. Froiss. c. 130. pp. 162-166.

complete.¹⁰⁷ The king of France was wounded and unhorsed, and was carried off with difficulty. His army broke, and could not be rallied. Some wandered about, attacking the English in small parties, but they were soon destroyed. The English, being so greatly outnumbered, had determined that day to give no quarter. The slaughter was proportionably great.¹⁰⁸ The victors attempted no pursuit; they continued in their ranks. When the struggle was ended, the king came down from his post, embraced and kissed his gallant son, then scarcely sixteen years of age, and declared him worthy to be a sovereign. The prince bowed very low, and referred his success to his father's skill and resolution. They made great fires, and lighted torches thro their camp. The king forbad all riot and noise, and the night was passed with much grateful devotion. A small party of French was the next day encountered and overpowered; and Edward now was enabled to march to Calais.¹⁰⁹

He sent to England for a supply of provisions;¹¹⁰ and on 3d September 1346, encamped before Calais,

Siege of
Calais.

¹⁰⁷ Froissart's description of this battle has furnished the most interesting circumstances, c. 130.—Mag. Northbury says, it was 'tres fort et endura longement gar les enemys se porterount mult noblement.'

¹⁰⁸ Northbury enumerates among the slain, the king of Bohemia, the duke of Lorrain, the count d'Alençon, the count of Flanders, and eight other counts, two archbishops, and several lords and German barons. He adds, 'the sum of the good gentz d'armes, who fell in the field this day, 'sans comunes et pedailles,' were 1,542.' Avesbury, p. 138.—Froissart states, that the English reckoned 11 chefs de princes, 80 banners, 1200 knights, and about 30,000 other persons. c. 132. p. 172.

¹⁰⁹ Froiss. c. 132. p. 173.

¹¹⁰ Northbury.—He writes urgently: 'The king requires of you provisions, and as soon as you can send them; because, since we left Caen, we have traversed the country with great labor and much damage to our people. But, thank God, we have had no defeat. But now we are in such a plight, that we need to be refreshed. Written before Calais, 4 Sept.'

BOOK
II.REIGN OF
EDW. III.Battle of
Neville's
Cross;
17 Oct.
1346.

to besiege it. He resolved to starve it into a surrender. He built a little town of wooden houses around it, with a market-place, for the comfort of his army. The governor, Jean de Vienne, perceiving his project, sent seventeen hundred of the poorer persons out of the town; and Edward, with a high-souled compassion, let them go, giving them a hearty dinner as they passed, and two sterlings to each individual.¹¹¹ A rare instance of generous warfare.

While Edward was engaged at this siege, Philip excited David the king of Scotland to invade England with a large force.¹¹² David entered Durham, and advanced within three miles of Newcastle, where the English army had collected. Both parties drew out their battle-array at Neville's Cross. Edward's queen, PHILIPPA, was with the English, and remained on the field till they were formed into four grand divisions, and till she had entreated them to do their duty. She then retired, recommending them to the protection of Heaven and St. George. Three of the divisions were under the command of prelates, Durham, York, and Lincoln. But in the reign of this martial prince, the spirit of the country emulated his own, and the clergy, not to their credit, became greatly secularized in their manners. The battle lasted three hours. It ended in the total defeat of the Scots;

¹¹¹ Froiss. 133. p. 175. This author, so minute in all his circumstances, does not mention that Edward used cannon at the battle of Cressy. I have therefore not alluded to them, as the more recent Italian author, Villani, who notices them, is not a sufficient authority. The first use of artillery will be considered in a subsequent chapter of this Work.

¹¹² Froissart states, that when all assembled, 'Ils furent bien qu'uns qu'autres cinquante mille combatans.' c. 137. I will not press the exactitude of his numbers, as he accompanies them with qualifying expressions. He enumerates the English who fought there, as 1200 men at arms, 300 archers, and 7000 others. p. 188.

the capture of their king, and many noblemen ; and in a great destruction of the inferior classes.¹¹³ CHAP. IV.

The king of France collected a powerful force, to relieve Calais. Edward observed that there were but two roads by which Philip could approach the city ; over the downs by the sea side, or thro the country, that was full of ditches and bogs, with only one bridge. He planted his fleet along the shore, with their engines, so that no army could pass there without destruction ; and he stationed a powerful force to guard the bridge. Philip reconnoitred the country and posts very often, but was advised that it was impossible to penetrate to the city without a ruinous loss of men. Reluctantly he was obliged to decamp, and leave Calais to its fate. Its garrison had endured the greatest sufferings, with the hope of relief. But when they beheld the French banners retiring, they saw that protracted resistance would be unavailing, and they demanded a parley. Sir Walter Manny informed them, that no conditions could be allowed. The governor appealed to the merit of his loyalty to his own master, and to the gallantry of the English king. Edward at last consented, that if six of the principal citizens came out with bare heads and feet, and with the keys in their hands, and ropes round their necks, he would forgive the other inhabitants. It was difficult to

REIGN OF
EDW. III.
Philip at-
tempts to
relieve
Calais.

¹¹³ Froissart, c. 138. pp. 187-196. He notices about 15,000 of the Scots to have fallen. Knyghton makes them above 20,000, p. 2591.— Lord Hailes is not pleased that the queen should have shared in the honor of the battle, and wishes to doubt her presence, because Froissart is the *only* writer who states it. If we disbelieve all the facts of this reign, for which we have *only* Froissart's authority, our scepticism must take a large sweep. But that women could be heroines in that age, we have an instance in the countess of Montfort. See Froissart, c. 73, p. 227. c. 81. pp. 300-311.

BOOK

II.

REIGN OF
EDW. III.Surrender
of the city.

find six townsmen who would devote themselves for the rest. At last, Eustace St. Pierre, one of the wealthiest in the place, magnanimously offered himself. His example excited five other kindred spirits. They left the walls amid the groans, tears, and blessings of their fellow citizens, and were conducted to the presence of the king.

The recollection of his losses in the siege, and of the injuries which his people had formerly suffered from the ships of the town, counteracted his usual generosity. He eyed them with angry looks, and ordered their heads to be struck off. Sir Walter Manny had the spirit to tell him, "You have the reputation, sire, of great nobleness of soul; tarnish it not by such an act of cruelty as this." The king was inexorable, and the executioner was sent for. His pregnant QUEEN then fell at his feet, and begged their lives, as a gift of his love to her. He gazed at her for some time in silence. His better feelings at last triumphed, and he exclaimed, "I give them to you: do as you please with them." She released them, cheered them with a courteous entertainment, clothed them, and had them escorted safely out of the camp.¹¹⁴ Three years afterwards, Philip

¹¹⁴ Froiss. c. 146. pp. 221-227.—Knyghton's account of the surrender is, that the knights came out with bare heads and reverted swords, and the burghers with ropes in their hands, as a sign that the king might hang them if he pleased; and that they cried out with a loud voice, that they had traitorously defended the place against him. The king, '*misericordia motus*,' received them into his grace. p. 2595. They had defended the town nearly eleven months. Mons. L'Evesque thinks Froissart's incidents more poetical than historical; but the verification of some of the names of the citizens, in the arguments brought against him, is strong evidence in his favor. Knyghton's '*misericordia motus*' leaves a large blank for Froissart's '*quomodo*.' The *Scala Chronica* rather supports Froissart: 'The capitayne and burgeses of the toun cam with halteres about theyr nekkes, submitting themself to king Edward.' p. 562. So the contemporary poet Minot:—

attempted to regain Calais by treachery. Edward received information of it, and went himself, with his son, privately into the town. They sallied out on the advancing French, and, after an arduous conflict, in which the king was twice struck to the ground in a personal combat with Eustace de Ribamont, the French were foiled.¹¹⁵

CHAP.
IV.

REIGN OF
EDW. III.

Lystens now, and ye may lere
 Als men the suth may understand.
 The knightes that in Calais were,
 Come to sir Edward sare wepand;
 In kirtell one and swerd in hand,
 And cried, 'Sir Edward, thine we are,
 'Do now, lord, bi law of land,
 'Thi will with us for evermare.'
 The noble burgase and the best
 Come unto him to have thaire hire.
 The comun peple war ful prest,
 Rapes to bring about thaire swire.

Minot, p. 37.

The ancient historian of France, Paulus Emilius, inserts Froissart's account in his Hist. Franc. p. 283.

¹¹⁵ Froiss. c. 151. p. 246.—The king entertained the French prisoners with a supper. The prince of Wales and the English knights served up the first course, and waited on their guests: at the second, they went to another table, and were themselves attended. The king gave Ribamont a chaplet of fine pearls. Ib. c. 152. p. 247.

CHAP. V.

Continuation of the Reign of EDWARD III.—Battle of Poitiers—Peter the Cruel—He solicits the Black Prince—who reinstates Peter—Final reverses—Death of the Black Prince—Edward's decline and demise.

BOOK
II.REIGN OF
EDW. III.Battle of
Poitiers;
19 Sept.
1356.

THE war was continued with France, with intermissions, for several years afterwards.¹ Philip died, and his son John succeeded. In his reign, in 1356, the prince of Wales made an attack from Guienne, which led to the memorable battle of Poitiers. The inhumanities of war so invariably accompany its glories, that the mind is perplexed how to applaud the bravery of gallant actions, without injury to social sympathy. In the prince's letter, we read, that in a progress of operations in two months, on the whole course of the Garonne, from Bourdeaux to Narbonne, he had taken 500 villages, and many great cities and walled towns, and, in both going and returning, had laid the country waste by fire. The people of Montpellier fled to Avignon for safety; and the Pope, who resided there, doubting his own security, had all the gates of his palace covered with iron. His holiness offered the prince money to spare Perigord. Edward answered, that his father

¹ The Scots, at times, renewed their incursions. Her king David was conducted to the Tower of London, in a public procession, with a pomp calculated to make a great impression. He was placed on a high black horse, to be seen by all; and twenty thousand well-arrayed soldiers, and the companies of London, dressed in their best costumes, and with their appropriate insignia, attended him. Knyghton, 2592.—Robert, the steward or seneschal of Scotland, was made regent. Hailes, 221; and see his Annals, to page 241, for the incidents preceding 1357.

had plenty of money, and did not want that ; but that he would do what he came to perform, which was the chastisement of those who were in rebellion against his right.² Inspired by his successes, the prince entered Auvergne, and penetrated to Berri, plundering, burning and destroying all around. The king of France summoned all his feudal nobles and tenants to attend him, and advanced towards the English, who had now entered Touraine, and were preparing to retreat thro Poitou. The prince, satisfied that he had dared and achieved enough, hastened his movements back, to escape the approaching force. His foragers were prevented, by the vicinity of the French army, from getting supplies at a distance ; and the English, from their great want of provisions, began to lament their own ravages.³

The prince, informed that the French were pressing rapidly upon him, called in his stragglers, and ordered that no one, on pain of death, should advance or skirmish before the line of the marshals. On this day, Saturday, he marched from nine o'clock to vespers, when they came within two leagues of Poitiers. He sent out a detachment, to observe the station of the French ; and being informed, on its return, that their numbers were immense, he answered with steady resolution, " May God then assist us ! we must now consider how to fight them most to our

² See the prince's letter to Avesbury, 211-218. Let us, however, rejoice, that the campaigns of the duke of Wellington have, in our days, been as distinguished for their humanity, forbearance, and even kindness towards our enemies, as for their military glory. In this combination of the generous with the martial virtues, Wellington has excelled the Black Prince, and presented a noble example for the instruction and imitation of Europe.

³ Froiss. c. 159. p. 303.

BOOK
II.
REIGN OF
EDW. III.

advantage.”⁴ He took a strong position, that night, among vineyards and hedges. The next morning, the king of France sent Eustace de Ribaumont to reconnoitre them. His answer was, “They are about 2,000 men at arms, 4,000 archers, and 1500 footmen. They are in a strong position, and have arranged themselves very wisely; they have placed themselves along the road, fortified by hedges and shrubs; they have lined the hedges with part of their archers, so that to attack them you must pass thro the midst of these, for the lane has no other entrance or exit, and is so narrow that scarcely four men can ride thro it abreast. At the end of the lane, amidst vines and thorns, where it is impossible to make a progress, their men at arms are posted, with archers drawn up before them like a harrow.” He recommended a body of the bravest of the French to be selected, to break, if possible, the archers, and to be followed by a rapid advance of all the battalions, dismounted.⁵

The French were divided into three bodies, each consisting of 16,000 men at arms. King John put on his royal armor, and nineteen were arrayed like him. An attempt was made by a French cardinal to negotiate; but John would hear of nothing but unconditional surrender, and the prince disdained such terms. The French passed their Sunday in abundant feasting, the English in great privation; but they made many mounds and ditches round their archers, to keep them more secure. The prince continued his positions as Eustace had described


⁴ Froiss. p. 306.

⁵ Ib. c. 160. p. 309. I have inserted the speech of Eustace, as it describes so fully the judicious position of the prince, and makes the result of the conflict intelligible and natural.

them, with the additions of putting 300 men at arms, and as many archers, on horseback, on a small hill on the right, to get round the wing of the second French division, which was on foot, at the bottom of the eminence. He also kept a few valiant and skilful knights on horseback ; and, taking his station with the main body in the vineyard, he harangued his men, and awaited the formidable attack. His whole army did not exceed 8,000 persons. The French were 60,000, or, more probably, 40,000.*

The eagerness of the French to engage, prevented the execution of Ribaumont's plan. Their first battalion advanced before those who were to break the archers, and entered the lane which they lined. The English waited till they were completely in it, and then from both hedges shot their arrows with such strength and certain aim, that the horses plunged unruly from the path, turned back, and were unmanageable. Their masters were at the mercy of their opponents ; and the whole division was in confusion and discomfiture, unable either to advance or extricate themselves. Their rear recoiled in disorder and alarm on the second division that was coming up. The English arrows poured down upon these like hail. The French did not know where to turn, either to escape or to get forward ; and in this crisis of hesitation, the English body on the hill, who were watching for such a moment, came suddenly down, and charged vigorously on the French wing. Panic now thinned the discouraged assailants in every part. The prince was advised to seize the auspicious opportunity. He called out, " Banners, advance in

* Froiss. c. 161. p. 316-318. But Knyghton says the number of the French in the battle, ' de omne populo,' 40,000. p. 2615.

BOOK
II.REIGN OF
EDW. III.


the name of God and St. George!" and rushed with the men at arms on the confused and dismayed enemy. The severest exertion of the battle now came on. The French fought in parts desperately, exclaiming, "Montjoye! St. Denis!" The English answered with, "St. George! Guienne!"⁷ Swords, battle-axes, arrows and spears, were mingled with destructive energy. It was now rather a massacre than a battle. The English became weary of striking and killing; the archers exhausted all their arrows, and took up stones, and whatever they could seize near them, that was likely to be destructive. The French at last fled generally, and the exhausted English stood refreshing and recovering themselves; when king John made a rally in despair, and came suddenly with a large body on the part where the prince was remaining with only a few around him. For a while he was in imminent danger; but the earl of Warwick, returning from his pursuit with his battalion, charged on the king's flank, and completed the victory.⁸ John fought vigorously with his battle-axe, but he was at last surrounded and overpowered, and the French dispersed at every point.

Noble
conduct of
the Black
Prince.

The pursuit and slaughter was continued to the gates of Poitiers, and the prince was at last gratulated, that his victory was complete. His banner was then placed upon a high bush. The minstrels began to play, and the trumpet and clarions to sound. The prince took off his helmet; his knights soon pitched a small crimson pavilion, which he entered; wine was brought for his refreshment; and in a short

⁷ Froiss. c. 162. p. 325.⁸ Knyghton, p. 2613.

time the captured king of France was introduced. The prince received him with a low obeisance, comforted him for the event of the battle, and presented him with a cup of wine and spices with the kindest courtesy.⁹ At night a supper was prepared. The prince served the king's table himself with the humblest attentions; declined to sit down in his presence, as he desired; complimented him on the personal bravery he had displayed, surpassing the best of his followers; and assured him, that his father would show him every honor and friendship, and arrange with him so reasonably as to perpetuate their future amity. The French felt the nobleness of the prince's generous courtesy, and proclaimed him "un gentil seigneur."¹⁰ The prince fell back to Bourdeaux; and England was thrown into an ecstasy of admiration and delight at this splendid victory.¹¹

It was indeed grand and admirable. It had been obtained by all the combinations of true greatness of martial mind—judgment, skill, resolution, perseverance, activity, and valor of the most exalted degree. But that in the tumult and exultations of a success so glorious, the prince of Wales should have exerted that rare self-command; should have calmed his internal emotions to such courteous modesty, such polished humility; and, after the fatigues of so exhausting a day, should have soothed the poignant

⁹ Froiss. c. 163. p. 338. King John's son was taken with him.

¹⁰ Froiss. c. 168. Mr. Johnes has added to his translation of Froissart, from an extract taken from the convent of the freres Mineurs in Poitiers, a list of the French knights who fell in the battle: The first is 'the duke of Athens, constable of France.' pp. 347-350.

¹¹ 'Solemn thanksgivings were offered up in all the churches, and bonfires made in every town and village. Those knights and squires who returned to England, after having been in this battle, were honored in preference to any others.' Froissart. Johnes, p. 356.

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EDW. III.

feelings of his royal captive by personally waiting upon him as a great and honored guest—displays a moral sublimity more rare and more difficult than even the heroic valor and military sagacity by which he had almost brought the fabled exploits of an Amadis into a real existence. The highest refinement of the chivalric character was never more brilliantly displayed. But Edward and his son were its most perfect models; and with them it disappeared. The heroism, without the polish, survived awhile in Du Guesclin; but their combination expired with the Black Prince. Qualities, more beneficial to society, took their place in the human character. Courtesy and intellect became afterwards united in the perfect gentleman, instead of courtesy and war; and the more widely the association of the gentle virtues, with cultivated mind, is diffused, the improvement and the felicity of mankind will be proportionately advanced. Our commercial spirit has given an importance to mere wealth, which has diffused an alloy of sensuality and vulgar pride. But it is probable that even these debasing exotics will be subdued by the increasing influence of literature; and that the combination of courtesy, intellect, religion, and virtue, will in time exhibit a perfection in the human character, which as yet has only been individually obtained.¹²

¹² The modesty with which the prince spoke of his extraordinary victory, appears in his French letter to the bishop of Worcester upon it, printed in *Archæol.* vol. 1. p. 213.

‘Rev. Father in God, and very dear friend!

‘We thank you heartily for what we have heard of you, that you are so truly and so entirely attached to us as to have prayed to heaven for us, and upon our exploit. We are certain that thro such devout fathers as you and others, that God has been pleased to aid us in all our necessities. For this we are bound to thank Him every day, and beg you to continue to do so for us as you have hitherto done, and by which we consider ourselves greatly obliged.

‘And reverend father! as we think you desire to hear good news of

After spending the winter at Bourdeaux, the accomplished prince conducted his prisoners to England. King John was placed in a ship by himself, to be more at his ease, and landed at Sandwich. The English sovereign prepared to receive him with every demonstration of honor and respect. The citizens of London dressed their companies with their richest decorations. The king of France was seated upon a white courser, with superb trappings, and, with the prince of Wales on a small black horse by his side, passed thro London to the Savoy, his allotted residence. Edward and his queen made him frequent visits, and the most sumptuous entertainments were provided for his recreation.¹³

The victory at Poitiers had enriched the Black Prince and his country with high warlike celebrity, but had no other effect on France than to produce internal feuds, from the imprisonment of its king. His son Charles was made regent, and his subjects refused all national sacrifices for his deliverance. Four years after the great victory, Edward invaded France, from Calais, with 100,000 men; and if king-

us, you will be glad to know that we are at this moment quite well, and in good condition, thanks to heaven for it, and we wish to learn the same thing of you. On the eve of St. Thomas of Canterbury we began to ride with our power towards the French territories, and especially because we heard of the coming of our honored lord and father to these parts; and we proceeded to Berges in Berry, Orleans and Tours. We received news that the king of France, with great power near these frontiers, was coming to fight us, and we approached him, so that the battle took place between us, and in such a manner that the enemy were discomfited, by God's favor, and the king and his son, and many other great persons were taken or killed, whose names we send you by our dear bachelor, Roger de Cottesford, the bearer of this. Reverend father and our dear friend! May the Holy Spirit have you always in His keeping. Given under our seal at Bourdeaux, 20 October (1356.)'

¹³ Froiss. c. 173. pp. 368-370.—The king of Scotland was about this time released from prison, and was eagerly welcomed by his subjects. *Ib.* 372.

BOOK
II.REIGN OF
EDW. III.

doms were overturned by arithmetical calculations, it might have been expected that if 8,000 English could defeat 40,000 French and capture their king, 100,000 English must conquer France. But the events of war defy all military and political arithmetic. The young regent provided his chief towns with provisions and troops, and abstained from all pitched battles; and tho the English moved on with the bravest army in Europe, under their heroic king and prince; the first warriors of their day, they could only plunder and advance. Resolute not to fight an enemy so superior in strength, discipline, and constancy, Charles permitted them to approach even to the gates of Paris, without departing from his defensive system. He knew that nature and industry would repair their ravages; but that an active campaign must consume their army. Edward, finding permanent conquest impossible, accepted of the mediation of the Pope's legate; and the peace of Bretigny was concluded, which annulled all former treaties, and put the relations of the two countries on a new foundation.¹⁴ By this treaty, Gascony and Guienne, the earldom of Ponthieu and Guisnes, Calais and its dependencies, the isles of the British channel, and some minor places, were assured to the king of England, with a renunciation of all feudal homage. Edward on his part abandoned all claim to the crown of France; and to Normandy, Bretagne, and Flanders. John was to be released, and three millions of crowns of gold to be paid for his ransom.¹⁵

¹⁴ Of this campaign, see Froissart, c. 207-213; vol. 3, of Johnson's translation, pp. 1-61.

¹⁵ The treaty of Bretigny, at full length, is inserted in Rymer's *Fœdera*, vol. 6.—Dr. Brady translated it into English, with notes; and it has been copied into Tindal's translation of Rapin. In November 1360,

The great impeachment of the merit of the Black Prince is the war which he undertook in Spain, to replace Don Pedro the Cruel on the throne of Castile. Pedro, by the admission of all the contemporary writers, is represented to have been one of those monsters which recall to us the brutal ferocity of uncivilized man, and seem only fitted to appear in the romances of writers who prefer the horrible to the natural. After destroying his brothers, and many of his nobles, he first imprisoned and then murdered his wife, the sister of the queen of France.¹⁶ This last crime could not be palliated; and it excited the strongest sensibility in the court of France, and a desire of punishing a man whose life was a satire on his species.¹⁷

CHAP.
V.

REIGN OF
EDW. III.
Peter the
Cruel.

king John returned to France, Froiss. v. 3. p. 66. In January 1364, he came back into England, as the terms of the treaty were not fulfilled, and was received with great kindness by Edward, and lodged in the Savoy Palace, ib. 122. 'He passed there part of the winter very gaily with his countrymen. The king of England visited him often, as did his children, the dukes of Clarence and Lancaster, and Edmund his youngest son. There were several times great feastings between them, in dinners, suppers and other entertainments, at this hotel of Savoy, and at the palace of Westminster, whither the King went in a private manner, whenever he chose it, by means of the River Thames.' Ib. 122. The king of France soon afterwards died there, p. 126. On 7 May 1364, he was buried in the abbey of St. Anthony, near Paris; after which, on the Trinity Sunday, his son Charles was crowned at Rheims, p. 160.

¹⁶ The Memoires de Du Guesclin, vol. 4. p. 82, and Froissart's, are contemporary accounts of the crimes of Pedro. Both give the popular traditions, as well as the facts of history, concerning him; and one of the former may be his hatred of Christianity and his attachment to the Jews. The Memoires detail the queen's murder by a party of Jews, with circumstances which have all the air of romance. 89-100. Mariana ascribes it to poison, administered by a physician at Pedro's command. l. 17. c. 4.

¹⁷ Rodericus Santius seems half disposed to lessen the odium against Peter; but he confesses his hatred to the queen, caused by his concubine Maria de Padilla, on which he tells an absurd story, and attributes it to magic. He also admits, that on his brothers and prelates striving to reconcile them, he banished some, slew others, and filled his kingdom with the blood of his nobility. Pars. 3. c. 14. But, tho he says the queen died with grief, he details, in his next chapters, a series of his

BOOK
II.REIGN OF
EDW III.
Dethroned
by Du
Guesclin.

At this period the celebrated Du Guesclin was in great credit with his sovereign;¹⁸ and it may be conceived, that he who on his death-bed, after a life of warfare, told his officers to recollect that “in whatever country they waged war, neither the clergy, nor the women, children, nor poor people, were their enemies,” was roused to all the heroism of his chivalric character, when he heard of the conduct of a prince so debased.¹⁹ The state of France favored the gratification of his feelings. France was then ravaged by those bands of military adventurers, the disbanded soldiers of the preceding wars, who, associating together under leaders of their own appointment, attacked and ravaged various parts of France, with no other object than that of plunder. They were composed of Germans, English, Bretons, Navarrese, Gascons, and Flemings. They were formidable for their valor, their former victories, and their experience; and their successes alarmed the

detestable murders, extending even to the king of Granada. c. 16.—Mariana has preserved a full history of Pedro's actions, l. 16. c. 16–21. and l. 17. c. 1–13.

¹⁸ Bertrand Du Guesclin was as renowned in the popular traditions of France, as Wallace in those of Scotland. The *Memoires* of him are a reprint of Lefebvre's scarce publication, which the author composed from documents of the fourteenth century, written by Guesclin's contemporaries. They are sometimes highly colored.

¹⁹ The account of Guesclin's infancy and education is as picturesque as any romancer could wish. It gives us the intractable, untameable infant Achilles; the rude uncultivated hero in embryo, and nothing but the hero. And as the *Memoires* shew that ‘*le fameux connetable ne savoit pas lire*,’ the rough features which it sketches may not be fictitious. He was in fact a French Richard Cœur de Lion; the warrior of a century back, and a complete contrast to the polished heroism of his competitor and conqueror, the Black Prince. It was the remark of others besides his mother, ‘*qu'il avoit plus l'air d'un bouvier que d'un gentilhomme*.’ War was his element and sole delight, and in this he transcended all his countrymen; and when the Black Prince became disabled, Guesclin wrested from England nearly all its conquests in France. See his infancy, in the *Memoires du Guesc.* c. 1. pp. 345–363.

French government as much as they distressed the French people.²⁰ Du Guesclin beheld them with the eye of a superior genius, and perceived at once that if he could be allowed to prosecute his desired enterprise, of delivering Spain from the cruelties of Peter, by their instrumentality, he might not only punish the unworthy king, but liberate his own country from the depredations of men who were oppressing it merely because they wanted military employment. He had two difficulties to overcome, to accomplish his wishes: he had to persuade them to enlist in his adventure, and the king of France to confide it to his care, with them for his assistants. The obvious policy of a measure that would lead these dangerous troops out of France without hostility, concurred, with the high character of Du Guesclin for probity and loyalty, to secure the approbation of the French king. It remained to treat with the marauders, who were then encamped near Chalons. Du Guesclin sent a herald, to request permission to visit them. His warlike reputation easily obtained it. He found their chiefs at table. They hailed him with acclamations; he drank with them, and proposed his enterprise. The unknightly crimes of Peter were felt by all; and when he accompanied his proposal to unite to punish him, with a promise from the king of France that they should have 200,000 livres for

²⁰ Mem. Guesclin, c. 16. They were called the White Companies, from the white cross they wore on their shoulder. Ib. p. 118. These armed bodies began to appear in France about the year 1360. The alarm they excited was so great, that the Songe du Verdier charges them with roasting infants and old people, when no one would ransom them. The editor of the Memoires has preserved two Latin hymns to the Virgin, for deliverance from their fury, vol. 5. p. 286; and see Froissart on them, vol. 1. c. 230; also Walsingham, pp. 171 & 175. Sir John Hawkwood, an Englishman, led one of these bands into Italy, and acquired great reputation there. Wals. 179.

BOOK
II.
REIGN OF
EDW. III.

their just reward, and that he would exert himself to obtain from the Pope an absolution from their former sins, they unanimously adopted the adventure, the English knights only bargaining that they might be required to undertake nothing against the prince of Wales their lord. Guesclin left them with assurances, that he would fulfil all his engagements with them; and their answer was, that they had more confidence in him than in all the prelates in France or at Avignon.²¹

The leaders were admitted to pay their respects to the French king, who received them with judicious courtesy. They restored the castles they had taken, and were marched to Avignon. But while France was blessing her hero for her deliverance from their presence, the Pope and his cardinals at Avignon became alarmed in the same proportion at their approach. A cardinal was sent, to inquire the cause of their visit. He was informed, that they wanted absolution, and 200,000 livres to pay the charges of the holy war they had undertaken. The first demand would have been easily complied with; the latter occasioned a pause. But it was obvious to the holy father, that, with warriors of their temper, delay only increased the evil of his situation. The money was raised; the absolution given; and Guesclin conducted his formidable troops safely over the Pyrenees.²²

The conduct of Peter had occasioned Henry of

²¹ Mem. Guesclin, c. 16. pp. 100-105. Some of their leaders were English knights. The names of sir Hugues Caurelay, sir Matthew de Gournay, sir Nicolas Strambant, sir Robert Scot, sir Oliver Manny, and the Green Knight, appear among them.—Froissart states, that Guesclin's ransom, 100,000 francs, was paid to sir John Chandos, to enable him to undertake the expedition. c. 230.

²² Mem. Guesclin, pp. 106-114.

Tristemarre, his reputed natural brother, to aspire to the throne. But Peter's influence and strength had expelled Henry from Castile; and the king of Arragon not daring to receive him, he had fled to a remote castle, living in hourly danger of falling into the hands of his enemy. The arrival of Du Guesclin dispersed his alarms, and animated his hopes. He accompanied them into Spain. Their victorious arms beat down all opposition; the Castilians welcomed Henry and his friends as their deliverers; and Peter fled the country.²³

This unworthy prince was as sagacious as he was unprincipled, and he contrived to make the very circumstance of Du Guesclin's invading him, the means of retrieving his affairs. The Black Prince was then in those parts of France which he had conquered. The most brilliant part of his life had been passed in competition with the French power; and the natural jealousy of its revival, and of the excelling fame of any of its warriors, would most probably excite him to espouse any side which was in opposition to them. It was on this operation of human nature that the Spanish tyrant calculated, and his calculation was unfortunately right. We have no need of the less honorable tale, of the superb golden table which Peter carried with him, to account for the son of Edward adopting his cause.²⁴

Peter
resolves
to visit the
Black
Prince:

²³ The Mem. Guesclin, from p. 119 to 186, gives a popular account of these transactions, heightened with many traits of colloquial imagery. The less interesting, but more sober narratives of Rodericus Santius and Mariana, may be consulted for the authentic particulars.

²⁴ This table of gold, adorned with jewels and the finest pearls of the East, the ransom of a king of Granada to one of Pedro's ancestors, and Edward's admiration and acceptance of it, might be classed among the popular tales of the age, invented to account for Edward's support of Don Pedro (see it described in the Mem. Du Guescl. pp. 149 & 192;) but that in the Black Prince's will we have a superb table thus described:

BOOK
II.REIGN OF
EDW. III.He solicits
his aid.

When the prince heard that Peter, the king of Castile, was in his palace, an exile, soliciting an interview, he sent a knight to conduct him, and, with that peculiar courtesy which marked his accomplished character, he is stated, not to have waited till he approached him, but to have advanced half way to meet him. Peter was a profound adept in the art of dissimulation, and he assumed a behaviour the most fitted to impress the mind of his generous host. He came forward with a profound reverence, and with a countenance expressing the deepest distress. When requested to state his grievances, he pathetically painted his situation—driven from his throne—betrayed by his subjects—banished out of his own kingdom—the victim of perfidy, treason, and ingratitude. The tears that flowed copiously from his eyes, and the sobs that frequently interrupted his discourse, roused the best sympathies of Edward; and, without pausing to consider the personal conduct of the sufferer, the prince did not even permit him to finish, but desired him to re-cover his head, and indiscreetly promised him, that he would sacrifice his life in battle, if necessary, in order that his head should be again as completely covered with his crown as it now was with his hat. The gratitude of Peter was expressed as theatrically as his despair, and with equal effect on his illustrious host. The princess, who was at her toilet when the king arrived, heard of her husband's determination to support him with great sorrow, and she expressed warmly

‘ We give and devise our great table of gold and silver, all full of precious relics, and in the middle a cross of the holy wood : The said table is garnished with stones and pearls ; that is, with twenty-five rubies, thirty-four sapphires, fifty thick pearls, and many other sapphires, emeralds and small pearls, &c.’ Royal and Noble Wills, p. 71.

her surprise that the prince should have allowed himself to have been imposed upon by a man so criminal. Edward, on hearing of her displeasure, unfortunately misconceived its principle. "I see," exclaimed he, "that she wants me to be always at her side. But a prince who wishes to immortalize his name, must *seek* occasions to signalize himself in war, and must by his victories obtain renown among posterity. By St. George, *I will* restore Spain to its right inheritor."²⁵ A fatal determination, which brought a series of mortifications and a mortal disease upon himself, and dishonor to his country. It is in vain that conquerors attempt to gain triumphs by violating the rules of justice and humanity; their successes are ephemeral; their repentance is poignantly severe; their disgrace eternal.

The prince pursued his new object with his usual ability. He recalled from Henry and Du Guesclin all the English that had accompanied them; a severe blow, as these were their principal strength;²⁶ and with 17,000 men at arms, besides a great number of expert Genoese cross-bowmen, he entered Navarre.²⁷ But want of provisions soon distressed him, and Du Guesclin surprised and destroyed his advanced guard that was plundering to obtain them. This success stimulated the other chiefs in Henry's service to

Prince
reinstates
Peter.
Feb. 1367.

²⁵ The Mem. Du Guesclin, 189-194, have preserved these circumstances; and, altho the account of an enemy, yet, as they exactly correspond with the known character of Edward, they seem entitled to our belief. See Froissart's account, in his 231st chapter. The first treaty between Edward III. and Don Pedro is dated 22 June 1362. It was confirmed 1 Feb. and 1 March 1363. By another compact of 23 Sept., 1366, Don Pedro acknowledges himself to owe the prince of Wales 56,000 gold florins, which Edward had advanced him; and articles of convention between Pedro, the prince, and the king of Navarre, of the same date, were also entered into. See them in Rymer's *Fœdera*.

²⁶ Froissart, c. 233 & 234.

²⁷ Froissart describes this campaign, c. 237-241.

BOOK
II.REIGN OF
EDW. III.Battle of
Navarette,
3d April
1367.Peter's in-
gratitude.

oppose the advice of Guesclin, who recommended that nothing should be hazarded, but that the English should be left to consume away, from famine. Guesclin was piqued by the bravadoes of his opponents to depart from his cautious plan, and to risk a battle that was so essential to Edward's safety. The shock of the two contending heroes and their forces, took place near Navarette. The skill, the discipline, and the valor of the Black Prince prevailed against all the exertions of Du Guesclin, who, as the battle was lost, endangered himself, and was made prisoner, that Henry might escape amidst the total defeat and dispersion of his army.²⁸

The re-establishment of Peter on the throne he had so much disgraced, was the consequence of this victory ; and it was in perfect conformity with his previous character, that his future conduct towards the Black Prince should be marked with the basest ingratitude.²⁹ Personal vanity, a passion for fame, however earned, and a confidence in his own prowess, seem to have been the leading motives to Edward in forming this unnatural alliance with a man whose character was so unlike his own high-souled and

²⁸ Mem. Du Guescl. 196-226. Froissart portrays, with animation, Henry's speeches and valor, c. 241. Yet, considering that the Black Prince commanded, I am surprised that Froissart should say that Henry 'felt and knew well enough, that if he were taken he would be killed without mercy.' The prince believed that he was acting in a just cause, and evinced this conviction as the armies began to approach. 'With his eyes and hands uplifted towards heaven, he exclaimed, 'God of truth! the father of Jesus Christ, who has made and fashioned me! condescend, thro thy Divine grace, that the success of the battle of this day may be for me and my army; for Thou knowest, that in truth I have been solely emboldened to undertake it in the support of justice and reason, to reinstate this king upon his throne, who has been disinherited and driven from it, as well as from his country.' Froiss. v. 3. p. 305. He seems not to have known or believed Pedro's unworthiness, till he afterwards experienced it.

²⁹ Mem. Du Guesclin, 227-237; and see Froissart, c. 242, 243.

generous disposition. His military qualities produced all the effects that it was natural should result from them, for Providence does not usually work by miracles; but other natural causes were also suffered to have their usual operation, to chastise the attempt to support a criminal so depraved. The climate of Spain diminished his army by disease, and fixed in his own constitution a malady from which he never recovered. For eight years this preyed upon his strength, and destroyed all his energies. Pedro had refused to pay his army, tho it had enthroned him; and to raise the money they wanted, the prince imposed a tax on his French dominions, which alienated them from their attachment to England, and urged them to solicit the protection of the French king. This produced a renewal of the war between England and France.³⁰ But now the Black Prince, who had so often conquered France in all her pride, was become but the shadow of himself, and was too enfeebled to mount his horse; and his father was sinking into dotage. One action only signalized the last days of the dying hero, and it tarnished them still more than it adorned them. The revolt of Limoges excited his indignation. He summoned them to return to their duty, with a menace, that on their refusal he would rase their city to the ground, and put all the inhabitants to the sword. His summons was contumeliously treated, and he ordered the place to be invested. Too weak to ride, he was conveyed to the siege in a litter. With his usual success he undermined the walls, and his troops entered at the breach. The place became his own.

The Black
Prince
takes
Limoges.

³⁰ On the military events, and alternations that followed, in these parts, see Froissart, c. 244-286.

BOOK
II.SIGN OF
DW. III.

But, unlike the magnanimous generosity of his former life, the whole garrison and 3000 of the inhabitants were even in his sight destroyed ;³¹ and the town, after being pillaged, was burnt to ashes.³² Having thus made his sun of glory set in blood, a night of increasing darkness followed. He was compelled to return home, with a vain hope that his native air would restore his health ; and his brother, the duke of Lancaster, took the command of his French dominions. But disaster followed on disaster.³³ The heroic Du Guesclin, whom the prince, after a long captivity, admitted to ransom,³⁴ became again

³¹ Froissart's account is a melancholy one, and shows how little true virtue accompanied the chivalric character, even in its most refined state. The prince, his two brothers, and the army, entered over the breach. 'Then you might have seen the plunderers run thro the city, killing men, women and children, *as they had* been commanded. You would have seen it with great pity, for men, women and children threw themselves on both knees *before the prince*, crying Mercy ! but he was inflamed with so great an ardor, that he would not hear them. Neither sex was listened to, but all were put to the sword as they were met, and even those who were not at all blameable. There was no heart so hard but wept tenderly at the great mischief that was done, for above 3000 men, women and children were that day destroyed. May God keep their souls, for they were really martyrs.' c. 289.

³² 'Mais fut toute la cite de Limoges courue, pillée et robée sans deport, et tout arse et mise en destruction.' Froiss. c. 289.

³³ Froissart imputes the loss of Gascony to the arrogance of the Black Prince and his friends. I will add his words, that I may not impeach so illustrious a character on less authority than that of an intelligent contemporary. After mentioning that the French king attracted the love of the great barons of Gascony by his mildness and liberality, he says 'and the prince of Wales lost them by his pride. From the time that I was at Bourdeaux, and that the prince went into Spain, I saw that the pride of the English was so great, that they treated no nations 'amiablement' but their own. The gentlemen of Gascony and Aquitain, who had lost their property in the wars, could get into no office in their country. The English said, they were not cut out for any, nor worthy of any. It was from the harshness which the count d'Armagnac and the lord of Albreth found in the prince, that they became French, and many knights and esquires of Gascony also.' vol. 3. c. 22. Yet Froissart adds, that they liked the English better than the French.

³⁴ The prince long refused to take any ransom for Guesclin, because he anticipated that if he was at liberty he would renew the war with more vigor than ever. Hence he detained him a long while in prison. One day, conversing in a festive moment with his knights, he said, No person

the opponent of the English; and his abilities and valor advanced from success to success, till at length by the enterprises, perseverance, and intrigues of the French, both the king and his son saw all their French dominions torn from the crown, with the exception of Calais and a few towns on the sea coast.³⁵ In Spain, the defeated Henry had re-assembled an army strong enough to gain a great decisive victory over his legitimate but unprincipled brother Pedro, and his Moorish ally at Montrel;³⁶ and when this furious man was afterwards taken pri-

ought to attempt to escape without paying his ransom, and no conqueror ought to be too rigorous with his captive. An admirer of Guesclin remarked, that the world blamed him for an excess of severity towards one prisoner. Edward felt it to allude to Guesclin, and, piqued at the observation, which implied a stain on his honor, he ordered Guesclin to be brought to him. He came in a coarse dress, his prison garment; and the prince, surprised at his rude appearance, contrary to his usual courtesy, received him with a laugh of derision. 'It rests upon your pleasure, sire, when I shall be better clothed,' said Guesclin. 'I have a long time had only rats and mice for my companions; even to the songs of the birds I have been a stranger.' Edward offered him liberty on his swearing not to take arms in favor of France or of Henry. Guesclin refused to take an oath that would be disloyal, and pleaded the crimes of Pedro as the justification of his Spanish warfare. The prince, remembering that the public rumor was loud, that he kept him a prisoner because he feared him, declared, that to show the world that he dreaded no man, he should have his liberty, on a proper ransom. Guesclin declared that his poverty left him no means of offering money at that time, but if he was released on his parole, he would appeal to the liberality of his friends to provide a competent sum. Edward, affected by his manly demeanor, said he would make him the arbiter of his own ransom. Guesclin, with a proud sense of his own dignity, at last fixed it at 60,000 florins (to the astonishment of the prince, who would have discharged him for 10,000 livres) declaring, that the king of France and Henry de Tristemarre, whom he had served, would pay it between them. Guesclin was liberated on his honor; and the city flocked to see a man, who had rated himself so highly. Mem. Du Guesc. p. 255-263.

³⁵ The Memoirs of Guesclin, 365-435, describe his campaigns against the English with many interesting circumstances.

³⁶ On 13th August 1368, Mahomet, the king of Granada, had joined him with above 20,000 men. Many Jews assisted. His whole force was 40,000; Henry's only 6000, yet he boldly attacked. The Jews soon turned their back. The Moors fought resolutely; but Guesclin on their account inhumanly ordered no prisoners to be taken. The pursuit was 'butchery, killing them like beasts. Above 14,000 fell: very few escaped.' Pedro fled to the castle of Montrel. Froiss. v. 3. p. 350-5.

BOOK
II.
REIGN OF
EDW. III.

Edward's
final
reverses.

soner, killed him in an unnatural struggle.²⁷ This success and catastrophe established Henry on the throne of Castile. The ransomed king of Majorca made an attempt with a body of the "Free Companions;" which the wars of the day left floating upon society to its annoyance, on the kingdom of Arragon, but his death gave tranquillity to Spain, and sent his military freebooters to seek their fortune in France.²⁸

No reign shews more strongly than Edward the Third's, the absurdity of military ambition. Tho he repeatedly invaded France with armies that in number and quality seemed to be formed to divest incredulity of doubt; yet his inferior antagonists always found means to repel the danger of his incursions; to repair every ruinous defeat; and to prevent victory the most brilliant, from becoming permanent conquest.

When the war was renewed in 1369, after the

²⁷ 'As soon as king Henry entered the chamber where Don Pedro was, he cried, 'Where is this son of a Jewish strumpet, who calls himself king of Castile?' Pedro stepped forward to answer, 'Tis thou who art such a son. I am the son of Alphonso;' and caught Henry in his arms and threw him on a bed; then grasping his poignard, would have slain him, if a viscount had not seized his legs, and turned him over. By this means, Henry becoming uppermost, immediately drew his long dagger from his sash, and plunged it into Pedro's body. The attendants came in and helped to dispatch him. Froiss. p. 358-9.

²⁸ Froiss. v. 4. pp. 143-5 Henry had released him for 100,000 francs, which his wife the queen of Naples and her sister had paid for him. On his arrival at Naples, 'The king of Majorca engaged men at arms at a very high price wherever he could meet with them: ENGLISH, Gascons, Germans, Bretons and some of the Free Companions under James Bray and others, about 1200 fighting men, who marched with him, and entered Navarre with the consent of its king, and from thence advanced into Arragon.' ib. The freebooting companions are often mentioned by Froissart, in France. In one passage he thus noticed them: 'There were also some from different countries, who were great captains and pillagers; and who would not on any account leave the country: such as Germans, Brabanters, Flemings, Hainaulters, Gascons and bad Frenchmen. They had been impoverished by the war, and persevered in their wickedness, and did afterwards much mischief to the kingdom.' v. 3. p. 72.

peace of Bretigny, the campaign was unavailing.³⁹ In the next year a fine English army was sent, which closed its efforts with disasters.⁴⁰ In 1372, when the king went in person with a superb fleet to relieve Rochelle, the wind baffled his efforts, and an immense treasure was consumed in vain.⁴¹ In the succeeding year, his second son, Lancaster, led an army, unresisted, even to the gates of Paris, but only to perish by famine and disease in its passage thro Auvergne to Bourdeaux.⁴² The revolt of all Gascony and its contiguities followed this campaign. The Black Prince lived to witness these reverses, and expired with unavailing regret. Thus Edward gained nothing but barren laurels, from a life of war and victory. The blood, the happiness, and the lives of myriads, were wasted in the chase of a phantom—the crown of France—which he could never secure. He gained victories, when he least expected them; and he was disappointed in his hopes of conquest, when he had every worldly means of commanding it. But his project to unite the French and English sceptres contributed to increase that national animosity and rivalry between two of the most civilized nations of Europe, which no succeeding period has diminished. Ever ready to fight; prone to mistrust; happy to provoke, and emulous to lacerate each other; the two countries have, with few intermissions, maintained that mutual alienation of mind and manners, which has assisted to deteriorate the French character, by accustoming the nation to regard every thing English, even our imitable virtues, with jealousy and contempt. But a more auspicious

Death of
the Black
Prince;
1376.

³⁹ Wals. 178.⁴⁰ Ib. 179, 180.⁴¹ Ib. 182.⁴² Ib. 183.—Tho he left Calais with 30,000 cavalry, very few horses reached Bourdeaux. Ib.

BOOK
II.REIGN OF
EDW. III.

period seems now to be evolving. The literature and institutions of England are now become objects of study to many intelligent Frenchmen ; and with them, our feelings, thoughts and habits will become more valued and appreciated. May France, by condescending to adopt them, lay the true basis for the future concord of the two countries. Her political greatness will then arise from the same roots as our own, and tower as pre-eminently, and bloom as freshly. The world is large enough for the amplest celebrity and prosperity of both. But without the virtues which have given to England its energies and strength, France will never attain to more than a feverish and evanescent power. Its proudest fabric will be corroded in its centre, and fall again to the dust, from the corruption of its materials, and the uncorrected folly of its architects.⁴³

⁴³ The curious reader may like to see the stanzas which an old poet, Occleve, who flourished under Henry IV. and V. wrote, even in those reigns, lamenting the discord between these two nations :—

Of France and England, O cristen princes !
 Sithen that your stile of worthynesse is ronge
 Thurghout the world, in all the provynces ;
 If that of you, myght be sadde or songe,
 That ye were *one in hert*, there is no tonge
 That myght expresse, How profitable and goode
 Unto the peple it were of cristen bloode !

Geve them ensample. Ye ben their myrrours.
 They folowe you. What sorewe lamentable
 Is caused of your werres sharp shours !
 There wote no wight it is irreparable.
 O noble cresten princes ! Honorable !
 For hym that suffred for your passion ;
 Of Christes bloode, have compassion.

Alass ! what peple hath your werre slayn !
 What cornes wasted, and, doun trode shent !
 How many a wyfe and maid hath he forlayn ?
 Castels down beat and tymbred houses brent,
 And drawen down and all to tore and rent !
 The harm ne may not rekened be, ne tolde.
 This warre wexeth all to hore and olde.

Occleve, MS. Bib. Reg. 17 D. 6.

The reign of Edward III. not only closed in disaster, but in personal disgrace ; for it was degradation, that at the age of sixty-four, an age younger than that at which Edward I. had died, his parliament should find it necessary to treat him like an infant king. Yet so it was, that in 1376, the house of commons stated, that considering the mischiefs of the land, it would be to his honor and to the profit of the realm, aggrieved in various ways, for him to perceive that the officers who were accustomed to be at his side (his ministers) were not sufficient for so great a government, without other aid. The commons therefore prayed, that the royal council might be strengthened by the addition of a permanent council of ten or twelve other prelates and lords ; that no important business might be done without the assent and advice of all these, and no minor business without the concurrence of at least six or four of them, and that these six or four should be continually resident with the king. This was so like the council of regency nominated on his accession, that it must have pained the royal mind to find its age accompanied with the guardian measure of its boyhood. But the king was obliged to declare, that, understanding the request to be honorable, and very profitable to him and his kingdom, he assented to it.⁴⁴ His grandson Richard, a child, was soon afterwards brought into parliament. The archbishop, more courteously than wisely, complimented him on the beauty of his person ;⁴⁵ and he was made prince of Wales. Strong parliamentary remonstrances were made against the Pope and cardinals.⁴⁶ A jubilee

⁴⁴ See the record of these proceedings, in Parl. Plac. p. 322.⁴⁵ Parl. Plac. p. 330.⁴⁶ Ibid. p. 337.

BOOK
II.REIGN OF
EDW. III.Edward
degrades
himself
with Alice
Peers.

was in the next year proclaimed, because the king entered into the fiftieth year of his reign;⁴⁷ and a poll-tax was granted, to supply the necessities of the exchequer.⁴⁸

The death of his noble queen Philippa deprived him of a domestic guardian, and of an affectionate friend, which no dishonorable attachments could supply.⁴⁹ Indisposition afterwards increased upon him. His strength gradually wasted by debilitating disease, and he publicly disgraced himself by a mistress, Alice Peers, who even presumed to counteract official orders;⁵⁰ to sit on the bench, and to dictate to the judges.⁵¹ Her follies increased his unpopularity, and she was compelled to leave the king; but with an unroyal weakness he recalled her;⁵² and her unfeeling selfishness was manifested by her behaviour in his last moments, which occurred at Sheene on 21 June 1377.⁵³

⁴⁷ Parl. Plac. p. 362.⁴⁸ Ibid. p. 364.

⁴⁹ Her illness occurred at Windsor Castle. 'When she perceived her end approaching, she called the king, and extending her right hand from under the bed-clothes, she put it into his. He was very sorrowful. She said to him, 'We have enjoyed our union in happiness, peace and prosperity. I entreat you, on this our separation, to grant me three requests.' The king, with sighs and tears, answered, 'Lady! ask. Whatever you request shall be granted.' 'My lord!' she replied, 'I beg you will acquit me of my former engagements with merchants for their wares. I beseech you to fulfil my gifts and legacies; and I entreat you, that when it shall please God to call you hence, you will not choose any other sepulchre than mine; but that you will lay by my side in the cloisters of Westminster.' Weeping, he declared, 'Lady! I grant your wishes.' She then made the sign of the cross on her breast, and soon after expired, on 15th August 1369. Froissart, vol. 4. p. 21, 2.

⁵⁰ See the accusations in Parl. Plac. vol. 3. p. 12.⁵¹ Wals. 186.—She caused the Speaker of the house of commons to be imprisoned for his censures on her. Ib.⁵² Wals. 187.⁵³ She permitted him to have no religious attentions, chusing to believe that his health would be re-established. When she observed his voice to fail, his eyes to become glazed, and his limbs to be chilling, she pulled his rings from his fingers, and went away. A priest found him still sensible, but speechless. But he kissed the cross, and wept, before he expired. Wals. 189.

Of his sons, the celebrated John of Gaunt, the duke of Lancaster, sought and married the Spanish princess Constance, the eldest daughter of don Pedro, as one of the rightful successors to his crown, and with the hope of availing himself of her title.⁵⁴

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V.

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EDW. III.

Lionel, another son of Edward, duke of Clarence, had married the daughter of Galeas Visconti, the sovereign lord of Milan, whose festivities on the occasion were unusually magnificent, expressing his joy at an alliance with the son of so celebrated a king.⁵⁵ But her nuptial happiness was brief; for within four months afterwards he was deposited in his grave,⁵⁶ a celerity of death so unexpected, that it was the

⁵⁴ She and her sister had been conveyed to Bayonne, for fear of king Henry. 'Every one compassionated them, for they were *the true heiresses of Castile*, which was their just right, by succession to their father.' The barons of Gascony represented to the duke that she was 'one from which you or your heirs will be kings of Castile.' On these views, Lancaster sent four knights to her and her sister Isabella, and married her at the village of Rochefort, near Bourdeaux. Froiss. vol. 4. p. 146, 7. His brother, the duke of Cambridge, chose to marry the other princess Isabella. v. 5. p. 323. Thus securing both the co-heiresses of Castile on don Pedro's line.

⁵⁵ He came to Milan to marry her in April 1368, and was to have had a moiety of her father's dominions. Wals. Hist. p. 132. Stowe thus describes the duke's exulting munificence. 'At the coming of Lionel, such abundance of treasure was, in the most bounteous manner, spent in making most sumptuous feasts, setting forth stately sights and honoring with rare gifts above 200 Englishmen, who accompanied his son-in-law, as seemed to surpass the greatness of the most wealthy princes. The banquet, at which FRANCIS PETRARCH was present among the chiefest guests, had about 30 courses of service at the table; and betwixt every course there was *as many* presents, of wonderful price, intermixed. All these John Galeas, chief of the choice youth, bringing to the table, did offer to Lionel. There were, in only one corner, 70 goodly horses adorned with silk and silver furniture; and in another, silver vessels, falcons, hounds, armor for horses, costly coats of mail; glittering breast-plates of massy steel; helmets and corslets decked with costly crests; apparel distinct with costly jewels, soldiers' girdles, and lastly, certain gems set in gold by curious art, with purple and cloth of gold for men's apparel in great abundance. Such was the sumptuousness of that banquet, that the meals *which were brought from table* would have sufficiently served 10,000 men.' Stowe's Chron. 267, 8.

⁵⁶ He died about the nativity of the Virgin, which is the 8th September. Wals. 133.

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belief of many that he was poisoned.⁵⁷ This idea was an inference which seems less probable than the opinion that his fate, tho premature, was the natural effect of unlimited indulgences.⁵⁸

The character of Edward has been displayed in the preceding incidents of his reign, which took their shape and color from him and his son. They carried the chivalric temper to the highest improvement which it was capable of receiving; but were more useful in drawing the nation out of the ferocious habits of the mere warrior to the attempt at something better, than for having presented any useful standard of moral excellence to the practice of his people. For the evils of war, they had no sympathy; of its justice, they took no account; its pomp and glorious circumstances were their passion, and the excitement and applause of its great exertions were their highest gratifications. But they improved the knightly character by the addition of qualities which would not suffer it to be stationary; the gallantry, courtesy, and generosity, which they combined with war, soon separated from their fierce companion, and sought a more intellectual alliance. In every succeeding reign, the warlike disposition became less and less a gentlemanly accomplishment; society began to feel that the character which was useful as the occasional protector, ought not to be its daily humor. The soldier became gradually set apart from the nobleman,

⁵⁷ So the Chronicle in Leland's Collectanea, 'Obit in natali S. Mariæ, ut fertur, potionatus,' vol. 1. p. 251. His companion, Lord Edward Despenser, was so impressed with this opinion, that he 'declared war against Galeas; and slew many of his subjects at different times, till the earl of Savoy made peace between them.' Froiss. c. 243. vol. 3. p. 362.

⁵⁸ Stowe adds, 'But not long after, Lionel, living with his new wife, addicted himself overmuch to untimely banquetings, and being spent and consumed with a lingering sickness, died at Alba.' p. 268.

the courtier, the gentleman, and the citizen. The blessings of peace, and the arts of acquiring them, were in time more generally understood, and more truly appreciated and sincerely pursued. Not indeed that this happy change could be instantaneous or complete; the evils of civil wars were first experienced, before the nation subsided into the popular love of social tranquillity; but the close of the reign of Edward III. may be dated as the period when this moral regeneration began. That he had reigned with much nobleness and valor, and deserved to be placed among the ancient heroes, was the generous confession of the king of France, his political antagonist:⁵⁹ the offer of the imperial crown, was the testimony of Germany to his personal merits and renown;⁶⁰ and the general feeling of Englishmen, that few sovereigns have combined so many public and private virtues, is that consummation of his celebrity from those who are the best qualified to award it, which no criticism can destroy, nor any rhetorical panegyric satisfactorily enhance.⁶¹

⁵⁹ Froissart, vol. 4. p. 283. This was Charles V. It was this king, who, fond of the society of men of science, having heard that there was a great philosopher and alchemist at Avignon, sent for him to court. The retired and contented student answered, That he was happier in his poverty, eating cabbages and radishes, and speculating on philosophy, than he could be if loaded with riches and honors. Mem. Christ. Pisan. p. 215.

⁶⁰ Scala Chron. 562.

⁶¹ On St. George's day, 1344, he instituted the Order of the Garter at Windsor. Froissart notices it in three of his chapters, 99, 100, 101, and mentions one trait of Edward's conduct on this occasion to a French knight, which illustrates the manners of this period and the generous feeling of the English nobility. 'The king of France having caused some lords who had been taken by the English to be executed on a suspicion of treason, Edward determined to retaliate upon sir Hervé de Leon, his prisoner, and would have done so if the earl of Derby had not thus remonstrated: 'My Lord! If that king Philip has rashly had the villany to put to death such valiant knights as these, do not suffer your courage to be tainted by it: for in truth, your prisoner has nothing to do with this outrage. Have a goodness then to give him his liberty at a reasonable ransom.'

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'The KING ordered the captive knight to be brought before him, and said, 'Ha! Sir Hervé! Sir Hervé! my adversary, Philip de Valois, has shewn his treachery in too cruel a manner when he put to death so many knights. It has given me much displeasure; and it appears as it were done in despite of us. If I were to take his conduct for my example, I ought to do the like to you; for you have done me more harm in Brittany than any other. But I shall bear it, and let him act according to his own will. *I will preserve my own honor unspotted*; and will allow you your liberty at a trifling ransom, out of my love for the earl of Derby, who has requested it; but *upon condition* that you perform what I am going to ask of you.'

'The knight replied, 'Dear Sire! I will do, to the best of my power, whatever you shall command.' The KING said, 'I know, sir Hervé, that you are one of the richest knights in Brittany; and if I were to press you, that you would pay me 30,000 or 40,000 crowns for your ransom. But you shall go to king Philip de Valois, my adversary, and tell him from me, that by putting so many knights to death in such a dishonorable manner, he has sore displeased me: that I say and maintain that he has by these means broken the truce we had agreed to: that from this moment I consider it to be broken, and that I send him, by you, **MY DEFIANCE**. In consideration of your carrying this message, I will let you off for 10,000 crowns, which you will send to Bruges in five days after you shall have crossed the sea. You will also inform all such knights and esquires as wish to attend my feast, not to keep away on this account, as we shall be right glad to see them; and they shall have passports for their safe return, to last for fifteen days after it shall be over!' The knight gladly undertook and punctually delivered the royal message.' Froiss. c. 100. v. 2. p. 47-9.

CHAP. VI.

History of the Reign of RICHARD II. surnamed Richard of Bourdeaux, to the beginning of the Civil Feuds.

1377—1384.

THE reign of Richard II. began with all the splendor and rejoicings of a prosperous and delighted people. His age, eleven, was interesting; his countenance handsome; his boyish manners engaging; and he was the son of the beloved Black Prince. With such claims to popularity, it will surprise us to find that few princes have been pursued with greater maledictions from their people, or ended their scene of dignity more calamitously. Part of his misfortunes arose from the period in which he lived, and from the measures of his predecessor, whose consequences his government had to bear. But these might have been surmounted by a fair exertion of intelligence and integrity in his ministers, and by steady decorum in his personal conduct. His worst adversities sprang from himself, from the defects of his unfolding character; from allowing young favorites to be his directing counsellors; from obstinacy in error; from a proud and passionate spirit, imperious and vindictive; from the wilful commission of wrong, and from the national belief that he had become unprincipled and incorrigible.

His first entrance into London from Sheene was a day of magnificence, gratulation, and festivity. His bishops, knights, and nobles, attended him in solemn

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His splendid entrance into London.

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procession. Seated on a fine courser royally apparelled, its bridle guided by one knight on foot, and preceded by another, bearing on high his sword, Richard moved on, with his young friends and courtiers immediately behind him, happy, honored, and applauded. Every portion of the train was led by its clarions and trumpets continually sounding. The citizens filled the public aqueducts with wine, which was allowed to flow profusely thro their pipes for three hours and a half, the time of the cavalcade. The populace crowded, with loud and eager shouts, hailing their young king, and revelling in their indulgences. In the market at Cheapside, a castle was displayed with four towers, two of which also poured around gratuitously its vinous streams. On the towers stood four beautiful maidens of elegant stature, clothed in white, wafting leaves of gold into the king's face as he approached, and showering down light golden coins upon him and his horse, as he came nearer. All the clarions and trumpets sounded at that moment together, in every part enrapturing the stout and warlike ears of the boisterous and bustling population. As the king stood before the triumphal castle, the lovely virgins, descending to greet him, filled their golden cups from its flowing canals, and offered them to their sovereign and his lords. On the summit of the castle appeared an angel shining in gold, and holding out a golden crown in his hand : when the king came under him, the mechanism moved, and the loyal seraph bent respectfully down, and placed the crown upon his head. Every street vied with each other in its decorations and pageants ; and the city rang from end to end with tumult, martial music, popular huzzas, and

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nation.

festive merriment, every class emulous of joy and vociferation, till the king reached the royal palace at Westminster,¹ where at last he rested after his fatiguing, enrapturing, but not, perhaps, improving day.

His coronation, in the following year, gave another exhibition of national hilarity and customary splendor,² with a new circumstance of popular gratification. In the middle of the royal palace, a column apparently marble, was raised, supporting a great eagle gilt, and hollow above the pedestal. Under the feet of the royal bird, and from the capitol of the pillar, four sorts of wine were made to flow the whole day of the coronation, and the poorest person was permitted to partake of the welcomed bounty.³ Such was the public magnificence of our ancestors in those times, when the gratifications of the senses prevailed over those of the intellect and sentiment.⁴

The archbishop of Canterbury opened the parliament that was soon assembled, with an harangue

His first
parlia-
ment.

¹ Walsing. Hist. Ang. p. 192. Richard was born at Bourdeaux, on the Epiphany, in Jan. 1367; his father was setting out for his Castile expedition. Froiss. v. 3. p. 267.

² Wals. pp. 193-197. This author describes minutely the ceremonies of his coronation. One part kept alive the ancient custom of the popular election of the sovereign. After the king had taken the coronation oath, the archbishop, the marshal of England preceding him, 'turned himself to all sides of the church, shewing to the people the royal oath, and asking, if they would submit themselves to such a prince and ruler, and obey his commands? And the people answered with a loud acclamation, that they would willingly obey him.' Wals. p. 193.

³ The Monk of Evesham remarks, that the pomp of the coronation was such as had rarely been seen before. Hist. Rich. II. p. 1. How far it was wise, may be questioned; when we find, that, anticipating the future complaint of parliament on the royal applications for money, the ministers stated, that one part of the expenditure arose from the great cost of the coronation. Plac. Parl. p. 35.

⁴ Wals. p. 196.—The king made nine knights and four earls this day: his uncle Thomas, earl of Buckingham, with a pension of a thousand marks; his former master, Giffard, earl of Huntingdon, with a similar allowance; Mowbray, earl of Nottingham; and Percy, earl of Northumberland. Ib.

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more like a sermon than a statesman's speech ; but it was meant to be popular, and its topics were in general soothing and gracious.⁵ John of Gaunt, the duke of Lancaster, the king's eldest uncle, attended, with his title, ' King of Castile and Leon,' and, kneeling before the king, complained that the house of commons had spoken so ill of him as to impute treason to his conduct—that he had committed none, and was ready to defend his honor with his body, as if he were but the poorest person in the kingdom. The prelates and lords interfered, and begged the duke to desist. The commons declared that they had acquitted him of all blame, as they had chosen him to be one of the lords whom they wished to aid and protect them ; and their Speaker⁶ then stated the public grievances on which he felt it right, or was authorized, to remonstrate. These were principally, that the chivalry of the kingdom had been discouraged and undervalued, and vice advanced ; and that the kingdom had been better protected, and the navy greater, when the merchants had the disposition of their own ships. He asked, in the name of the commons, that counsellors should be appointed to consider of these evils. And, as if with an eye of prophetic discernment of the future mischiefs and their causes, he additionally prayed, that the most virtuous and upright persons should be put about the king ; that the expenditure of his household should be confined

⁵ Plac. Parl. vol. 3. pp. 3–7. It contained the assertion of a principle, as to the royal succession, now happily legal, while the three estates in parliament continue the dynasty, but then too new to be completely settled, and which indeed was violated in this very reign. ' The king is your natural and rightful liege lord, as it is said, not by election or by other such collateral way, but by right succession of inheritance.' *Ib.* p. 3.

⁶ The Speaker here mentioned is presumed to have been the first speaker of the house of commons. This point will be considered in the chapter on the constitution.

to his revenues; that the supplies which were granted for the war, should be faithfully applied to it; and that laws made in parliament, should be rescinded only by parliament.⁷ They were answered from the throne, That it was too hard a request to put any others about the king than those whom he liked, or to remove any, without defaults arraigned and proved; but that the knights and esquires about the sovereign should be prohibited from asking him for any gifts. It was declared, that the officers of the household should be spoken to on the expenses; and that the wishes of parliament on the war-supplies should be duly attended to.⁸ A grant of two tenths and fifteenths was then made, to support the continuing war with France; several noblemen were appointed, with the king's uncles, to be regents during his minority;⁹ and as the commons had requested that some persons might be named treasurers or guardians of the money they had voted, to see that it was applied to the expences of the war, and not to any other object, two merchants of London, Walworth and Philip, were nominated for that purpose.¹⁰ The duke of Lancaster, dissatisfied with the conduct of the court and parliament, and feeling his own unpopularity, withdrew to his castle at Killingworth.¹¹

The French would grant no peace but on their

French
war con-
tinues.

⁷ Plac. Parl. pp. 5, 6.

⁸ Ibid. p. 7.—The clergy also petitioned, that the king would have in his presence, councils, and service, 'prodes homines,' ib. p. 14, as if he had already been surrounded by unworthy favorites.

⁹ The commons had petitioned, that the king's council might be enlarged. Ib. p. 6.

¹⁰ Plac. Parl. p. 7.—The house of commons, before it separated, attacked the late king's mistress, Alice Peers. She was charged with obtaining the king's consent and interference against the opinion of his council. Proofs were adduced, and she was ordered to be banished.

¹¹ Wals. Hist. p. 196.

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—

own terms;¹² and their fleet, taking advantage of a temporary naval superiority on their part, and of inactivity in the English administration, committed many ravages on the English coast, took the Isle of Wight, burnt Hastings, plundered Rottingdean, and attacked Winchelsea, where an abbot stoutly resisted them,¹³ other lords having failed.¹⁴ The duke of Lancaster at last assumed the command of the fleet, to protect the coasts. The English government engaged their nation to assist the duke of Bretagne against the king of France, and Lancaster made some efforts for this purpose;¹⁵ but their political purposes were ultimately disappointed, by the duke entering into a treaty with his feudal lord.¹⁶ A French army, under the duc D'Anjou, attacked the English possessions in Gascony, and no assistance was sent from England to repel them.¹⁷ His successes increased the disposition of the barons and seigneurs of the country to abandon an English sovereign who did not protect them; and to prevent Richard from any effective operations in France, its king urged the Scottish government to an invasion of the English borders.¹⁸ The hostilities of the French against the

¹² Mon. Evesh. Rich. II. p. 2.

¹³ Ibid. pp. 2, 3. Walsing. pp. 197, 198. It was a strange rumor to spread, that a captured Frenchman had said, that if the English had made the duke of Lancaster their king, their coasts would not have been so infested by the French. Ib. p. 3. If such ideas were afloat, it is probable that the archbishop's assertion of the right of succession by strict inheritance, was aimed at the partisans or pretensions of this powerful duke.

¹⁴ As the king's uncle of Buckingham, and lord Latimer; Mon. Ev. p. 4; also earls of Arundel and Salisbury, p. 6. Froissart notices this French attack, v. 4. p. 284.

¹⁵ He landed with a force near St. Malo, but not finding it an easy capture, re-embarked and returned. Froiss. p. 296. This author says they had 400 cannon firing into this town, and were forming a mine to blow up the works, when it was destroyed by a surprise. v. 5. p. 23.

¹⁶ Monk of Evesham, 7. 17. 19. Wals. 238. 247. 251.

¹⁷ Froiss. v. 4. p. 302-31.

¹⁸ Ib. p. 334-355.

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king of Navarre, determined him to solicit personally Richard's succor, who entered into a compact to assist him, and therefore to make war both on the king of France and on the king of Castile.¹⁹ The Spanish monarch, to anticipate the warfare, besieged Bayonne, but was disappointed by the disease which afflicted his army;²⁰ but he sent a large portion of his troops, under his son John, and the constable of Spain, to besiege Pampeluna, the chief fortress of Navarre. To save this city and Navarre, the English forces, under sir Thomas Trevet, advanced against the Spaniards, who raised the siege on their approach.²¹ Sir Thomas rested during the winter at Tudela, and then made many victorious incursions in the Spanish provinces.²² An army of 40,000 men was at length assembled to repel him, and the king of Castile opened a negotiation with the sovereign of Navarre, which ended in a peace, and in marriages between their families.²³ On the death of Henry, soon afterwards, the Spanish grandees made her son John their king; thus excluding the princesses, the children of don Pedro, whom the duke of Lancaster and earl Cambridge had wedded, with the hope of this noble succession.²⁴

English
force in
Spain.

¹⁹ Froiss. 373.—Lord Neville sailed to Bourdeaux in Sept. 1378, with an auxiliary force of 1000 men at arms, and 2000 archers, who recovered many towns in the Bourdelais. Fr. p. 16-21.

²⁰ A necromancer which he had brought with him from Toledo, assured king Henry that the whole air was poisoned and corrupted; that no remedy could be applied, but that he would risk the death of all if he remained. On this intimation, he quitted the place. Froiss. v. 4. p. 332.

²¹ Froiss. v. 5. p. 32-40.

²² Ib. 41-6.

²³ Ib. 48.—The English in Castile were now about 2000. They were to have 20,000 francs from the king of Navarre, who, to pay them, borrowed this sum of the king of Arragon on the security of five of his chief towns. 'By these means, the English were paid their demands. They left the king of Navarre well satisfied with their conduct; returned to Bourdeaux, and from thence to England.' Ib. 49.

²⁴ Froiss. p. 50.

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Sir Thomas Trevet, on his return to England, communicated these events to the king at his residence at Chertsey, and to the two princes his uncles, to their manifest dissatisfaction and disappointment.²⁵ The Spanish herald was called in to detail the particulars as to Henry's sudden decease,²⁶ and Lancaster expressed his determination to struggle with don John for the Castilian crown.²⁷

The king of Portugal espoused their cause as that of his aunts; sent a defiance to the young sovereign of Castile on their behalf, and desired the duke of Lancaster to come with the princesses and with an English army, to enforce their right to the crown of their father.²⁸ Councils were held in England, on the arrival of the Portuguese knight with his master's message, and it was determined that while the duke of Lancaster should employ himself on the borders in establishing a peace with Scotland, the earl of

²⁵ 'The duke of Lancaster and earl of Cambridge were very pensive on hearing this intelligence; for they had considered themselves as heirs to all Spain, in right of their wives.' Froiss. p. 57.

²⁶ He described the king of Navarre meeting Henry of Castile at St. Domingo. 'The king of Navarre and his people were treated with much honor. In the evening, they were entertained with a handsome supper. While at table, news was brought that a wild boar was discovered in the adjoining moors, and a hunting party was directly formed for the morrow. The two kings and their huntsmen attended, and the boar was taken. They returned to the town in the most friendly manner. The next day, king Henry set out for Pierre Ferrade, to keep an appointment he had made with his people; but he was there seized with an illness, and died on Whitsunday. Shortly afterwards, on 25 July, his eldest son John was crowned at Burgos, and created immediately 210 knights.' Froiss. p. 58-9.

²⁷ The duke of Lancaster inquired if the king of Portugal was at the coronation. 'The herald said that he had been invited, but declared that he would never attend the coronation of the son of a bastard. 'On my faith,' replied the duke, 'he did well to send that answer, and I thank him for it. Things shall not long remain as they now are. My brother and myself will call upon don John for this inheritance, of which he now styles himself king.' Here they called for wine and refreshment, and the conversation ended.' Froiss. 59.

²⁸ Froiss. v. 5. p. 323.

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RICH. II.

Cambridge should embark for Portugal with some English spears and archers, to be followed by his brother with a competent force as soon as the state of England admitted of his departure.²⁹ Public objects were made the ostensible pretexts for this expedition, tho the real cause was the personal aggrandizement of the duke by the coronation of his wife in Castile, and was then suspected to be so.³⁰ His brother, Thomas of Woodstock, was sent with another army to aid Brittany and harass France.³¹ These wars, and the taxations which they made indispensable, led to insurrections that convulsed the kingdom.

The bishop of Rochester, in his sermon after the coronation, had accompanied his admonitions to the great, to cultivate mutual amity and private virtue, with exhortations "that they would not causelessly burthen the people with such great taxations."³² He had observed the pecuniary pressures of the preceding reign, and he anticipated the dangers of their repetition or augmentation. In the second year's parliament, the chancellor stated, that we had then many fine and noble entrances into France, by which we could distress her, Cherburgh, Brest, Calais, Bourdeaux, and Bayonne; and that these required but a small sum to keep. The commons objected to granting money for foreign fortresses. They were answered, that these were "the barbicans of the kingdom of England."³³ They yielded to the reasoning, and they gave supplies. In 1379, the chancellor met them again with the same pecuniary

Pecuniary
exigencies
of govern-
ment.²⁹ Froiss. v. 5. p. 327.³⁰ Mon. Ev. p. 22. Wals. 257.³¹ Froiss. 177-210.³² Wals. 196.³³ Plac. Parl. 34, 35.

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urgencies: he said, that nothing could be done without charging the community; that this charge could not be made without parliament; that a naval armament was necessary; that government had borrowed all the money it could get, and had even pledged the crown jewels, and that further supplies were wanted. The commons, having had nine persons appointed to examine into the state of the king and kingdom, voted a taxation.³⁴

At the next meeting of the two houses, the same topics were renewed. The chancellor reminded them, that France, Spain, and Scotland, were enemies; and that Calais, Brest, and Cherburgh, could not be kept without expense. The commons answered, that if their liege lord had been well and reasonably governed in his expenses, he would not have wanted to have taxed his poor commons. They desired that the lords of the permanent council should be dismissed, and no such counsellors retained, as the king was now "of good discretion, handsome stature, and of the same age at which his grandfather had been crowned." They requested, that commissioners should be appointed to examine the royal household and expenditure; and that if faults were found, they might be certified to the king to be amended, and that he might be honorably governed.³⁵ Supplies were then granted, but were still so inadequate to the profusion or necessities of the government, that soon afterwards, in Richard's fourth year, the parliament was again assembled to hear the chancellor declare, that the wages of the soldiers at Calais, Brest, and Cherburgh, were a quarter and a half in arrear; that the castles were in

³⁴ Plac. Parl. 56, 57.³⁵ Ibid. 71-73.

danger, because their garrisons talked of leaving them as they were not paid; that the king was “outrageously” indebted, and was at great expense to guard the sea. The house required a statement of *the whole* of what he wanted. Lists were made out to the amount of 160,000*l.* The commons declared the sum to be “moult outrageous and importable.” The lords advised a poll-tax to be imposed; and the commons, after soliciting the clergy to supply 50,000*l.* concurred in enacting the requisite taxation.³⁶ By this capitation, or poll-tax, the great were required to pay large sums.³⁷ The aldermen and merchants were assessed on a diminished scale;³⁸ and every married person was taxed at fourpence for himself and his wife; and the unmarried, of the age of sixteen and upwards, at the same sum for each individual.³⁹

This taxation was imposed and endured without any visible dissatisfaction. But in the next year more money was found to be wanted, and another poll-tax was enacted, of three groats, or twelve-pence, on each person, male and female, of every condition, that had passed the age of fifteen years.⁴⁰ To the surprise of the court, this produced less to the exchequer than the preceding assessment. The ministers imputed the deficiency to a negligent collection; and four persons, proffering their services, obtained from the king a commission to inquire into

The new
poll-tax:

³⁶ Plac. Parl. 88–90.

³⁷ As, dukes, 6*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*; earls and countesses, 4*l.*; barons, bannerets, baronesses and knights, 2*l.*; bachelors, esquires, and their widows, 1*l.*; the judges, 5*l.*; the serjeants, 2*l.* Plac. Parl. vol. 3. p. 57.

³⁸ The mayor of London, 4*l.*; the aldermen, 2*l.*; other mayors, 2*l.*; merchants, 13*s.* 4*d.*; smaller tradesmen, according to their property, from 6*s.* 8*d.* to 6*d.* Ib. 58.

³⁹ Ib. p. 58.

⁴⁰ See the record of it in Plac. Parl. vol. 3. p. 90.

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the correctness of the payment in Kent, Norfolk, and their vicinity. Their objects and imposed duty were to make a rigorous exaction of the tax ; a large reward was to requite their industry, and they were convinced that government would not be too nice in scrutinizing their means, if their accounts were ample.⁴¹

With this licence for oppression, and with this temptation to rapacity, they began their inquisition. As the age of fifteen was the limit of personal liability, they made the exemption a fruitful instrument of extortion ; for, denying that any maiden they saw was under the prescribed age, they insisted on an indecent and abominable inspection of her person to ascertain the fact. Most parents paid the tax unjustly, in order to screen their daughters from such ruffian examination ; and the people became generally indignant at the manifest iniquity.⁴² This danger was obviously produced by government having departed from the indispensable policy, of never aggravating the unpopularity of a tax by a severe and inquisitorial collection. What is paid willingly is received safely ; but when rigor begins on the one side, and resentment on the other, the consequences are always incalculable, and often calamitous.

The displeasure of the nation at the rigor and insults committed by the financial officers was universal ; but the particular causes of the explosion appear to have been local and individual. The conduct of the collectors towards the young women excited the commons of Kent. They conferred together on the oppression and on the remedy, “ but found no beginning hand.” At last, at Fobbing in

⁴¹ Knyghton, Hist. Angl. 2632, 2633. .

⁴² Ib.

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Essex, one Thomas, by trade a baker, began to exhort the people in his village to an actual insurrection,⁴³ associated others to his party; and each of these sending to their distant friends, the spirit spread from hamlet to hamlet, and town to town; till, in the month of May, all Kent and Essex were in rebellious commotion.

Sir Robert Belknappe, the chief justice of the common pleas, was sent down to Essex, with a commission to try and punish the insurgents. But these chopped off the heads of the grand jury who began to find indictments, and compelled him to swear that he would hold no more such sessions; and they carried on poles the heads which they had cut off, and plundered the manor of the prior of St. John of Jerusalem. Sir Simon Burley, a favorite knight at court, went down to Gravesend to act vigorously. His determined conduct only increased the insurrection. Another justice, with a legal commission for trial of the offenders, was resisted, and compelled to fly; and the excited populace of Kent met at Dartford, without as yet any leader, exclaiming, That there were more kings than one in the nation, and that they would have none but king Richard.⁴⁴ There was a great spirit of revolt against the oppressions of government, but no disaffection towards their sovereign; for they compelled those they met to swear fidelity to king Richard and the commons.⁴⁵

not
quelled
by law.

At Dartford, a man was found, Wat Tyler, whose

Insurrec-
tion under
Wat Tyler.

⁴³ Knyghton, Hist. Angl. p. 2632.

⁴⁴ Stow has noticed these incidents, in his Annals, p. 284. The treasurer, in his speech to the next parliament, admits that the revolted cried out, 'q'ils veulloient avoir nul roi, sinon notre seigneur le roi Richard.' Plac. Parl. vol. 3. p. 99.

⁴⁵ Wals. p. 258.

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exasperated attack on one of the collectors had given him distinction among the populace; and they precipitately made him their leader.⁴⁶ The exact progress of the insurrection is neither uniformly nor distinctly told; in such tumultuary movements, the alarm produced by their general effect confuses the accuracy of the subsequent recollection, and precludes a discriminated detail. The most consistent facts may be selected. In May, five thousand rustics assembled out of Essex, armed with sticks, rusted swords, axes, and worn-out bows;⁴⁷ whose number rapidly increased. In Kent, a larger multitude collected, who attacked the mansion of the archbishop of Canterbury, at Maidstone, and released there John Balle, a priest, who had been imprisoned for teaching doctrines like those of Wickliffe; they compelled him to accompany them, and proposed to make him the archbishop.⁴⁸ From the counties around the metropolis such numbers flocked together, that when they reached Blackheath, in their way to London, they were calculated to be one hundred thousand insurgents.⁴⁹ By this time they appear to have all submitted to the guidance of Wat Tyler.⁵⁰ To one of the king

⁴⁶ Stow, from the Liber. St. Alban. states, that at Dartford the people were inflamed by the collector's indecently seizing a tiler's daughter. 'Her mother cried out; neighbours came running in; and her husband being at worke in the same towne, tyling of an house, when hee heard thereof, caught his lathing staffe in his hand and ranne, reaking, blowing where reasoning with his collector who made him so bold, the collector answered with stout words, and strake at the tylar, whereupon the tylar avoyding the blow, smote the collector with his lathing staffe that his braine flew out of his head, where-through great noyse arose in the streetes, and the poore people being glad, every one prepared to support the said John Tylar.' Annals, 284.

⁴⁷ Wals. p. 258.

⁴⁸ Knyghton, 2633, 2634.

⁴⁹ Wals. p. 259.—Froissart's remark is probably true, that three parts of these people did not know what they asked or what they wanted, but followed one another like beasts. vol. 2. c. 7.

⁵⁰ This man's name is variously given.

⁵¹ John Tyler.

knights who came to inquire the cause of their insurrection, they declared their wish to have an audience of their sovereign. Some counsellors advised Richard to meet them, and to persuade them to disperse. The archbishop of Canterbury, then the chancellor, and another minister, the treasurer, dissuaded the king from humoring such "shoeless ribalds."⁵¹ This epithet and hostile counsel coming to their knowledge, they swore vengeance against the prelate; and, proceeding to Southwark, they broke into the Marshalsea, and released the prisoners. As they approached London Bridge, the mayor and aldermen were about to close the city gate, but the populace within opened it, and admitted the insurgents.⁵² Numerous and promiscuous as they were, they committed no rapine; they paid a fair price for all they wanted, and beheaded immediately such as attempted to steal. This conduct, and their assertion, that their object was to find out the betrayers of their country, and then to desist, disposed the citizens to favor them.⁵³ The court collected at the Tower; where

Walsingham, *Walter Helier vel Tyler*. p. 264. Froissart, *Wautre Tillier*. vol. 2. c. 74. But the Parliamentary Rolls have 'Wauter Tyler del countes de Kent.' vol. 3. p. 175. These rolls destroy Knyghton's idea, that Wat Tyler and Jak Strawe were the same persons, for, after Wat Tyler, they add 'Jakke Strawe en Essex;' thus clearly making them to be distinct leaders of two different counties. Knyghton had said, that Wat Tyler changed his name to Jakke Strawe, p. 1636; but we must consider the Parliamentary record to be the most accurate. Hardyng's Chronicle corresponds with this record—

They asked eke Jake Strawe and Wat Tiler
To bee made dukes of Essex and Kent.

p. 339. Ellis ed.

Walsingham, p. 308, calls Johannes Straw a presbyter, and the leader of the mob from Bury, &c.

⁵¹ 'Discalciatos ribaldos.' Wals. 259.—We may infer the time of the commencement of these tumults, from the proclamation to adjourn the courts of judicature on account of them, which was dated 15 June 1381. Rymer Act. Fœd. vol. 7. p. 311.

⁵² Wals. 259. Knyght. 2634.

⁵³ Wals. 260.

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the king, with the archbishop of Canterbury, the young earl of Derby, afterwards Henry IVth, Leg, the taxing commissioner, whose rigor had excited the storm, and about one hundred and eighty knights, encountered the furious mob. To save the lives of those who were threatened, the king agreed to confer with them at Mile End. The great body of the insurgents moved thither; and, after hearing their complaints, the king gave them a charter, declaring that every one in England should be free, and discharged from all servitude and villenage.⁵⁴ But the rabble who continued on Tower Hill became more outrageous when the king had left. They forced their entrance, altho some of the bravest knights and archers were in the fortress; seized and beheaded the archbishop, the treasurer, and Leg the commissioner, and several others, before the king returned. With all the ferocious spirit of a mad and vindictive mob, and intoxicated with the liquors which they had found in the cellars of the city, they put the heads on lances and sticks, and proceeded to the Savoy, to attack the palace of the duke of Lancaster. They burnt this superb place and all its rich furniture, throwing into the fire one of their companions, who was pilfering some of the valuable articles.⁵⁵ They alarmed and insulted the princess of Wales, whom they met coming to London;⁵⁶ they stroked the beards of the noblest knights with their dirty hands;

⁵⁴ Knyght. 2634.

⁵⁵ Ib. 2635. Walsingham gives a full detail of all these atrocities, pp. 260-263; and see Froissart, c. 75 & c. 76. The bishop of Exeter's official letter states, that the rebels rushed on the archbishop of Canterbury in the Tower; beat and wounded him; called him a traitor; beheaded him near the Tower, carried his head thro London on a spear, crying out, 'Here is the head of a traitor;' drove a nail into the brain, and placed it on London Bridge. Wilk. Conc. vol. 3. p. 153.

⁵⁶ Froissart, vol. 2. c. 74.

they rushed into the king's private chamber, placed themselves on his bed, and displayed every where the most disgusting and insolent familiarity and disorder.⁵⁷ For seven days, they continued in riot, pillage and drunkenness, destroying many houses, slaying many citizens, and at last beginning to attack and murder each other.⁵⁸

The unexpected possession of such unresisted power gave audacity to the more atrocious. The love of crime increased, from the facility of its perpetration. Cruelty began to wanton in mischief, and the most abandoned designs were meditated. One was, to destroy the king and nobles, to set fire to the metropolis, and to plunder it while burning.⁵⁹ Three times the king had given them the charters they asked for, but they became dissatisfied with all.⁶⁰ They were then required to meet him in Smithfield, and to state the additional articles which they projected.

Their leader, Wat Tyler, demanded, that all the lawyers should be beheaded; and he is reported to have exclaimed, that in four days all the laws of England should flow from his lips. A knight was sent to him by the king, and he chose to be offended that the royal messenger approached him on horseback.

Wat Tyler
killed.

⁵⁷ Wals. 261.

⁵⁸ Knyght. 2635, 2636. In the city they killed many Flemish merchants; which Chaucer notices,

Certes he Jakke Strawe, and his meinie
Ne maden never shoutes half so shrille
Whan that they wolden any Fleming kille.

The Nonnes Preestes Tale, p. 131.

⁵⁹ Wals. 264.

⁶⁰ One of these charters may be inserted, to shew what the rioters at first required: 'Richard, &c. greeting. Know ye, that of our especial grace, we have manumitted all liegemen and every one of our subjects, and others of the county of Hertford, and have discharged both them and theirs of all bondage, and pardon them all felonies, treasons, transgressions, extortions, &c.' Wals. 266.

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He drew his dagger, and was menacing an assault; when the king, to avert the danger of his friend, ordered him to dismount, and to give the weapon, which he had unsheathed, to the rebel.⁶¹ Wat Tyler now addressed the king with a threatening insolence, throwing up his dagger with one hand, and catching it with the other, as if playing with it like a child, but watching, it was thought, a certain moment to stab the king, if his demands should be refused. These were, that all the warrens, streams, parks and woods, should be common to every one, and that the right of pursuing game should be equally free. As the king was pausing on such a grant, which, tho. he might concede, he had not the power to effectuate, Wat suddenly seized the bridle of his horse. Walworth, the mayor of London, who was near him, fearing for his sovereign's life, instinctively seized a basillard, and darted it into the rebel's throat. At the same moment, another esquire plunged one into his side. He fell on his face, sprang up once or twice on his hands and feet convulsively, and expired.⁶² The cry immediately rose among his followers, that their leader was dead, and a thousand arrows were stretched on their bows to avenge him. The king, with hereditary courage, and with a presence of mind beyond his years, immediately rode around them, exclaiming, "Why this clamor, my liege men? What are ye doing? Will you kill your king? Be not displeased for the death of a traitor and a scoundrel. I will be your captain and your leader: follow me to the fields, and I will grant all you

⁶¹ Wals. 264, 265.—Gower thus describes Wat Tyler, 'Vox fera, trux vultus, verissima mortis imago.' MS. Tib. A. 4.

⁶² Knyghton, 2636, 2637.

can ask." Pleased with his confidence and gracious manner, interested by his beautiful countenance, and as yet undetermined whether to revenge their chief, or take the king's concessions, they followed the movement of those who went after the king to the fields; thus affording an opportunity, while they were out of the city, for the friends of order and loyalty to assemble, without any apprehension of the metropolis being destroyed in the conflict. While the king was parleying with them in the fields, the mayor collected an armed force of above a thousand men. They chose sir Robert Knolles their leader, to give them disciplined array, and they rode down in military form upon the insurgents, who, seeing their shining arms and imposing appearance, and observing them moving as if to surround and charge them, became seized with a happy panic, threw down their rude arms, and fled in all directions. The knights wished to make an example of one or two hundred. But the good-natured king, pleased with the easy termination of an insurrection so menacing in its first aspect, and perhaps feeling that it was a reliance on his word which had placed them in their present situation, declared, that many had joined them thro fear, who would thus be destroyed without any wilful guilt; and therefore he forbad a pursuit.⁶³

⁶³ Wals. 265. With the two preceding authorities, may be read Froissart's amusing but less exact account, c. 77. On this insurrection, Gower composed his *Vox Clamantis*, a poem in Latin hexameters and pentameters. He begins it with a florid description of the summer, as the disturbance began in the month of June. He fancies himself to have dreamt, that he went into the fields to pick flowers, when he suddenly saw an innumerable crowd of monsters coming towards him, in different bodies; some seemed changed into asinine shapes, some into cattle, some into pigs, and others into dogs, foxes, owls, flies and frogs. As they stood collected, a Jay, that was called Watte, was chosen to be their leader. He heard their names and divers horrible voices. He states, that they had one John Halle among them, as their prophet, who instigated them to

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tion
ceases.

Never was any insurrection more useless, more mischievous, or more absurd. All mob-tumults indeed are so. But this was rather violent than politically formidable. It was not the result of any conspiracy; it was an ebullition of popular resentment, made universal by the inflammable state of the public mind. It proved destructive to individuals, from the suddenness of its occurrence; and its novelty struck the government with a panic, from surprise, which gave the mob their temporary and unexpected success. But the first bold resistance intimidated and dispersed the insurgents: and, being connected with no organized plan or superior leaders, the dissolution of the motley crowd terminated the danger. The tumult scarcely lasted a fortnight at London. In many parts of the country, disturbances of the same sort occurred; but they were soon suppressed.⁶⁴ One movement indeed, more personal

their crimes; and that they appointed to themselves tribunes and officers. He describes their massacres and excesses, and the consternation of many, who fled to woods and caves to hide and fortify themselves. He was one of these fugitives. He took refuge in a wood, and lay hid there for several days, subsisting on acorns and wild herbs, and covering himself with leaves and grass:—

*Silva vetus densa, nulla violata securi,
Absque supercilio, mihi nubis sub tegumento—
Nulla superficies tunc quia tuta fuit.
Per que dies aliquot latitans omnem que tremiscens,
Ad strepitum fugi, visa pericla cavens,
Glande famem pellens, mixta quoque frondibus herba
Corpus ego texi, nec manus una movet—
Tunc cibus herba fuit, tunc latis currere sylvis
Impetus est, castra tunc quia nulla juvant.*

He narrates the death of their Jay, or Walter their captain; but still sees the vessel of the state tossed about by various winds, without a helm. He feigns, that a voice in his dream bade him write what he had seen; and this leads to a conclusion of his first book. MS. Cot. Lib. Tiberius A 4. and Titus A 13.

⁶⁴ Knyghton, 2637–2639. Walsingham details the violences at St. Albans, 266–275; in Norfolk, 275; in Cambridgeshire, 277.—They seem to have raged for some time in the country before they approached the metropolis, for the Stat. 6 Rich. 2. c. 13. dates the commencement from the 1st of May, and extends them to Midsummer-day.

and pertinacious, was directed against the duke of Lancaster, who was then in the North. Two bodies of 10,000 men went thro the kingdom in search of him. All that he had at Leicester, and in the castle of Tuttebury, was destroyed. His noble friends who had invited him, did not dare to receive him, and he was obliged to take shelter in Scotland.⁶⁵ The organization and perseverance of this part of the insurgents, may induce us to recollect his attachment to Wickliffe, and to suspect that they were directed by persons of a different description from those who headed the tumults in the metropolis.

The crown, soon released from its apprehensions, published a proclamation, declaring it to be false, that the rebels had acted either with the king's consent, or by his orders;⁶⁶ revoked the charters of manumission and amnesty, which had been granted during the rebellion;⁶⁷ and issued a justification of the duke of Lancaster, from the calumnies with which he had been charged.⁶⁸ Justice Tresilian was sent into the country, to try the rioters. He is described to have acted with the lawless spirit of a rioter himself; to have made a great slaughter; to have spared none, but to have hanged all who were accused, whether innocent or guilty.⁶⁹ The insurrection was noticed in the speech from the govern-

⁶⁵ Knyghton, 2639-2643.

⁶⁶ This was dated 23 June 1361. Rymer, Act. Foed. vol. 7. p. 316.

⁶⁷ Rymer, p. 317. This revocation was dated 2 July 1381: so that by the end of June the insurrection was over.

⁶⁸ Rymer, p. 318, dated 3 July 1381. 'Nulli parcens fecit stragam magnam.'

⁶⁹ Knyghton, p. 2643. Froissart describes the king as going into Kent with 500 spears, and as many archers, directing at various places the magistrates to point out the first movers of the rebellion in each town; ordering punishment on these, and pardoning the rest. He mentions, that in the different parts of England above 1500 were beheaded or hanged. v. 5. p. 371-3.

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ment, in the following parliament. The lord treasurer recommended an inquiry to be made into the causes which had produced it. He reminded them, that the king had granted letters under his great seal, enfranchising the servile part of the community, but declared, that his majesty was aware that he could not do this consistently with the law of the land, and had therefore recalled them. But he left it to the prelates, lords and commons, to decide, whether they would sanction the enfranchisement or not, adding, from the throne, this important intimation, that if they were desirous to enfranchise the servile classes, as it had been reported some were, the king would assent to the measure.⁷⁰ The lords and commons did not adopt the liberal feeling of the sovereign: they declared, that they would not sanction the manumissions, tho they should all perish in one day; and they annulled them universally.⁷¹ But the commons petitioned for the king's grace and pardon to the rebels, which was immediately granted, with individual exceptions.⁷²

Causes of
the public
agitation.

This strange insurrection, so new to England, and the subsequent commotions which marked this agitated reign, altho the son of the favorite Black Prince was the sovereign, lead us to suspect that no common agencies must have been in operation to

⁷⁰ Parl. Plac. 99. The term here used for the class in bondage is 'Neifs;' the same with Bracton's 'Nativi,' or persons born in bondage.

⁷¹ Plac. Parl. 100. Accordingly, by the Stat. 5 Rich. 2. c. 7. all such 'manumissions, obligacions, relese et d'autres liens,' were made void; and it was made treason to begin 'riot et rumour.' This latter part was repealed by 1 Edw. 6. c. 12.

⁷² Plac. Parl. pp. 103 & 111. Seventeen persons were excepted in Norfolk; twenty in Suffolk; four in Cambridgeshire; eleven in Essex; four in Hertfordshire; twenty-three in Middlesex; eight in Winchester; twenty in Kent; eight in Sussex; thirteen in Somerset; eight in Canterbury; and one hundred and fifty-one in London. Ib. pp. 111-113.

have produced such momentous results. The conduct of the tax assessors and collectors will account for local and transient effervescence, but not for the extensive discontent, continued factions, and ultimate revolution, which disturbed the kingdom at this period.⁷³

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We may distinguish the causes of these evils into three classes : Those, which were the consequences of the warlike system of Edward III. ; those, which were the results of the improving tendencies of society at that period ; and those, which occurred from the personal character of the king.

By his wars in France, Edward III. had occupied the chivalry of his country in expeditions, which expended abroad that martial spirit which might have been troublesome at home ; and by the two great victories of Cressy and Poitiers, an intellectual impression had been made on the contending countries, and on Europe at large, highly to the credit of the English people. The superiority of their individual prowess had been proved, and the celebrity of the nation had been widely diffused. The French armies, as men, were decided to be inferior to the English in military exercises, in persevering resolution, and in personal strength, as their leaders were at this juncture in tactical skill. From the experience of these facts, England was taught its intrinsic national greatness, and was freed from all doubt of the ability to preserve its national independence. When we consider the individual

1st, Con-
sequences
of the pre-
ceding
wars of
Edw. III.

⁷³ That Gower considered the disturbances to have much deeper-seated causes than the mere taxation, is evident, from his *Vox Clamantis*. He expresses great apprehension, of exciting much odium by his representations, and of their occasioning much angry criticism on himself ; but he resolves to attempt the task, and to write only truth. See the third book of his *Vox Clamantis*.

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security and spirit, the general honor and magnanimity, and the internal improvements and activity, which flow from such a conviction and such a truth, we cannot but feel, that the wars which first decisively established them, had not occurred without some national benefit. But these wars were also followed by many other consequences; and some of these were disadvantageous to the future sovereign.

Among these, we may consider the creation of feelings on both of the contending nations, which ensured the recurrence of future hostilities. Mortified pride, a desire of revenge, and a resolution to regain the territory they had lost, and to retrieve their national reputation, became the future actuating principles of the French government and people; and hence the peace which they made, was but an armed truce with a more specious title. In the English mind, an elevated self-opinion, a love of martial glory, an insulting contempt for the enemies they had vanquished, a confidence that they should always conquer, a passion to repeat their triumphs; and a wish, allied to more sordid feelings, to renew the invasion, that they might share again the spoils of a beaten country; produced a fondness and an eagerness for war, which, craving the occurrence, cared little for the justice of the cause. With this sufficiency of hostile motives on both sides, it is no wonder that a renewed war was still raging when the reign of Edward III. closed. He was not allowed to repose on the laurels he had won: and as the honors of war are at all times the most evanescent and mutable, depending sometimes on the comparative talents of the opposing leaders; sometimes on numerical force; sometimes on the nature of the country, and often

on the accidents of disease, want of supplies, failure of co-operation, or other casualties which mock both skill and valor ; it was consistent with the usual experience of human affairs, that, glorious as the summer day of Edward III. had shone, the autumn of his life should be clouded, like that of most great warriors, with disappointment, humiliation and defeat. Dying in the midst of new hostilities, he left his grandson Richard II. to inherit his wars with this change of fortune, and to begin his reign with two circumstances inauspicious to its felicity—French fleets insulting the coasts, and ravaging the towns of England ; and the necessity of obtaining annual and burthensome supplies from his people, to repel these unpopular hostilities. Both these events disposed the nation to eye the measures of government, from its very commencement, with jealousy and reproach.

The beginning of Richard's reign, thus unpopular, it became more so when factious partisans excited the treasonable question, Whether the duke of Lancaster would not have been a more effective sovereign ? The failures of that prince in the conduct of the war, at length lessened the effect of these discussions. But more dangerous feelings spread at the picture which men drew of this reign, contrasted with the preceding. A reign of great martial glory inevitably casts over the next a deep shade, and gives even to peace a disgrace which is both unjust and unfounded. We have the ebullitions of the popular reasoning or prejudices on this subject, recorded by the contemporary pen of Froissart.⁷⁴ And we find from him, that the money-

⁷⁴ Froissart mentions, that there were many murmurs in England, in various places ; and some said, who were thinking of evil rather than of good, ' What have become of the great enterprises, and the valiant men of England, of Edward the Third, and his son the prince ? We used then to go into France and overthrow our enemies ; so that none dared

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levies made on the people, and their application, were equally censured.⁷⁵

Another consequence of the anterior warfare, was the diffusion thro the country of the disbanded or unemployed soldiery, which had been raised for preceding campaigns; to whom, tho no longer effective from age and service, inactivity was misery, and whose peaceful life was comparatively a state of penury and neglect. Our old poet Occleve, who lived at this time, has left us some complaining stanzas on the neglect and poverty of the veterans whom Edward had used; which lead us to the conviction that these were among the exciting instruments of disaffection.⁷⁶ We find, indeed, this topic of dis-

to array themselves in battle against us, or if they attempted it, were discomfited. In those days, Englishmen were dreaded. All the world talked of us, and of our noble chivalry. Now they may be silent upon it, for we know nothing of warring at present, except to steal purses from wealthy people: at this we are very apt.' vol 3. c. 63.

⁷⁵ 'Where go all our revenues, so large and so numerous, raised by taxation, in addition to the king's customary income? They must be either squandered or embezzled.' Froiss. ib.

⁷⁶ O fikell world! alas! thy variance!
 How many a gentilman may men now see,
 That whilom in the werres olde of France
 Honored were, and holde in great chiertee,
 For her prowess in armes, and plentie
 Of frendes hade in youthe, and now for shame—
 Alas! her frenship is croked and lame.
 Now age, unorne, away putteth favour,
 That floury youth in his ceson conquered.
 Now forgete is al maner manly labour
 Thurgh whiche full ofte thei her foes assered.
 Now ben the worthy men beten with the yerd
 Of nede. Alas! and none hath of hem routh.
 Pitee is beried, I trowe be my trouthe.

After calling on the young men to help the old, needy warriors, he adds,
 Knyghthode, awake! thou slepest to longe;
 Thy brother, see, ny dieth for mischief.
 Awake! and rewe upon his peynes strong.
 Yf thou hereafter come unto suche myschief,
 Thou wilt full sore thirst after relief.
 Thou art not sure what shall thee befall:
 Welthe is foul slepir, beware, lest thou fall.

Occleve, MS. Bib. Reg. 17 D 6.

content even mentioned in parliament itself at the very beginning of this reign.⁷⁷

It is perhaps to these superfluous and dissatisfied warriors, that we must attribute some of those grievous violences, which were in fact petty insurrections, which accompanied the king's accession, and were repeatedly the subject of complaint, and of the legislation of parliament. In the second year of his reign, the chancellor stated, that many persons collected in great multitudes in arms, and violently dispossessed others of their lands, ill treated women, and slew unoffending people.⁷⁸ The house of commons also complained, about the same time, that many in Cheshire, Lancashire, and the adjoining counties, went about committing homicides, took prisoners those who could pay the ransom they exacted, and rode in armed array to fairs, to plunder the attending merchants.⁷⁹ So general was this evil, that an ordinance was passed, empowering the crown to arrest all malefactors; altho the commons soon afterwards requested a repeal of this strong law, because it was found to become oppressive to liberty.⁸⁰

With these materials of disturbance, and with these subjects for popular ill-humor, the first years of this reign passed gloomily on; while other causes of a feverish action were gathering strength, which even

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IInd, Im-
proving
tendencies
of the
nation.

⁷⁷ That the chivalry of the kingdom had been rebuquiz et tenuz en villetee, and put behind, and vice advanced. Plac. Parl. vol. 3. p. 5.

⁷⁸ Plac. Parl. vol. 3. p. 33.

⁷⁹ Ibid. p. 42.—So the Parliamentary Record, in the 8th year of Richard, states, that 'many people come from the county of Chester into Shropshire, and into the counties of Stafford, Worcester, Gloucester, Hereford, Lancaster, Nottingham, Derby, Warwick, Leicester, and York, both day and night, armed and arrayed for war, and kill the inhabitants; burn houses; violate women; maim and beat individuals, and kill and take their goods and cattle.' Plac. Parl. p. 201.

⁸⁰ Ibid. p. 65.

BOOK
II.
—
REIGN OF
RICH. II.
—

the improvements of the country contributed to produce. From the common progress of human affairs, it must happen that at different periods of the world, the leading minds, or the larger mass of society, acquire feelings and ideas either more improved than those of their ancestors, or at least dissimilar. Human life exhibits a continual flux of changing parts. The minds and habits of mankind are not more stationary than their persons ; for altho the alterations, having to spread from individual to individual, and being imbibed with varying degrees of readiness or quantity, are not visible in their mass, but at certain intervals of time, sometimes remote from each other ; yet their ultimate agency is certain, and the collisions which they produce are as disquieting as incalculable. There is perhaps no way to avert their danger, but to prevent the explosion by a foreseeing and timely reformation, or modification of existing laws or habits.

From the benevolent practice of emancipating some of their enslaved tenantry and domestics, which had long prevailed among the great ; from the constant encouragement of their freedom by the crown, the church, and the law, all agreeing upon its national benefit ; from the superior prosperity and fertility of those who enjoyed the blessings of individual liberty ; and from the numerous casualties of the knights and barons in their wars and crusades, which frequently left many estates without owners, and therefore many bondmen without masters ; the number of the free population had never ceased to increase : and England, besides her ancient cities, had become full of burghs and towns, inhabited by free persons, many of whom, from the acquisition of wealth by trade, were also purchasers of land. It was the tendency

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of this state of things that personal servitude should become generally odious. It had long been much alleviated; and in the reign we are delineating, the servile bondage of our rustic population had become for the most part reduced to tilling their lord's land, reaping, housing, and thrashing his corn, and cutting and carrying for him wood for fuel.⁸¹ But that these labors should be exacted gratuitously from poor husbandmen by their wealthy superiors, was so repugnant to the pride and justice of human nature; and that one man should be at all the slave of another, was so revolting to the spirit of the brave and prosperous, now beginning to enjoy the blessings of diffusing reason and liberty; that a desire arose, not only in England, but in France,⁸² at this period, of terminating all vassal bondage. The system of paying a fixed rent instead of performing personal servitude, had not then become popular, nor duly appreciated in its political consequences; and therefore the minds of the great, and of their vassal tenantry, were in a state of mutual dissatisfaction and latent warfare on this important subject: the aristocracy considering the vassal subjection of their peasantry as their legal right, both of property and power, and as one great mean of political influence; and the people universally desirous to have personal slavery wholly abolished.

The national mind was also rapidly falling into a revolutionary state, with respect to the hierarchy. The wealth, luxury, ambition, and corruptions of all classes of the clergy, had long excited public censure and

III^d, Ob-
jections to
the hierar-
chy.

⁸¹ Froissart, vol. 2. c. 74.

⁸² Froissart has noticed the insurrection of the vassal peasantry in France about this time, who, from the real or assumed name of their leader, was called Les Jacques Bons homs. vol. 2. c. 74.

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odium. The new orders increased, by their satire and rivalry, the unpopularity of the old ecclesiastical dignitaries; and the diffusion of the new opinions which Wickliffe so energetically applied himself to spread, occasioned a great number, both of the nobility and the courtiers, as well as of the merchants and the more thinking part of the common people, to desire a diminution of the power and property of the ecclesiastical bodies, and the change of many of their doctrines, institutions, and ceremonies. It was not likely that a hierarchy, so rich and potent as the English Catholic hierarchy then was, should see this rising hostility with indifference. They were as resolved to defend, as the reformers were desirous to attack; and the collision between these two great parties was every day approaching to an explosion. The intellectual improvements of the day, which were perpetually multiplying themselves both in amount and diffusion, increased the number of those who craved a melioration of the ecclesiastical system, and gave the vassal peasantry reasoning advocates, whose opinions turned the feelings of society in their favor.

The duke of Lancaster had publicly espoused the cause of Wickliffe, and of clerical reformation. This conduct fixed upon him the enmity of the existing hierarchy. The defects of his character, in which neither pride nor ambition were wanting, gave them sufficient grounds to make him unpopular; and his desire to obtain or share the regency, during the royal minority, favored their wishes. When the poll-tax, and the conduct of its collectors, had roused the resentment of the populace, all these political causes of effervescence began to operate thro the nation with furious rapidity. All the latent spirit of

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discontent and desire of change, and all the new speculations, and their resisting forces, burst into action. The vassal peasantry thought the hour was come to end their bondage; the religious reformer, to make the improvements he wished; and the expectant plunderers of church property, to have the pillage they meditated:⁸³ while the more foreseeing defenders of the hierarchy also saw that the tumultuary movement gave them an opportunity of being revenged on their great enemies; of directing on them some part of the popular commotion; and of extinguishing all projects of reform, in the dread and in the calamities of rabble licentiousness and extravagant speculation.⁸⁴ The recollection of all these moving forces and opposing schemes, will enable us to understand the multifarious and dissimilar operations of the extraordinary insurrection which we have described, so new to English history, and apparently so incoherent in its objects and effects. They will also prepare us to expect that the rest of this reign should not be tranquil.

The king's personal character increased the evils of the day. Like the unfortunate Edward II. and untaught by his catastrophe, Richard II. became fond of favorites. He was popularly satirized for his young ministers, and for one of them, who was called "his doll," and of whom it was said, "he has seen nothing,

IVth Cause;
defects of
the king's
character.

⁸³ Walsingham expressly charges the commons as aiming at the temporalities of the clergy, p. 348. He says, 'I heard one knight intensely swearing, that he would have 1000 marks yearly from St. Alban's monastery.' Ib.—The pasquinade imputed to Chaucer, called Jacke Upland, and Piers Plouhman's works, will shew the reforming feeling in the nation, as to the clergy.

⁸⁴ Some carried, even at this period, their theories so far as to ask,
When Adam delved, and Eve span,
Where was then the gentleman?

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he has learnt nothing, and never been in battle."⁶⁵ This inexperienced favorite became the chief counsellor of the king, and was created duke of Ireland. The nobility were offended at his influence: they exclaimed, that he made the king what he pleased.⁶⁶ They recollected and circulated disgraceful anecdotes of his father.⁶⁷ They declared the king to be counselled by evil, low-born people, and that he could not prosper with such an administration.

That Richard was defective in his personal conduct, we may also infer from the strong and repeated exclamations of our ancient poet Gower, written at the time, and before the Lancastrian question arose. Vice and tyranny are the imputations conveyed in his English verse;⁶⁸ and his unpublished Latin poem, written while the king was young, abounds with intimations of the royal vices, and with exhortations to a different conduct, which imply them.⁶⁹ He

⁶⁵ Froissart, vol. 3. c. 63.⁶⁶ Id. vol. 9. c. 77.⁶⁷ Froissart details these at some length, c. 77.—The king made this favorite *Marquis* of Dublin, being the first that bore this dignity in England.—Walsingham remarks the indecent familiarity with which the king was reported to love him. p. 352.⁶⁸ In his *Confessio Amantis* he urges Richard
- - - That he hymselfe amende
Towarde his God, and leve vice—
and toGoverne and lede in such a wise
So that there be no tyrannise,—
Wherof that he his people grieve;
Or elles maie he nought achieve,
That longeth to his regalie.
For if a kynge will justifie
His londe and hem that ben within,
First at hymselfe he mot begin.Gower's *Confessio Amantis*, Chal. ed.⁶⁹ Thus he says,

- - - O bone rex juvenis—

Ille rex noster qui *modo* in sua puerili constituitur ætate.

Vox Clam. MS. Tib. A 4.

It is a mistake to date this work at the end of Richard's reign: the lines that have occasioned this error, belong to a different Latin poem of Gower's.

urges him to avoid the contaminating company of the depraved;⁹⁰ to drive the vicious immediately from him;⁹¹ to avoid what ruined Solomon;⁹² to be virtuous as well as handsome;⁹³ to remember, that neither beauty nor noble ancestors would profit, if he became a slave to vice;⁹⁴ to impose a bridle on himself, while he restrained others by laws;⁹⁵ and if he wished to be a king, to govern first himself, and then he would be truly so.⁹⁶ He exhorts him to shut his ears to bad counsellors, lest his offended nobles should be roused; he warns him of the danger of imposing taxes, and intimates that some avaricious counsellor was misleading him, whom he ought to shun like death.⁹⁷ Another dangerous principle in the royal mind, was a passionate and arbitrary self-will. He was too young not to rush to his wished object by the shortest road, neither foreseeing nor

⁹⁰ *Plauda bonis; fuge pravorum consilia—*

⁹¹ *Rex! igitur citius viciosos pelle remotos—*

⁹² *O pie rex juvenis! juvenili quid Salomoni
Contigit, vitare sis memor unde hic—*

⁹³ *O Rex - - - - -*

*Nobile corpus habes et singula membra decora;
Sit virtus animi; sit magis illa tibi—*

⁹⁴ *Quid tibi forma juvat, vel nobile nomen avorum,
Si viciis servus factus es ipse tuus—*

⁹⁵ *Legum frena tenens, freno te fortius arce—*

⁹⁶ *Si rex esse velis, te rege, rex et eris—* MS. ib.

Walsingham gives an instance of the king's passionate temper. For some light causes he burst into such a rage against the archbishop of Canterbury, that he ordered his goods to be confiscated. His favorite chancellor could scarcely prevent the wild measure. The king poured out 'verba contumeliosa' on both; which, the Chronicler says, it would be too long to write, and were unbecoming the king's station. All who interfered had their share both of the anger and the abuse. Hist. p. 342.—His wrathful dialogue with the duke of Lancaster, in Scotland, seems another instance of an ungovernable and unwise irascibility. Wals. p. 34.

⁹⁷ *Vir qui bella movet, qui predas consulit et qui*

Conspirat taxas plebis habere tuæ;

O rex, oro tuas claudas talibus aures

Ne tua nobilitas læta fatiscat eis.

Consilium regale tuum vir nullus avarus

Tangat, sed tales mortis ad instar habe—

Vox Clam. MS. Tib. A 4.

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RICH. II.

comprehending the obstacles that would have made a wiser man hesitate.

The taste of Richard for personal splendor and luxurious magnificence, embarrassed his finances and corrupted his people. Ten thousand followers were every day feasted in his household; three hundred servants waited in his kitchen; and every office was proportionably loaded with attendants.⁹⁹ Their dresses appear to have been ostentatiously superb,⁹⁹ exceeding in costliness what courtly grandeur had been accustomed to exhibit.¹⁰⁰ The consequences of this taste were, heavy taxations on his people, which excited their hatred; and a dissoluteness of manners,¹⁰¹ which always produces factions and disloyalty.

⁹⁹ We learn this from Hardyng—

Truly I herd Robert Ireliffe say,
Clerke of the grene cloth, that to the household
Came every daye, for moost partie alwaye,
Ten thousand folke by his mess is tould,
That folowed the hous, aye as thei would,
And in the kechin three hundred servitours,
And in eche office many occupiours.

Hard. Chron. p. 346.

⁹⁹ Yemenne and gromes in clothe of silke arayed,
Sattyn, and damaske, in dublettes and gounes,
In cloth of grene and scarlet for unpaid,
Cut werke was greate both in court and tounes,
Bothe in mennes hoddis and also in their gounes;
Broudur and furies and goldsmith werke aye newe,
In many a wise eche daye thei did renewe.

Hard. Chron. 347.

¹⁰⁰ And ladies faire with their gentilwomen,
Chamberers also and lavenders,
Three hundred of them were occupied then.
Ther was greate pride among the officers,
And of al menne farpassyng their compeers,
Of riche araye, and muche more costious
Then was before or sith and more precious.

Hard. Chron. 347.

¹⁰¹ Greate lechery and fornicacion
Was in that house, and also greate advoutree,
Of paramoures was greate consolacion,
Of eche degre well more of prelacie
Then of the temporall or of the chivalrie.
Greate taxe ay the Kyng tooke through all the lond,
For whiche the Commons hym hated both free and bond.

Hard. Chron. 347.

Both these facts are so distinctly recorded of this reign, that their operation is unquestionable. Nor is it difficult to trace the causes to their effects. From the increasing wealth of the country, it is probable that there was nothing in the taxations, considered by themselves, which the people, if they had been good-humored with their government, or as economical as their ancestors, might not have endured with ease and cheerfulness; and yet, altho better able, they were less disposed to bear them. It would seem that the expensive pomps and luxury of the sovereign produced an imitating taste and spirit among his subjects; and these new habits put all to their full stretch of means. It was not every one who could support the taxations levied for the wants of the state, and also the style of living and personal appearance which were necessary to those, who wished to live with that distinction in society, which in a civilized age is so generally coveted.¹⁰² Hence the clamors of many, whose patriotism was inferior to their pride. The luxury of the great, when it has become the fashion of the day, tends also to engender a rapacious and unprincipled spirit amongst themselves, and in

¹⁰² Occleve has left us some stanzas, complaining of the emulous prodigality of his contemporaries at this period, and especially of their dress, on which they spent their whole property.

But thys methynketh a grete abusion;
 To see one walke in gownes of scarlet
 Twelve yerdes wide, with pendaunt sleeves down
 On the ground, and the furre therin set
 Amountyng unto twenty pound, and het,
 And, yf he for it paide have, he no good
 Hath hym lefte, to bey with an hood.
 Nor though he yode forthe amonge the prees,
 And overloke every poore wight;
 His coffre and eke his purs ben penylees.
 He hath no more than he goth in ryght.
 For land, rent or catel he may go light.
 The weight of hem shall not so much peise
 As doth his goune. Is such aray to preise?

BOOK
II.REIGN OF
RICH. II.

the country, from which government suffers. As few individual resources suffice for habits or appetites so costly, the throne becomes besieged, and the country filled with a class of men the most dangerous to all states—individuals born to better expectations, or accustomed to foster them, and embarrassed and corrupted by ambitious expenditure. Luxury then operates to convert the vices into necessary appetites, and to make crimes, dishonesty, or faction, indispensable to the subsistence of many, who are too proud to lose their desired rank in society, and too poor to maintain it. Laws become then often but random cannon-shot, whose chances several will dare.¹⁰³

Nay done it is all mys me thynketh ;
 So poore a wight his lord to countrefete
 In his aray ; In my conceyt it stynketh.
 Certes to blame ben the lordes grete,
 Yf that I durste sey, that her men lete
 Usurpe such a lordes apparaile.
 It is not worth, my child, withouten faile.
 Som tyme men myght aserre lordes knowe
 By her aray from other folk—but now
 A man shall studie and muse a longe throwe
 Which is which—O Lordes ! it sitte to yow—
 Amende this—For it is your prowē.
 Yf betwene you and your men no deference
 Be in aray, the lesse is your reverence.
 Lete every lord his owen men defende
 Suche grete aray ; and than on my perile,
 This land within a while shall amende.
 In Goddes name putteth it in exile.
 It is a synne outrageous and vile.
 Lordes ! yf ye your estate and honour
 Loven—Flemeth this vicious errour.

Occleve, MS. Bib. Reg. 17 D 6.

¹⁰³ We have already remarked that it was a feature of the day, that plundering bands pervaded the country. Occleve complains of the great in title, but not in property, doing this.

Now in good feethe, I pray God it ameude.
 Law is nye flemed out of this contree.
 For fewe ben that dredon it to offende
 Correccion ; and all this is longe on the.
 Why suffrest thow so many assemble
 Of armed folk ? Wel nye in every shire,
 Partie is made to venge her cruell ire.—

Secret desires of change, and even of disturbance, begin to be cherished, because the absurdest hopes place their elysium in expected novelties ; and society, disordered in those who ought to be its ligaments, and pervaded by an increasing fever, is ever ready for some disastrous convulsion, which the slightest coinciding incident may suddenly produce. It was to excite the attention of the great to the political evils which the moral corruptions of the day were producing, that Gower wrote his *Vox Clamantis* in the former part of Richard's reign ;¹⁰⁴ and its disastrous close is some evidence, that his opinion of the importance of better habits in his sovereign, and the leading orders of the nation, was not without a reasonable foundation.¹⁰⁵

And by the grete, poore folk ben greved,
For he that noble is of blode, and lord
In stile, and nought hath—stired is and moved
Unto rapyne. This is often proved.
The poore it feeleth. Thus of lawe the lak
Norisseth wrong, and casteth right abak.

MS. Bib. Reg. 17 D 6.

¹⁰⁴ Gower opens the second book of this Latin poem with intimating, that he intends to name it *Vox Clamantis*, because it will be made up from the voice and clamor of the public. He then devotes seven books to the description of the errors and vices of all orders of the state, which he conceived to occasion the agitation of the country. He executes this task with very strong and free satire, and with some good lines. Some passages a little resemble Juvenal, and shew the poet ; but on the whole he is tedious, diffuse, and sometimes puerile. His last book is an earnest exhortation to the young king to alter his conduct. This work contains above ten thousand lines. MS. Cott. Lib. Tiberius A 4. and Titus A 13. The first is the best written copy.

¹⁰⁵ The *Catalina* and *Jugurtha* of Sallust, and indeed the Roman history from the destruction of Carthage to Augustus, should be read by those who wish to study the connection between the moral and political disorders of civilized states, by which so many, both ancient and modern, have been agitated and destroyed. The private virtues are indispensable to the continuance of public prosperity or tranquillity.

C H A P. VII.

Continuation of the Reign of RICHARD II. to its Conclusion.

1384—1399.

BOOK
II.
—
Accusa-
tion of the
duke of
Lancaster.

THE intestine discord seems to have begun by the accusation, in 1384, of the duke of Lancaster. A Carmelite friar appeared at the parliament, and accused him of conspiring to kill the king, and to seize the crown. It was unfavorable to his credibility that he advised the king not to hear the duke's defence. Suddenly entering, the duke was informed of the charge, and denied it; and requested the friar to be committed to the care of the lord Holland, the king's brother, till the day of trial. This was conceded; but, on the night preceding this important day, the friar was cruelly murdered by his keeper. The person whom the friar had pointed out as the inventor and incentive of the alleged treason, denied upon his oath that he had either heard or thought of it. The duke of Gloucester was reported to have vehemently upbraided the king, for listening to such an improbable charge. On the other hand, it was fabled that the hurdle on which the friar was dragged thro the streets, after his death, vegetated, produced leaves, and cured a blind man!!¹ The mysterious affair, suspicious on all sides, seemed to pass into oblivion, and the king treated Lancaster with the same friendship as before.

¹ Walsingh. Hist. 334-336.—John of Holland was the brother of the king by his mother's side, but he had been named by Lancaster. Which party instigated Holland to the murder, is unknown.

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VII.REIGN OF
RICH. II.
His expedition into
Spain.

The duke went to France, to treat for peace. But the next year the king allowed his ministers to plan the sudden arrest of the duke; on whom Tresilian was boldly to pronounce a judicial sentence, according to the accusation that should be preferred. Advertised of the design, the duke hastened down to his castle at Pomfret, and public disturbances seemed likely to ensue. The king's mother, tho in very delicate health, was so affected by these proceedings, that she undertook the office of negotiating herself between the king and his uncle, and wearied herself by expensive and personal journeys, till she had completed their reconciliation.² Her amiable exertions had such a permanent effect, that in the succeeding spring, when Lancaster went to Spain in quest of the throne of Castile, the king gave him a golden crown, and the queen a similar one to his

² Wals. Hist. 341.—There is a strange charge on Lancaster, that he had a chronicle forged, to prove that Edward I. had an elder brother, who was postponed because he was crook-backed, and from whom Lancaster attempted to adduce a title to the crown. I give it in Hardyng's words:—'Also I herde the seide erle of Northumberlonde saie divers tymes, that he herde duke John of Lancastre, amonge the lordes in counsels and in parlementes, and in the comon house amonge the knyghtes chosyn for the comons, aske bi bill for to beene admytte heire apparaunte to kyng Richarde, considerynge howe the kynge wase like to haue no issue of his bodie. To the whiche the lordes spirituell and temporell, and the comons in the comon house be hoole aduyse, seide, that the erle of Marche, Roger Mortymere, was his next heire to the croun, in full discent of blode, and they wolde have noone other; and axed a question upon it, who durst disable the kynge of issue he beyng yonge and able to have children; for whiche when the duke of Lancastre wase so putt bie, he and his counsell feyned and forged the seide cronycle that Edmonde shuld be the elder brother to make his son Henry a title to the croun, and wold have hade the seide erle of Northumberlonde, and sir Thomas Percy his brother, of counsaile thereof, for cause thei were discent of the seide Edmonde bi a suster; but they refused it. Whiche cronycle, so forged, the duke dide put in divers abbaies and in freres, as I herde the seid erle ofte tymes saie and recorde to divers persouns, for to be kepte for the enheritaunce of his sonne to the croun, whiche title he put furste furth, after he hade kyng Richarde in the toure, but that title the erle Percy put aside.' p. 351.

BOOK
II.REIGN OF
RICH. II.
Campaign
in Spain.

duchess ; and an order was issued, that he should be called king of Spain, and receive royal honors.³

When the earl of Cambridge had landed at Lisbon with his small body of English forces, he announced that his brother, the duke of Lancaster, was soon to follow him with 4000 men at arms, and as many archers. With this prospect, the king of Portugal took the field against the king of Castile, and encamped his army in a pleasant plain below some hills of olive trees, between Elvas and Badajos. His force was 15,000. Cambridge here joined him with 600 spearmen and 600 archers. Their advance roused the Spanish sovereign to collect the whole chivalry of his country, and he came down willingly to a battle with 30,000 fighting men, and other followers doubling that amount.

The Portuguese king became now impatient for Lancaster's arrival. The knights on each side displayed their gallantry in their individual encounters, and for fifteen days the Castilians offered battle, which their adversaries thought themselves too inferior to accept. The intestine commotions in England had prevented the duke of Lancaster from fulfilling the promise of his personal succor ; and the king of Portugal, fearing the ill effects of a dangerous warfare unsupported by an adequate English force, opened a negotiation with don John, and completed a treaty of peace with him unknown to the earl of Cambridge, who could only complain, remonstrate, and return⁴ affronted and disappointed to his native home.

³ Knyghton Chron. p. 2676.

⁴ Froiss. vol. 6. p. 60-4. Cambridge earnestly pressed the king Fernando to risk the battle, notwithstanding his inferior numbers ; but his council intreated him to consider, ' if you should lose the day, you will lose your crown.' This remark decided him not to take the risk

It has been repeatedly experienced in human affairs, that of the great men who occasionally arise to pre-eminence among their contemporaries, some make a new impression upon their age, and give a new direction and employment to the talents or activity of their admiring associates: Of this description was Edward III. That he ought to be classed with the heroes of popular fame was the generous confession of the king of France,⁵ who in expressing so honorably towards a national enemy that applauding sentiment, uttered with sympathetic feeling the common opinion of his day. Edward had excited a peculiar spirit and character of chivalry, combining the courtesy of the gentleman and princely honor with the formidable prowess and exertions of the adventurous knight, which had not appeared until he had conceived the idea and exhibited in his own demeanor and conduct an attractive pattern of the romantic reality. It was the union of all the martial powers of the Knights Templars with the proud honor of the nobleman and the accomplishments of social life. The effect of his example was to make such knights and knightly deeds numerous and frequent in Europe. Froissart justly foresaw a long duration to his pleasing chronicle, because it would depict and commemorate such a period and such feats.⁶ He went to one of the foreign

of such an alternative. Froiss. vol. 7. p. 115. The Portuguese princess, who was to have been wedded to his son, was then married to the king of Castile. Ib. 67.

⁵ 'As soon as the king of France learnt the death of king Edward, he said, that he had reigned most nobly and valiantly; and that his name ought to be remembered with honor among heroes.' Froissart, v. 4. p. 283.

⁶ 'For I well know, that when the time shall come, that I shall be dead and rotten, this grand and noble history will be much in fashion;

HISTORY OF ENGLAND,

K courts which they most frequented after Edward's death, to collect the true incidents, which he wished to narrate,⁷ and remarks that his princely friend dated their appearance from the time when the English sovereign began to reign.⁸ After his demise, the chief nations of Europe abounded in such characters, who, unprovided with other professions, or disinclined to other paths of distinction, sought in the kingdoms around them for military employment, and for want of it, or till it came, exercised their warlike powers against each other.⁹ As the contending kings of Europe, on making peace with each other, discharged such knights as they had engaged, they became from their number and necessities as troublesome to society as the disbanded soldiers of later times; tho the nobler part of them sought for honorable service in more distant regions, instead of subsisting by violence and rapine.

One of the most eminent of this description in, Richard's reign, was sir John Hawkwood. He performed a social benefit in collecting them around

and all noble and valiant persons will take pleasure in it, and gain from it augmentation of profit.' Froiss. v. 7. p. 111.

⁷ 'In order to know the truth of distant transactions, I took an opportunity of visiting that high and redoubted prince Gaston, count de Foix and de Bearn: for I well knew, that if I were so fortunate as to be admitted to his household, I could not choose a situation more proper to learn the truth of every event; as numbers of foreign knights and squires assembled there from all countries, attracted by his high birth and gentility.' Ib. p. 111.

⁸ 'The count de Foix, as soon as he saw me, gave me a hearty welcome. He himself, when I put any question to him, answered it most readily, saying, that the history I was employed on, would, in times to come, be more sought after than any other: 'because,' added he, 'my fair sir! more gallant deeds of arms have been performed *within these last fifty years*, and more wonderful things have happened, than for three hundred years before.' Froiss. v. 7. p. 112.

⁹ Froissart remarks this fact: 'Such valiant men *as were desirous of advancing themselves*, whether in Castille, Portugal, Gascony, Rouergue, Quercy, Limousin, or Bigoire, did not remain idle, but employed them-

him for more legitimate enterprises,¹⁰ and was so distinguished for his honor and military skill, that two contending popes were glad to engage him in their wars;¹¹ for such characters chose to convert the symbolical crosier of the shepherd into the sword of the soldier, and began at this time to degrade the christian bishop into the irreligious and worldly politician.

The knightly spirit which Edward III. had diffused, and the foreign invasions, which, to gratify his military temper and to please the chivalry he had created, he so often had prosecuted and repeated, had descended to his two sons, the duke of Lancaster and earl of Cambridge; and had led them to make Spain one of the great theatres of their martial distinction. The peace which Fernando, the sovereign of Portugal, had made with Castile,¹² ended all reasonable chance of either of the English princes obtaining the

selves under hand against each other, in the wish to perform deeds of arms, that might surprise and conquer towns, castles or fortresses.' v. 7. p. 110.

¹⁰ 'At this period there was in Tuscany a valiant English knight, called sir John Hawkwood, who had there performed many most gallant deeds of arms. He had left France at the conclusion of the peace of Bretigny, and was at that time a poor knight, who thought it would not be of any advantage to him to return home. But when he saw that all men at arms would be forced to leave France, he put himself at the head of those free companions called Latecomers, and marched into Burgundy. Several such companions, composed of English, Gascons, Bretons, Germans, and men from every nation, were collected there. Hawkwood was one of the principal leaders, by whom the battle of Brignais was fought; and who aided Bernard de la Salle to take the Pont du St. Esprit.' Froiss. v. 5. p. 92.

¹¹ 'Sir John Hawkwood and his companions remained in Italy, and were employed by POPE URBAN as long as he lived, in his wars in the Milanese. POPE GREGORY, successor to Urban, engaged him in the same manner.' Froiss. v. 5. p. 93. 'Sir John had also a profitable employment under the lord de Courcy, against the count de Vertris and his barons. He was a knight much inured to war, which he had long followed; and had gained great renown in Italy from his gallantry.' Ib.

¹² See before, p. 282.

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Spanish crown by force of arms. The probability was farther lessened by Richard allowing the favorite he ennobled to dissuade him from supporting his uncle's project.¹³ But the death of Fernando revived the hopes of John of Gaunt. His only daughter, who was to have married the son of Cambridge, had become the wife of John, the king of Castile, who claimed the crown of Lisbon in her right. The Portuguese were unanimous against having a Spaniard for their king, and raised immediately to their throne, in 1387, an illegitimate son of their deceased sovereign, tho he was a monk and grand master of a religious order.¹⁴ The disappointed Spaniard advanced to Santarem with an army; and the Portuguese solicited the aid of their English friends; and the daughter of the duke of Lancaster for the queen of their new sovereign.¹⁵

The Castilian applied to France and Gascony, for knights to increase his army;¹⁶ and thus the English prince was tempted again to try his fortune for gaining the foreign crown, which he had so long been coveting.

The Portuguese ambassadors were welcomed by the duke of Lancaster, and endeavored to sooth the irritation of Cambridge at the conduct of their late king. They assured both that the new one was full of enterprise and valor, and would combat with his enemies wherever he met them, altho three times his number, and whatever might be the consequences. They remarked, that the crown of Castile belonged to the English princes, in right of their wives: and to conquer it, they could have no entrance into Spain

¹³ Froiss. v. 7. p. 116.

¹⁵ Ib. 121-3.

¹⁴ Ib. 117.

¹⁶ Ib. 124.

so favorable as that thro Portugal, because all this country would be their friends, and would add its forces. The earl doubted if the cabinet council and parliament would consent to another expedition, as his smaller one had cost 100,000 francs, without any beneficial result. It was agreed to wait for the decision of the two houses: and the duke at last obtained their consent to his crossing the sea with 700 men at arms and 4000 archers, but would not enlarge the grant.¹⁷

While this force was preparing, 500 Englishmen, chiefly of those martial adventurers who were seeking every where for some honorable employment, arrived at Lisbon; as the Spanish army, joined by knights from France and Bearn, advanced again to Santarem.¹⁸ The king gratefully welcomed them, and immediately set out to encounter his invaders, without waiting for more. The Spaniards advanced eagerly and confidently to meet him,¹⁹ consisting of

¹⁷ Froiss. v. 7. p. 242.

¹⁸ Froiss. p. 254-8. 'Three parts of them were adventurers, under no command and without pay, from Calais, Cherbourg, Brest, and Montaigne, who, hearing of the war between Castile and Portugal, had assembled at Bourdeaux, and said, 'Let us go seek adventures in Portugal: we shall find some one there to receive and employ us.' The king asked one of these leaders, if the duke of Lancaster had sent them. 'By my faith, sir,' replied Northberry, 'it is a long time since he has known any thing of us, or we of him. We are people from different countries, who come to seek the chance of arms and adventures. There are some of us who have even come from the town of Calais to serve you.' 'On my troth,' said the king, 'you and they are very welcome. Your arrival gives us much joy; and know that we shall, very shortly, employ you. We have been for a time shut up here, which has tired us much; but we will take the advantage of the field, as the Spaniards have done.' 'We desire nothing better,' answered the captain, 'and entreat that we may speedily see our enemies.' Froiss. 258, 9.

¹⁹ 'This intelligence gave the Spaniards, Gascons and French much joy. They said, 'These Lisboners are valiant fellows, thus to come and fight with us. Let us hasten to take the field and surround them, if we can, that we may prevent their return; for, if we can help it, not one of them shall see Lisbon again.' Froiss. 264.

K 20,000 Spanish cavalry, and 2000 auxiliary knights
 OF and squires. The new king resolved to abide the
 battle, tho his force was greatly inferior, but con-
 sulted the English chiefs on the ablest plan of fight-
 ing it, and followed their advice to fortify themselves
 in the village of Alljubarota.²⁰ The important con-
 flict took place. The French knights gallantly made
 the first attack on the position of the English, whose
 archers having spread confusion by their irresistible
 arrows, their few men at arms leapt forwards,
 and charging with their well steeled Bourdeaux
 lances, pierced thro every thing, and wounded both
 the knights and squires.²¹ Disconcerted by this
 unexpected defeat, the Castilian army hesitated to
 advance, and left the brave Frenchmen to their fate.
 But at last, moving forward, the Portuguese and
 English exultingly received them; a violent but
 short conflict ensued. The king of Portugal was
 strenuous in his personal exertions,²² and the Spaniards
 were totally defeated; flying, as then it was their
 custom, whenever they failed to overpower by their
 assault.²³ The chief prisoners had been put unwill-

²⁰ Froiss. 266. 'The enemy was advancing fast, and in such numbers, that they were at least four to one. The Englishmen said, 'Since we must have a battle, and they are superior to us in numbers, it is an unequal chance; and we cannot conquer them but by taking advantage of the hedges and bushes. Let us therefore fortify ourselves in such a manner, and you will see that they will not so easily break us as if we were in the plain.' The king replied, 'You speak wisely. It shall be done as you recommend.' Ib.

²¹ Froiss. 278.

²² 'The king dismounted, and, taking his battle-axe, placed himself at the pass, where he performed wonders, knocking down three or four of the stoutest of the enemy, insomuch that none dared approach him.' Froiss. 284.

²³ Froissart remarks this: 'I must not omit to notice the manner in which the Spaniards *generally* act in war. It is true they make a handsome figure on horseback, spur off to advantage, and fight well at the first onset; but as soon as they have thrown two or three darts, and given a

lingly yet mercilessly to death as they were taken, from a lamentable belief of its indispensable necessity;²⁴ a cruel determination. How much nobler to have avoided the crime by generously risking the apprehended evil!

One of the greatest merits of virtue, and its most genuine test, is, that personal inconvenience or danger sometimes attends it; and that the chance of enduring this is bravely and voluntarily resolved upon and encountered. If virtuous deeds were always pleasant and profitable in the immediate prospect or experience, in what could they be more meritorious in the individual than his most self-indulging conduct? The charm of virtue resides chiefly in its disinterestedness: the profit is but a commercial barter; a balance of gain and loss. It is the nobility of spirit, the generous sympathy which submits to the pain or privations rather than to do evil, or in order to do good, that entitles the virtuous mind to the applause of its fellow creatures. Such conduct creates a distinction which separates the loftier characters from the common masses of indolent or selfish life.

This victory satisfied the king of Portugal. The English wished to derive the full attainable harvest from it by a vigorous pursuit; but the Portuguese sovereign felt that his crown was saved, and declined the chance of lessening his advantages.²⁵ He marched

stroke with their spears, and yet do not disconcert the enemy, they then take alarm, turn their horses heads, and save themselves by flight as well as they can.' Froiss. 284, 5.

²⁴ 'Each man killed his prisoner; for the Portuguese and English, who had given this advice, said, 'It was better to kill than to be killed. If we do not put them to death, they will liberate themselves while we are fighting, and then slay us.' This was a very unfortunate event to the Portuguese as well as to the prisoners; for they put to death as many good prisoners as would have been worth to them 400,000 francs.' Froiss. 283.

²⁵ The dialogue on this occasion portrays the different characters:

joyously to Lisbon, and entered it amid the rapturous gratulations of his delighted people. A truce of eight months terminated all immediate hostilities with mortified Castile,²⁶ and the grand master of St. James was sent with tidings of the great success to England.²⁷

The duke of Lancaster now set forward upon his Spanish expedition : his little army of knights, squires, men at arms and archers, embarked in 200 vessels ; and sailed in May for Portugal, as the truce was expiring.²⁸ They landed at Brest in their way, and drove away the French, who were blockading it,²⁹ and arrived five days afterwards at Corunna.³⁰ The duke, disembarking there, dismissed his vessels with liberal remuneration, and expressed his resolution to succeed in his great enterprize, or perish.³¹

Altho bold and ambitious, he was not a very expeditious warrior. He passed a month in pleasurable

‘ The English, seeing the enemy turn their backs, called aloud to the king of Portugal, ‘ Sir king ! let us mount our horses, and set on the pursuit ; and all these runaways shall be dead men.’ ‘ I will not,’ replied the king ; ‘ what we have done ought to satisfy us. Our men have fought hard this evening, and are fatigued. It is now so dark, we shall not know whither we are going, nor how many are flying. Their army was very numerous ; and this may be a stratagem to draw us out of our fort, and the more easily conquer us. We will this day guard the dead, and to-morrow call a council, and consider how we shall next act.’ ‘ By my faith !’ replied Hartsel, an Englishman, ‘ the dead are easily guarded. They will do us no harm ; nor shall we have any profit from them, for we have slain our rich prisoners. We are strangers come from a distance to serve you, and would willingly gain something from these calves that are flying without wings, and who drive their banners before them.’ ‘ Fair brother !’ answered the king, ‘ all covet, all lose. It is much better that we remain on our guard, since the honor and victory are ours, than run any risk where there is no necessity for it. We have enough to make you all rich.’ Nothing more was said on the subject.’ Froiss. p. 287, 8.

²⁶ Froiss. 291.

²⁷ Ib. 366.

²⁸ Ib. v. 8. p. 6.

²⁹ Ib. 9-14.

³⁰ Ib. 15.

³¹ ‘ When the ships had been entirely cleared, the duke was asked his pleasure concerning them. He replied, ‘ Let all the sailors be well paid, and take the ships for their pains. I shall dismiss them, for I wish all the world to know that I will never recross the sea to England until I be master of Castile, or die in the attempt.’ Froiss. v. 8. p. 17.

diversion,³² and then moved to the celebrated St. Jago de Compostella, the favorite object of English pilgrimage.³³ French knights flocked to join the Spanish cause, and plundered eagerly the country they came to assist, to prevent, as they declared, the invaders from taking to their use what they spared;³⁴ an ingenious apology for an oppressive spoliation, which had the effect of stimulating others of their countrymen to desire to be partakers of their booty.³⁵

On the frontiers of Spain and Portugal, the duke and the king of the latter country met with mutual cordiality. The Portuguese promised to raise the invading army against Castile to 30,000 men, and desired the duke's daughter Philippa in marriage, to be his queen;³⁶ this was assented to. The king returned to Oporto, and Lancaster remained with his lady-princess and children at St. Jago, sending parties around to take towns and castles, but not advancing to any vigorous undertaking against his royal adversary,³⁷ who earnestly consulted with his French allies at Valladolid, how to repel so dangerous an assailant. They consoled him with the assurance that their sovereign was preparing to invade England

³² 'The duke of Lancaster and his army were lodged in huts covered with leaves, or in such houses as they met with, and remained before Corunna upwards of a month, amusing themselves; for the chief lords had brought hounds for their pastime and hawks for the ladies. They had also mills to grind their corn, and ovens to bake, for they never willingly go to war in foreign countries, without carrying things of that description with them.' Froiss. v. 8. p. 17.

³³ Ib. p. 20-4.

³⁴ Ib. p. 25-30.

³⁵ 'When it was told in France how poor knights and squires were enriching themselves in Castile, where they spared neither the lands of their friends, nor those of their foes, their companions were *more eager than ever* to leave France in the hopes of being sharers with them.' Ib. p. 30.

³⁶ Ib. p. 72, 3. She was married at first to the archbishop of Braganza, as the king's representative at St. Jago, and then with great magnificence to the king himself at Oporto in the following May. Ib. 176-180.

³⁷ Ib. p. 74-80.

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with 100,000 men, and that this being conquered, it would be easy for him to pass over to Corunna, and surround the duke of Lancaster and all his adherents.³⁸ The promised result was a nugatory vaunt; but it was a fact, that the French king was projecting and preparing to land a strong army on the English coast,³⁹ till the adverse winds and the approach of winter, either induced him, on the advice of his council, to abandon an enterprize that could only have been calamitous to those who attempted it, or furnished him with a reputable excuse for not undertaking it.⁴⁰

But the death of the king of Arragon diverted awhile the English lances from Castile. Lancaster claimed a large debt from the Arragonian state, and finding it not discharged, proceeded instantly to attack this kingdom.⁴¹ After this, he directed his army towards Castile. The king of Portugal joined him with his forces,⁴² and something like activity began to appear. The Spanish sovereign was advised to risk no battle until the duc de Bourbon arrived with a promised army out of France, especially as the heat of the burning sun, the scarcity of forage, and the devastation of the country would soon destroy or diminish his invaders.⁴³ This effect

³⁸ Froiss. p. 92, 3.

³⁹ 'At this period, 1386, the number of ships, galleys and vessels of every description, which had been collected to carry over to England the king of France and his army, was so great, that the oldest man then living had never seen nor heard of the like; knights and squires were arriving on all sides; men were continually arriving from every province in France.' Froiss. 95.

⁴⁰ Froiss. 115, 116. 'It was determined in this council that the invasion should be deferred to April or May. Thus was the grand expedition broken up, which had cost France 100,000 francs thirty times told.' Ib. 117.

⁴¹ Froiss. 128-132.

⁴² Ib. 367.

⁴³ Ib. v. 9. p. 2.

took place. As the united duke and king advanced, their foragers could procure nothing; and when they hailed with joy the sight of a village, they had to mourn, as they approached it, that they found only bare walls and ruin, “without inhabitant, not even a fowl or a dog; so completely had the French laid waste this part of the country.”⁴⁴ The horses began to fail and perish, nor were their riders better. The English constitution gave way to the Spanish climate, and fevers and death spread rapidly among them.⁴⁵ The sickness spread to Lancaster himself, and unnerved both his strength and spirits.⁴⁶ The disorders multiplied, as midsummer advanced, from injudicious food.⁴⁷ The grave soon received those whom no embattled foe would have destroyed;⁴⁸ and the duke, as his followers sank around him, was at last obliged to disband his army and to negotiate with the king, whom he came to depose, for their unmolested retreat.⁴⁹ The Spanish council advised the requested passport to be granted, on the condition that the English soldiers went straight home, and engaged

⁴⁴ Froiss. v. 9. p. 3.⁴⁵ Ib. p. 3.⁴⁶ Ib. p. 5.

⁴⁷ ‘There had not fallen any rain nor dew since the beginning of April, so that the whole country was burnt up. The English ate plentifully of grapes wherever they found them; and to quench their thirst, drank of the strong wines of Castile and Portugal. But the more they drank the more they were heated; for this new beverage inflamed their livers, lungs and bowels, and was, in effect, totally different from their usual liquors. The English, when at home, feed on fresh meat and good rich ale; a diet which keeps their bodies wholesome. But now they were forced to drink hard and hot wines, of which they were not sparing, that they might drown their cares. The early part of the night is warm, from the great heat of the day, but towards sun-rise it is very cold. This afflicted them sorely, for they slept without covering, and quite naked, from the heat of the weather, and from the wine; so that when morning came, they were chilled by the change of air. This checked all perspiration, and flung them into fevers and fluxes, so as to carry them off instantly to their graves. Thus died very many of the barons and knights, as well as of the lower ranks; for these disorders spared none.’ Froiss. p. 7, 8.

⁴⁸ Froiss. p. 8.⁴⁹ Ib. 9-14.

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not to bear arms against Castile for the next six years.⁵⁰ Thus ended all the hopes and chances of an English prince obtaining that throne which, within less than a century afterwards, was to be filled by the conqueror of Granada, and by her who, as the patroness of Columbus, became the chief human cause of his magnificent discoveries.⁵¹ But this disappointment was yet not total. In consequence of a French prince soliciting one of his daughters in marriage, the Spanish council, afraid of transferring a dormant right to their succession to a neighbor so enterprising, and so near as a duc de Berry, advised the king to request the young princess for the wife of his own son.⁵² The application was made. The duke assented to it, and his daughter Catharine was wedded to the heir of Castile,⁵³ to the great disappointment of her French suitor, and to the high displeasure of his nephew the king of France, who was advised to make war on Castile, to dethrone its "wicked king:"⁵⁴ wicked for preferring an alliance which saved his people from the further evils of a disputed succession, to the pacification of an ally who would have used the marriage to keep alive and enforce the destructive competition.⁵⁵

⁵⁰ Froiss. p. 15.

⁵¹ Knyghton states, that the duke while in Spain commuted his regal pretensions for money. This author declares that he was told by one of the duke's family, that the Spanish king had sent him, for his second payment, seven mules laden with chests of gold; and had also promised him 16,000 marcs a year. The duke married one of his daughters to the Spanish king, and the other to the king of Portugal. Knyght. p. 2677.

⁵² Froiss. v. 9. p. 176.

⁵³ Ib. 308.

⁵⁴ Ib. 316.

⁵⁵ The Spanish princess, the duchess of Lancaster, accompanied her daughter to her marriage with the prince of Castile; and after its solemnization she left the lady under the care of the king, for her young husband, who was then but eight years old, and went to Monteil to see the place which had been so fatal to her father don Pedro, and to find his remains. She discovered the place where he had been buried, and with great filial piety and reverence had his bones taken up, embalmed, and carried in a

The Scots continued to make incursions on the border counties; which roused the English government to several vindictive expeditions into their country, one of which the duke of Lancaster conducted.⁵⁶

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The threats and apparent determination of the French to invade England in 1386, spread great alarm, and appear to have begun new commotions in the country.⁵⁷ The attack was not made; but the unpopularity of the chancellor, Michael de la Pole, who had been created earl of Suffolk, occasioned the house of commons to impeach him on seven articles. These asserted, That the supplies granted by the commons to be expended in a certain manner, had not been so expended; by which means the sea was not guarded as had been ordered: That 10,000 marcs had been granted for the aid of the city of Ghent, and that by his fault and negligence, the city had been lost; and yet the 10,000 marcs had been paid: That, contrary to his oath, he had obtained from the

Impeachment of
de la Pole.

coffin to Seville, where they were solemnly interred in the cathedral; the king of Spain—his children, prelates and barons respectfully attending the ceremonial obsequies. The duchess then went to her town of Medina del Campo, which, by the late treaties of peace, had been assigned to her. Froiss. v. 9. p. 339.

⁵⁶ Scotland has been remarked to be deficient in trees. A passage in Knyghton on this invasion will account for it. He says that the duke cut down the Scottish woods, and burnt them. 'It was reported, that 80,000 axes might be heard at once hewing down the trees, which were committed to the flames.' Knyght. p. 2674. So when the duke went and burnt Edinburgh, it is added, 'and he cut down the woods and forests, and made them fuel for fire.' Ib. p. 2675. No doubt the same destruction was made in other places, on this or other invasions. Walsingham says that the English army was never finer nor more numerous, but that it so desolated Scotland, that those who returned, declared that they left no birds but owls to be seen there. p. 344.

⁵⁷ Wals. 352. Froiss. vol. 3. p. 110–115. The French were very sanguine as to the success of this attempt, and prepared with a splendid gaiety for it. They painted their vessels with their arms; many had their masts covered with leaf gold, as indications of their riches and power; and their banners, pennants, and streamers, were as handsome as art could make them. Froiss. p. 113.

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king lands and rents of great value; and that, to deceive the king, they were stated to be of less annual income than they were: That when nine lords were assigned to examine into the state of the king and kingdom, altho he had declared in parliament that it was a measure proper to be put into execution, yet this was never done, and thro his default, who was the principal officer: And that he had sealed several charters, and one on Dover, to the disinheri-
 tance of the crown, and to the subversion of the king's courts and laws.⁵⁸ These were charges of some importance, whatever was their justice. To the two first articles he gave no answer, but that they did not exclusively concern him, but involved the whole administration. On the next, he admitted that he had received part of such estates after he had become chancellor, but that he had taken them by way of exchange, or had received them with the grant of his dignity of earl. He asserted that he had used his diligence to execute the parliamentary ordinance. And on the article as to Dover, he owned that it had passed the seal, but he had done it inadvertently, not aware that it was contrary to law; and that if any one had informed him that it would have been prejudicial to the king or his laws, it should not have been sealed. He added, that he hoped no novelties would be practised against him, but that if a chancellor should make a patent against reason, or a judge give a judgment contrary to the law, the patent and judgment should be repealed and reversed,

⁵⁸ The charges are in the Parl. Plac. vol. 3. p. 216. The other articles were on some transactions with one Tydeman, and the master of Saint Antoigne.—We have the popular feeling, on the loss of Ghent by his delaying the supplies, in Knyghton, p. 2672; who adds also other charges against him, p. 2678.

but without any punishment to the chancellor or judge.⁶⁰

The commons replied; and the lords gave judgment—That as he had not observed his oath, but had, while a principal officer of the kingdom, taken from the king grants of lands and tenements, and, as he had declared that the grants had been confirmed by parliament, tho there was no such record on the rolls of parliament, they adjudged that all such grants should be resumed by the king, but without loss of his title; and they annulled his illegal patents.⁶⁰

The various companies of London petitioned the same parliament for redress against the violences and oppressions of Nicholas Brambre, a confidential partisan of government in the city. They complain, that he had been appointed the lord mayor “with stronge hande” and “in destruccion of many ryght”—that he made divers armings “bi day and eke bi nyght, and destroyd the kyngs trew leges, some with open slaughtre, som bi false imprisone-ment”—that “to susteyne thise wronges and many othere, he did carry grete quantitie of armure to the Guyldehall,” and laid certain ambushes, which, when the freemen came to chuse their mayor, rushed out “armed, cryinge with loude voice, Slay! Slay! following them; wherthourgh the peple, for feere, fledde to houses and other hidynges as in londe of warre dreading to be dead in commune.”⁶¹

The king is stated to have declared, that he would

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His judg-
ment.

⁶⁰ The chancellor's answers are in Parl. Plac. 216–218.

⁶⁰ Parl. Plac. 219, 220.

⁶¹ The petition of the Mercers is printed in its old English in Parl. Plac. 225. The petition of the Cordwainers is in French, p. 226. ‘In the same bundle are like petitions of the Founders, the Saddlers, the Painters, the Armourers, the Pinners, the Embroiderers, and the Spurriers and Bladesmiths, of the City of London.’ Ib. p. 227.

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not remove the lowest scullion in his kitchen, to please the commons.⁶² An unwise determination, unwisely made public. The attachment of a sovereign to an upright minister is highly laudable; it is the due reward of honest service, as honorable to bestow as to receive; without which, fidelity would lose its best encouragement, and just ambition its reasonable hope. But all the virtues have boundaries, beyond which the vices begin. Judicious firmness has a golden mean, which distinguishes it from obstinacy; and the able man carefully watches and preserves the limit. But Richard suffered his personal regard to carry him far beyond the point, where, in justice to himself as well as to the country, he ought to have paused. He thought it better that the nation should be convulsed, or at least, that the most vindictive exertions of resisting power should be hazarded, than that his favorites should be displaced, or their public influence diminished. A fatal resolution, which proved the destruction of his ministers, their opponents, and himself.

7. It is painful to pursue—it is impossible to judge correctly of the events that now occurred. The chancellor was displaced. The parliament, on the grounds that by the cupidity of the royal officers the public wealth was idly consumed, the king deceived, and the people impoverished by heavy burthens; and that, while from these impositions the rents of the nobility were diminished, and the poor peasantry were abandoning the cultivation of many parts of the country, the ministers were enriched beyond measure—the parliament, believing these allegations,

⁶² Knyghton, p. 2681.

interfered with the executive government of the country.⁶³ They appointed fourteen lords to conduct the administration;⁶⁴ and the king signed a commission, investing them with the powers they were to execute.⁶⁵

The chroniclers now charge the king with plotting with the duke of Ireland, Brambre, and others, to destroy the duke of Gloucester and his friends, by a treacherous assassination at London.⁶⁶ It is difficult to believe a design so atrocious. Ireland suddenly increased the public displeasure against himself by a private immorality. He, contrary to law and without any cause, repudiated his wife, a lady of the royal blood, to marry a low-born woman in the service of the queen, who had inflamed his fancy.⁶⁷ This excited the indignation of Gloucester, who thought himself dishonored in the unmerited disgrace of his kinswoman, and his public hostilities took the darker shape of individual revenge. He made no concealment of his hatred; and Ireland viewed him with equal rancor, as his implacable enemy. The probability is, that each resolved on the destruction

⁶³ Knyghton has transmitted to us these reasons, p. 2685.

⁶⁴ The bishop of Ely was made the chancellor, bishop of Hereford the treasurer, and John of Waltham the keeper of the privy seal. The eleven other lords were, the archbishops of Canterbury and York, the dukes of York and Gloucester, the bishops of Winchester and Exeter, the abbot of Waltham, earl of Arundel, lord Cobham, Richard le Scrope, and John Devereux. Knyghton, p. 2685.

⁶⁵ See it at length in Knyghton, p. 2686, and also in the Parliament Rolls recited in the articles exhibited against the duke of Gloucester eleven years afterwards, where his agency in obtaining it was made one of his greatest crimes. Plac. Parl. vol. 3. p. 375.

⁶⁶ The monk of Evesham says, that Brambre's plan was, that the duke and his friends should be invited to a supper at London, and there be suddenly attacked and killed; but that Exton, the lord mayor that year, would not consent to it. Mon. Ev. Vita Rich. p. 75. Wals. 353.

⁶⁷ Mon. Evesh. p. 84, who says, that the king favored him even in this, because he would not have him grieved in any thing. Wals. 358; and see Froiss. vol. 3. c. 77.

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of the other.⁶⁸ The duke of Ireland wielded the executive sword; the duke of Gloucester headed and directed the popular indignation.

Ireland, the prelate of York, Pole, Tresilian, and others, are now described as entering into counsels to destroy their opponents. Under pretence of accompanying his favorite to his Irish government, the king went with him into Wales, but it was to settle the best plan of effectuating their fatal purposes.⁶⁹ From Wales they returned to Nottingham, where Brambre met them, and to which the judges were summoned. A plan, which we should now call most illegal and unconstitutional, and which no present English judge would submit to, nor could sanction, without personal dishonor, was resorted to. A set of anticipating questions was put before them, Whether the ordinances of the preceding parliament were not derogatory to the king's prerogative? How those persons were to be punished, who had procured them; and also those who had compelled the king to assent to them; and those who had hindered the king from exercising what belonged to his prerogative? Whether, after a speech from the throne to parliament, pointing out certain limited articles on which they were to proceed, if the lords and commons should go beyond these to any other matter, the king should not have the governance of parliament in this respect, and insist upon his subjects being proceeded

⁶⁸ Mon. Evesh. says, that the duke of Ireland was determined to take off Gloucester, p. 84. So Wals. 359. Froissart, vol. 3. c. 63. and c. 77. has preserved some of the popular reasonings against him; and while he repeatedly blames Ireland, he also imputes to the dukes of York and Gloucester, that they stirred up the discontents of the people; and that Gloucester urged the citizens of London to investigate the state of the finances, adding, that he and his friends would aid them. c. 77.

⁶⁹ Mon. Ev. 84. Wals. 359. Knyght. 2693.

on, without giving any answer to theirs? Whether the king could not dissolve the parliament at his pleasure? Whether the lords and commons could, without the king's will, impeach his justices or officers, for their faults in parliament? How he was to be punished, who moved in parliament for the statute to be produced, by which Edward II. was deposed? And whether the parliamentary judgment against Pole was erroneous and revocable, or not? To these questions, thus put in this extraordinary way of judicial anticipation, one of the judges objected to answer. His life was threatened if he refused; and his infirm spirit submitted to agree with the rest, only remarking as he signed, that there was nothing wanting but the gibbet and the rope to give him the fate he deserved. The compliant answers as to the penal interrogatories were, that all the acts were treason—the persons traitors—and their punishment death as traitors. The other queries were determined in favor of the king, and that Pole's judgment was revocable, as being erroneous in all its parts.⁷⁰ This was procuring the sentence of death against all the members of both houses of parliament, without even the pretence of a trial. After such a measure, we may accredit the chroniclers who state that the king and his ministers proceeded to complete their purposes by force of arms. The sheriffs were ordered to raise the posse comitatus against the barons, and to let no knight be chosen for parliament but such as the king and his counsel should chuse. The sheriffs returned, that the posse were all in favor of the nobles, and that the counties would chuse their knights as they were

⁷⁰ Knyghton, 2693—2696. Mon. Ev. 86.

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used to do.⁷¹ The king then summoned what military bodies he could command, to attend him, and prepared for the most serious exertion of his power.⁷²

The duke of Gloucester, anxious to appease the king, swore before the bishop of London, that he had never machinated any thing to his majesty's prejudice; tho he admitted his fixed aversion to the duke of Ireland, whom he would never regard favorably, because he had dishonored a lady allied to himself and the king. The bishop reported this solemn asseveration to his sovereign, who was rather inclined to believe it, till Pole's declamation against Gloucester renewed the king's resentment.⁷³ Both parties now became more exasperated. The king sent to arrest the earls of Arundel and Northumberland, but was disappointed.⁷⁴ The barons collected their friends and followers, and came to London. Various movements of the hostile forces followed. But the ministers thought the military contest to be unadvisable.⁷⁵ The duke of Ireland, who had been ordered by the king to collect an army from the Welsh frontier, seemed inclined to try the field with Henry of Lancaster, then earl of Derby, at Redecot Bridge, when he found that he was the only one of the nobles that had come up with him.⁷⁶ But his heart failed him, and he fled. Pole and he reached the continent, but Tresilian and Brambre were taken and destroyed,

⁷¹ Mon. Evesh. p. 85. Wals. 359.

⁷² Mon. Evesh. 89. Wals. 359.

⁷³ Mon. Evesh. 89. Wals. 360.

⁷⁴ Mon. Ev. 90. Wals. 360. Knyghton mentions, that the ministers advised Richard to solicit the aid of the French king, and to give him up some of the English possessions of France to procure it. p. 2697.

⁷⁵ Mon. Ev. 90. The archbishop wished a battle to be tried; the others overruled it.

⁷⁶ Wals. 362.

and several of their adherents.⁷⁷ Thirty-seven articles of impeachment were exhibited against the proscribed ministers, which may be considered as representing the case of the nobles against the crown.⁷⁸ The duke of Ireland died some years afterwards, at Louvain, in great poverty.⁷⁹

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On these momentous events, so contrary to good government on the one side, and to loyalty, subordination and social peace, on the other, no proper judgment can be given, as we know not the true state of the dire necessities which actuated either. The language and the feelings of the chroniclers are not favorable to the king or his ministers. The duke of Gloucester and his friends seem at this period to have discussed the question of the king's deposition. But he declares in his final confession, that he acted under a belief that his life was in danger;⁸⁰ and in the articles of accusation against Richard, it is expressly charged, that the king held the consultation with the judges, that he might proceed upon it to destroy the duke and his friends; and that he gave his favorite, Ireland, a secret commission to raise an armed force in Chester against them.⁸¹ It is impossible now to discriminate which party was most in the wrong.

⁷⁷ Among these, sir Simon Burley was the confidential partisan of the duke of Ireland. On his real or imputed misconduct, see Froissart, vol. 3. c. 77. pp. 205-207. W. Thorn. Chron. 2181-2185. Mon. Evesh. p. 102.—The legal charges, sixteen in number, against Burley and others, are in the Plac. Parl. vol. 3. pp. 241-243, and the judgment of parliament upon them.

⁷⁸ See them at length in Knyghton, 2715-2726. The whole process is more distinctly detailed in the Parliamentary Records, vol. 3. pp. 229-237. The judgment of parliament on the different articles follows in the same records, p. 237.

⁷⁹ Walsingham, 146; who remarks of him, that if he had received proper discipline in his early days, he would have been fit for every honorable office.

⁸⁰ Plac. Parl. vol. 3. p. 379.

⁸¹ Ib. p. 418.

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claims the
right of go-
vernment.Richard's
tourna-
ment, Mi-
chaelmas
1396.

In 1389, the king, advancing to twenty-one, suddenly inquired his age of his assembled council, and claimed the right of governing his kingdom as he pleased, as others at his age were made competent by law to manage their own affairs. He took the great seal from the archbishop of York, put it in his bosom, and afterwards delivered it to William of Wickham.⁸² When the parliament met, this prelate stated, that the king was of such an age that he had now greater sense and discretion than he had possessed before; an intimation strongly implying preceding imperfection;—and that he was determined to govern better, if better were possible.⁸³

One of Richard's first exhibitions of his personal taste for splendor, was made in the magnificent entertainment with which he endeavored to emulate those of the French king at Paris. He ordered a grand tournament to be proclaimed, to be held at London, where sixty knights, who were to be accompanied by as many ladies, richly adorned and dressed, were to tilt for two days at the ensuing Michaelmas. The arrangements being settled, heralds were sent by the king's council to announce it thro England, Scotland, Hainault, Germany, Flanders and France; and many knights and esquires from foreign parts came eagerly to attend it. It was celebrated with all the magnificence of royal chivalry. The festivities were then adjourned to Windsor, and

⁸² Wals. 369.—The Life of this rich and munificent bishop has been respectably written by Lowth, a prelate who deserves immortality for his Prælections on the Hebrew poetry, and his admirable translation of Isaiah. It was one of the crosses of life, that a man of his mild and gentlemanly spirit, should be entangled in a controversy with the great, but vehement, and often mistaken, Warburton.

⁸³ Plac. Parl. p. 257. Some of these transactions took place at Langley and Rodecotbrige. These places we shall find afterwards alluded to.

the expensive hospitalities were concluded by liberal presents from the king to his foreign visitors.⁸⁴

The government and the nation continued for eight years in a state of mutual dissatisfaction; and the king at one time seized the charter of the city, though afterwards restored it. But he marked the twentieth year of his reign by an action, so personal in its mode of perpetration, and so atrocious in its nature, that it may be regarded as the real cause of his deposition. This was, the murder of his uncle, the duke of Gloucester. That the duke was highly popular; that he supported the public cause in parliament; that he had led the attack on the king's former favorites and ministers, and was considered as the bulwark of the community against the power or oppression of the government;⁸⁵ are circumstances declared by the English Chroniclers: That he despised his nephew, for not being warlike; that he considered him to be a king who only loved repose, the luxuries of the table, and the society of ladies; that he thought England so discontented with his reign, as to be desirous of a change; that he fed

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Accusa-
tion of the
duke of
Gloucester.

⁸⁴ At three o'clock on the Sunday after Michaelmas day, the ceremony began; sixty horses in rich trappings, and each mounted by an esquire of honor, were seen advancing in a stately pace from the Tower of London; sixty ladies of rank, dressed in the richest elegance of the day, followed on their palfreys one after another, and each leading by a silver chain a knight completely armed for tilting. Minstrels and trumpets accompanied them to Smithfield, amid the shouting population. There the queen and her fair train received them. The ladies dismounted, and withdrew to their allotted seats, while the knights mounted their steeds, laced their helmets, and prepared for the encounter. They tilted at each other till dark. They all then adjourned to a sumptuous banquet, and dancing consumed the night, till fatigue compelled every one to seek repose. The next day the warlike sport recommenced. Many were unhorsed, many lost their helmets, but they all persevered with eager courage and emulation, till night again summoned them to their supper, dancing and concluding rest. The festivities were again repeated on the third day. Froiss. v. 10. p. 229-232.

⁸⁵ See Wals. 379.

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the public murmurs; and that he had at some part of his life urged the earl of March, the next heir, to take the crown, and planned to immure Richard for life; is asserted by Froissart.⁸⁶ But it is important to remark, that this treasonable intention forms no part of his parliamentary accusation: this expresses, that ten years before, he had told the king that he would be in peril of his life if he did not assent to the commission of government which was then exacted; that in the following year, he and others had assembled in arms against the king, and arrested his ministers and friends, and, among others, had caused sir Simon Burley to be executed, altho the king had repeatedly refused to consent to it; and that at the same period they had meditated, and would have accomplished, the deposition of the king, if Henry of Lancaster and the earl of Nottingham had not counteracted them; and that they had shown the king the record of the deposition of Edward II., and had traitorously told him, that they had sufficient cause for his removal, but that, out of respect to his noble father and grandfather, they would suffer him to continue.⁸⁷ These being the only charges against the duke, and being nine and ten years old, in which the king had so long acquiesced, and which he had solemnly pardoned, we may reasonably infer that no accusations more recent could be brought against him. These alleged treasons were the incidents that occurred on the struggle between the duke of Ireland's party and the nobility, and the absence of all later matter would lead us to place Froissart's conversation-piece among

⁸⁶ See Froiss. vol. 4. c. 86. pp. 246-249.

⁸⁷ See Plac. Parl. vol. 3. pp. 374-376.

the garrulous defamation of the day, reviving an occurrence which belonged to a prior period.⁸⁸ The duke's own confession gives no foundation for it. That is simple and probable. He admits that he stirred with other men to obtain the obnoxious commission, and that *at that time* he came armed into the king's palace; but it is essential to remark, that he adds, "I did it for dread of my life;" thus giving us his sanction to the assertion of the chroniclers already noticed, that the king's government had attempted his destruction. He acknowledges that he took the king's letters from his messengers, that he had spoken in "sclanderouse wyse" of the king; and that, when in fear of his life, he had communed to give up his homage, and had consulted certain clerks "whether that we myght gyve up our homage for drede of our lyves." He confesses that he had spoken of the deposal of the king, and for two days had assented to it, but had afterwards agreed to put him "as highly in hys estate as ever he was." Having admitted these things, he declares that it was his meaning to "have done the best for his persone and for his estate;" and he closes with this solemn asseveration, "It was never myn entent, ne my wyll, ne my thought, for to do thyng that schuld have bene distresse or harmyng ageyns the salvation of my lyege loordy's persone as I wyll answer to for Godd at the day of jugement."⁸⁹ He afterwards added, that he had told Richard, that if

⁸⁸ It appears to me, from Froissart's expressions in another place, vol. 4. c. 101. p. 290, that this conversation with the earl of March was at the time of the commotion, 1386 and 1387: So that it is not contrary to the duke's assertion in his confession, that since that period he had done nothing treasonable against the king.

⁸⁹ See his confession in old English, in Parl. Plac. pp. 378, 379.

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he wished to remain king, he must not interfere for sir Simon Burley.

Thus the duke was not accused of any new matter, and confessed none; on the contrary, he denied any such;⁹⁰ and there is no evidence in the chronicles, that he was pursuing any treasonable enterprise. The points that Froissart, who having been introduced to Richard, and graciously received by him,⁹¹ had adopted the feelings of the court, mainly states, in addition to the advice to the earl of March to take the crown, are, that the duke was indignant at the unwarlike conduct of the king with respect to France, and urged the termination of the truces and the renewal of the war, and that he was meditating how to excite trouble in England, and to renew the war with France.⁹² The observations recorded by Froissart, as made by his brothers, the dukes of Lancaster and York, on his arrest, seem to imply that his real crime, besides the king's personal hatred, was his aversion to such a peace with France as had been then concluded. "They said that their brother, a prince so high and brave, ought not to have been murdered for idle words; for, tho he had spoken voluntarily, in cold blood, against the treaties sealed between England and France, yet he

⁹⁰ 'And as of any newe thyng or ordenaunce that ever I shuld have wyten or knowen, ordeyned or assentyd, pryve or apert, that schuld have bene ageyns my loordes estate or his luste, or ony that longeth abowte hym, syth that day that I swore unto hym at Langeley on Goddys body trewly; and by that oothe that I ther made, *I never knew of gaderyng* ageyns him, ne none other that longeth unto hym.' Plac. Parl. 379. Langeley was the place of reconciliation, in 1387, between the king and the duke. See *ib.* p. 421.

⁹¹ He describes his first introduction by the duke of York, in his vol. 4. c. 61. p. 177. and his subsequent presentation to the king of his book *D'Amours*, which pleased Richard, 'tres grandement, car il estoit enluminé,' and superbly covered and ornamented, c. 63. p. 184.

⁹² Froiss. l. 4. c. 86.

had done nothing against them; and between saying and doing there was great difference; and that for words only, he could not deserve death, nor so cruel a punishment.”⁹³

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His arrest
and murder.

But whatever were the deserts of Gloucester, the conduct of the king on this occasion cannot but be lamented and discountenanced. The duke was peaceably residing at his mansion-house at Pleshy near London, when Richard, with seeming friendship, visited him, betrayed him into an arrest, and had him conveyed to Calais, and killed. The whole is declared to have been planned, as the treachery was executed, by the king himself. In common life, we should class the nephew that would make himself the personal agent to entrap an uncle from the bosom of his family, in order to destroy him, among the basest of mankind. That the king should go, as described by his most friendly historian, with the determined purpose of murder in his heart, and see his uncle surrounded by his wife and children in all the enjoyment of domestic felicity; that he should eat and drink with them; should tell them a wilful falsehood, to induce the duke to confide in his honor, and to accompany him without any protecting train; should behold the embraces of the parent and his family on their separation, the one hoping, the other promising a speedy reunion; should himself take leave of the wife and children of this venerable relative, whom he knew they would see no more; that he should ride with his victim by his side, familiarly chatting with him till he reached the spot where he had ordered the fatal ambush to be

⁹³ Froiss. l. 4. c. 90. p. 270. I quote the pages here from the French edition.

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planted; and should then ride off, not hearing, or hearing without pity, the upbraiding cries of the lion, whom he had with such persevering and calculating meanness seduced into the toils;²⁴ these circumstances present such a train of appeals to the heart, that we cannot but wonder that they could successively occur, during the space of six hours that the duplicity lasted, to the king's personal sensation, without paralysing his dreadful purpose. When he first formed his plan, and revealed it in confidence to the earl marshal, he is represented by Froissart to have expressed his conviction, that if he did not destroy the duke, he should be destroyed himself: But if this danger existed beyond his own disturbed imagination, would it not, with the facts on which it rested, have made a part of the judicial accusation? When we consider the combination of deliberate hypocrisy, treachery, lawless violence and cold-hearted

²⁴ Froissart thus describes the arrest, 208: 'The king went after dinner, with part of his retinue, to Pleshy, about five o'clock. The duke of Gloucester had already supped; for he was very sober, and sat but a short time at table, either at dinner or supper. He came to meet the king, and honored him as we ought to honor our lord; so did the duchess and her children, who were there. The king entered the hall, and thence into the chamber. A table was spread for the king, and he supped a little. He said to the duke, 'Fair uncle! have your horses saddled, but not all; only five or six; you must accompany me to London; we shall find there my uncles Lancaster and York, and I mean to be governed by your advice, on a request they intend making to me. Bid your maitre d'hotel follow you with your people to London.' The duke, who thought no ill from it, assented to it pleasantly enough. As soon as the king had supped, and all were ready, the king took leave of the duchess and her children, and mounted his horse. So did the duke, who left Pleshy with only the eighth of his servants, three esquires, and four varlets. They avoided the high road to London; but rode with speed, conversing on various topics, till they came to Stratford. The king then pushed on before him, and the earl marshal came suddenly behind him with a great body of horsemen, and, springing on the duke, said, 'I arrest you in the king's name.' The duke, astonished, saw that he was betrayed, and cried with a loud voice after the king. I do not know if the king heard him or not, but he did not return, but rode away.' Froissart, l. 4. c. 86. p. 254.

cruelty, which mark this transaction, we cannot avoid inferring, that there could have been no legal criminality in the duke, or the royal character would never have stooped to such degradation.

The king also took a part in deluding the earl of Arundel, and chose to be present at his execution.⁹⁵ To deceive the nation into a momentary tranquillity, he published a false proclamation, that it was not for former, but for new misdemeanors, that he had arrested this nobleman.⁹⁶ The duke was carried from the Thames to Calais, and murdered in an inn in that city.⁹⁷

⁹⁵ Froiss. c. 90. p. 269. The earl marshal, whose wife was Arundel's daughter, himself bound that nobleman's eyes. Ib. Arundel reminded him and another, that they ought to be absent. He felt the edge of the axe, and said, that it was sharp enough, and requested the executioner to dispatch him with one blow, which he did. After his death, the king was much disturbed: as he attempted to sleep, he thought he saw the count standing before his eyes, threatening him. He cursed the day that he first knew this nobleman. He was more seriously alarmed, when he heard that the vulgar deemed Arundel a martyr, and made pilgrimages to his grave. One night he had his body dug up, to see if the head had rejoined the neck, as the populace thought! At last he had all marks of the grave levelled, that no one might know the spot of burial. Wals. 393.

⁹⁶ Hence Walsingham calls it a 'ficta proclamatio,' 392. See it in Rymer, vol. 8. p. 6.

⁹⁷ The Parliamentary Rolls contain the confession of John Halle, one of the assistants in the murder, and a valet of the duke of Norfolk, which gives the following particulars:—That the duke of Norfolk came to him at Calais with one John Colfox; that he was called out of his bed; that the duke asked him if he had heard any thing of the duke of Gloucester; he answered, that he thought him dead. Norfolk said, No; but that the king had charged him to murder the duke, and that the king and the duke of Albemarle had sent their valets, and that he must be there in his (Norfolk's) name. Halle prayed that he might be suffered to go away, tho with the loss of all his property, rather than do such an act. The duke of Norfolk told him he must be there, or he should forfeit his life, and struck him violently on the head. They went to a church there, and found others ready, and all were sworn to secrecy. They accompanied the duke of Norfolk to the prince's inn, who placed Colfox, Halle, and six others, in a room there, and went away. The duke of Gloucester was then brought in, and delivered to Serle, a valet of the king's, and to Franceys, a valet of the duke of Albemarle. Seeing them, the duke said, 'Now I know I shall do well,' and asked Serle how he did. Serle and Franceys then took the duke into another chamber,

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Such transactions were naturally followed by the calamities which pursued this unworthy prince. That he was regarded as a tyrant;⁹⁸ that he thought it necessary afterwards to have a constant guard of 200 men surrounding him wherever he went, with arrows and bows always bent,⁹⁹ that the agent, who had assisted him in these sanguinary scenes, should become alarmed for his own safety, and should reveal the king's vindictive projects; and that all the loyalty

saying, they wished to speak with him. There they told him, that it was the king's will that he should die. The duke of Gloucester answered, that if it was his will it must be so. They asked him to have a chaplain; he agreed, and confessed. They then made him lay down on a bed, the two valets threw a feather-bed upon him; three other persons held down the sides of it, while Serle and Franceys pressed on the mouth of the duke till he expired, three others of the assistants all the while on their knees weeping and praying for his soul, and Halle keeping guard at the door. When he was dead, the duke of Norfolk came to them, and saw the dead body. See Halle's deposition, who was afterwards hanged and quartered for the murder. Parl. Plac. vol. 3. pp. 452, 453.

⁹⁸ Gower wrote a chronicle in Leonine hexameters, which follows his *Vox Clamantis* in the Tib. MS. In this he characterizes Gloucester, Arundel, and Warwick, from their crests, as the swan, the horse, and the bear. He describes indignantly the king's deceit and cruelty. This is the work which he says he wrote 'bis deno Ricardi regis in anno,' not the *Vox Clamantis*. See MS. Tib. p. 171.

⁹⁹ Hardyng has preserved this trait. After mentioning that the king made at this period five dukes and four earls, he adds,

- - - - Then he had, eche day,
Twoo hundred menne of Chesshyre wher he laye,
To watche hym aye, whersoever he laye.
He dred him aye so of insurreccion
Of the commons and of the people aye.
He trusted none of all his region
But Chessshire menne for his proteccion.
Wherever he rode, with arowes and bowes bent
Thei were with hym, aye redy at his entent.

Hard. Chron. p. 346.

The conduct of this Cheshire guard is thus mentioned in the parliamentary accusation of the king: 'He drew to himself a great multitude of malefactors from Cheshire, some of whom passing with the king thro the kingdom, as well within his household as without, beat, wounded, and killed divers liege subjects of the realm, plundered people's goods, and refused to pay for their food, and violated women. Tho complaints were made to the king, he favored them in their actions, trusting to their protection,' &c. Plac. Parl. p. 418.

of the country should desert him when he most needed its assistance, cannot surprise us; for who was safe in the nation, if its sovereign, at the liberal age of thirty, could adopt a system of conduct so lawless, and pursue it with impunity? His arbitrary levies of money from his subjects increased the general disaffection.¹⁰⁰

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It was in riding together between Brentford and London, that the duke of Norfolk made, as Henry of Lancaster declared, that disclosure to him of the king's intentions, which he stated publicly in parliament. These were, that the king intended to get rid of both Henry and himself, of the duke of Lancaster and other nobles whom he mentioned, notwithstanding the apparent reconciliation, and even assurance of their safety.¹⁰¹ Norfolk had been one of the barons who had united to throw down the king's

Henry of
Lancaster
discloses
Norfolk's
conversa-
tion.

¹⁰⁰ Rymer has preserved some documents of what may be called his forced loans, vol. 8. p. 8.

¹⁰¹ The Parliamentary Rolls have preserved Henry's account of this important dialogue. It is in substance as follows:—*N.* We were near being destroyed.—*H.* Why?—*N.* For the fact of Rodecotbrigge.—*H.* How can that be, for he has pardoned us, and declared in parliament that we have been good and loyal towards him?—*N.* Notwithstanding that, he will do with us as he has done with others before, for he means to annul that record.—*H.* That will be marvellous, for the king uttered it in public; and afterwards to annul it!—*N.* This is a marvellous world, and a false one; for I know well, that if it had not been for some, your father of Lancaster and yourself would have been taken or dead when you came to Windsor after the parliament. But the dukes of Albemarle and Essex, and the earl of Worcester declared, that they would never agree to destroy a nobleman without just and reasonable cause. The malice of this fact lay with the duke of Surrey, and the earls of Wilts and Salisbury; and they had sworn to destroy six other lords, Lancaster, yourself, Albemarle, Essex, the marquis and myself.—*H.* God forbid that the king should agree to this! for he has sworn to all these, to be a good lord to them.—*N.* So he has to me many times on the sacrament; but I cannot trust him the better for that. The king means to draw in the earl of March and others, to join the four lords in destroying those I have mentioned.—*H.* If it be so, we shall never be safe in the waters.—*N.* Certainly not; for if they cannot accomplish their purpose now, they will be about us to destroy us in our houses within ten years hence. Plac. Parl. vol. 3. p. 360.

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first favorites; who had afterwards become one of his confidants, had commanded the ambush that seized the duke of Gloucester, and had superintended his murder, and also the execution of lord Arundel. It was not improbable that the king, who had begun to dip his hands in blood, should have found, what all men find, that one crime makes others necessary, and should think the lives of other great and popular noblemen to be incompatible with his safety, lessened as that was by the popular resentment for Gloucester's death. It was still less improbable that an agent, who had seen with what little remorse his master had destroyed a near relative, and now heard of similar deeds being in contemplation, should become disquieted about himself, endangered as he was by his personal knowledge of the king's guilt. That in this state of anxiety he should unbosom it to a former confederate, and now connected friend, was not unnatural. He needed counsel and support, and by this disclosure he endeavored to obtain them.

The conduct of Henry, on receiving this information, is perfectly intelligible. His safety lay in publicly disclosing it. To announce the meditated projects, was to defeat them. No king or counsellors would be afterwards so insane as to execute them. Hence, if the information was true, he saved his father's life as well as his own, by disclosing it. If Norfolk had amused him by a false statement, it must have been done for some treacherous purpose, which would be best defeated by publicly disclosing it; he therefore mentioned to the king in parliament what he had been told. He affected to consider them as dishonest words slanderously spoken; but he had committed them to writing, and he produced the memorial.

By this step, he certainly sacrificed the duke of Norfolk. But what right had such a man, stained as he was, to expect confidence from another, or even secrecy on a communication like this, which involved that other's life and his father's? The duke of Norfolk denied the charge, and a trial of battle was appointed between the two noblemen. The decision was postponed by the king from time to time, and to different places; but Coventry, and the sixteenth of September, were at last fixed for the combat. Both appeared in the lists; but, as they were preparing to charge, the king suddenly interfered.¹⁰²

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The king
banishes
both.

¹⁰² The splendid customs of the age appear in the description which Hall has preserved of their entering the lists. The lords high constable and high marshal of England came in with a great company, apparelled in silk sendal, embroidered richly and curiously with silver, and each man carrying a tipped staff to keep the field in order. About the time of prime, the duke of Hereford appeared at the barriers of the lists, on a white courser barbed with blue and green velvet, embroidered sumptuously with swans and antelopes of goldsmith's work, and armed at all joints.

The constable and marshal went to the barriers, and inquired who he was. He told them, and swore upon the Gospel, that his quarrel was true and just. After this, he sheathed his sword, which he had brought drawn; put down his visor; crossed his forehead; entered the lists with his spear in his hand; descended from his horse, and sat down in a chair of green velvet, awaiting his opponent.

Soon afterwards the king entered in great pomp, with all the peers of the realm, and above 10,000 persons in harness, lest any tumult should occur among his nobles. He took his station on a stage richly hung and pleasantly adorned. Heralds announced the presence of the appellant, and the duke of Norfolk then came to the lists, his horse barbed with crimson velvet, richly embroidered with lions of silver and mulberry trees. He took his oath as to his quarrel being right, and then dismounting sat down in his crimson velvet chair, curtained with white and red damask.

The lord marshal saw that their spears were of equal length, and delivered one himself to Hereford, and sent a knight with the other to Norfolk. An herald then proclaimed that the chairs should be removed, but the combatants should mount their steeds, and address themselves to the combat.

Hereford sprang upon his horse, closed his beaver, cast his spear into the rest, and when the trumpet sounded, advanced courageously six or seven paces towards his adversary. Norfolk was not so far forward when the king threw down his warder, and the herald called out to halt. The king ordered their spears to be taken from them, and that they should resume their chairs. Hall, Chron. p. 4.

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He forbad the engagement; and banished Henry of Lancaster for ten years from the kingdom, and the duke of Norfolk for life, whom he also deprived of all his property, except an allowance of one thousand pounds a year.¹⁰³ This conduct has been thought capricious, but it is explicable if Norfolk's information was true. He banished Henry, because he wished him out of the way; he punished Norfolk, for disappointing his plans by his officious conversation. On this supposition we may add, that the king's conscience shrunk from the issue of the impending battle. He best knew whether he had cherished the designs which Norfolk had intimated. If Henry conquered, the dying breath of Norfolk, in the confession that was always taken on the accusation, if the beaten party survived, might, by confirming what he had spoken, have roused the endangered nobility and indignant people to a rebellion that would have driven him from his throne. To arrest the combat, was to leave the dangerous question, as Henry had put it, a possible slander of Norfolk on the king; or, as Norfolk's denial made it, a possible invention of Henry. The banishment of both had the aspect of impartiality; and its public pretext was, to prevent discord between their families.

His conduct.

It is probable that Richard thought his policy perfect, for he shortly afterwards made Lancaster's banishment perpetual, at the same time confiscating all his estates;¹⁰⁴—alarmed seventeen counties with

¹⁰³ See the record of this in Plac. Parl. vol. 3. p. 382–384. Henry and Norfolk appear to have been put under arrest till their combat; for Rymer contains an order to the governor of Windsor, to keep them both in safe custody, vol. 8. p. 47. Walsingham remarks, that the sentence against Norfolk was issued on that day twelvemonth on which he had caused the duke of Gloucester to be suffocated, p. 394.

¹⁰⁴ Before Henry's departure, the king remitted four years of his banish-

the threat of attacking them, and of subjecting them to treasonable punishment, for the measures adopted eleven years before on the downfall of his favorites; thus driving them to confess to his agents that they were traitors, and then to redeem their lives by large payments;¹⁰⁵ exacted, by letters patent sent to every county, oaths and obligations of implicit obedience, contrary to law, and exposing every one to future peril and extortions;¹⁰⁶—banished the earl of Northumberland, and his popular son Hotspur, as traitors, and confiscated their estates, because, understanding that their destruction was meditated, they excused themselves from attending him;¹⁰⁷—and then went to Ireland with a security as absolute, as if he had left no discontent or danger behind him. It is clear that he had now determined to be the tyrant, and he held the consequences in defiance.¹⁰⁸ His campaign

ment, possibly as a peace-offering to Henry's father, the duke of Lancaster. But the duke dying shortly afterwards, the royal policy changed. Henry then became duke of Lancaster, and thereby more formidable. His sentence was then arbitrarily made an exile for life, and all his property was seized.

¹⁰⁵ On these violent measures, see Wals. p. 396; and Plac. Parl. p. 420. By this iniquitous plan he raised vast sums, 'Pro benevolentia sua recuperanda.' Wals. The blank charters, called 'Raggemans,' which he compelled, were afterwards ordered to be returned to the cities and counties, and to be burnt. Plac. Parl. 432.

¹⁰⁶ Wals. 396. Plac. Parl. 421. This banishment made the people of London say, 'This hatred and rancor comes from the king's council, which will destroy him.'

¹⁰⁷ Froiss. c. 103. pp. 294, 295.

¹⁰⁸ The infatuation of Richard is extraordinary, even from Froissart's expressions. He says, c. 101. p. 290, that the strangling of Gloucester had caused such noise and murmurs thro England, as to be on the point of destroying and deposing the king, if Lancaster had not allayed them. That when Henry left London, 40,000 persons were in the streets lamenting his departure; and the mayor, with a great number of the chief citizens, accompanied him to Dartford. c. 95. p. 280. That the king and his council ought to have considered how often the people of England, and especially of London, had strongly murmured, and were murmuring against him. p. 289. That the seizure of Henry's inheritance, was acting too much against right and reason, to the displeasure of too many respectable persons of England; and that things could not last, nor con-

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in Ireland was conducted with great resolution and earnestness ; but the people were too uncivilized, and their means of resistance too inadequate, to give the king much honor.¹⁰⁹

State and
manners of
the Irish.

tinue long in this state, if not amended ; and that the larger part of the nobles, prelates, and commons of England, thus expressed themselves. p. 290. And that when the Londoners heard of his going to Ireland, they said, ‘ He goes to his destruction.’ c. 103. p. 294. And that even many of the barons, knights, and esquires of England, who went with him to Ireland, were discontented with him, and very often said, ‘ Our king governs himself too foolishly, and trusts bad counsel.’ p. 294.

¹⁰⁹ We have some interesting circumstances mentioned of Ireland, by two gentlemen who at this time visited it. One, the author of the MS. mentioned in note 6, of the next chapter; the other, Cristall, one of the esquires of the king’s chamber, whose information has been transmitted to us by Froissart.

According to the first, who accompanied the king, Richard was anxious to travel day and night to reach his Irish enemies ; and resolved to indulge in no repose till he had taken vengeance on Mac More, who called himself the Excelling King and Lord of Ireland the Great, tho he had little land or places in it. When he reached Milford Haven, his army was detained ten days by the wind, but during this time the trumpets and minstrels were sounding their music day and night. Men at arms were arriving from all parts ; the vessels were filling with bread, wine, cattle, salt meat and water, and fine horses were also taken on board. On the 11th day, the king, taking leave of the ladies, sailed to Waterford. Here the people, whom the author calls wretched and filthy, some in tatters, others with a cord girdle, some living in a hole, others in a hut, waded thro the sea to unload the barges.

Six days afterwards, the king took the field, and rode eighty miles into the country to Kilkenny, near the enemy, and waited there fourteen days for the earl of Rutland’s reinforcements. Every one at starting had made the best provision he could of corn, wine, and bread. On the Vigil of St. John, the king marched direct against Mac More. The abode of this chief was in the woods, where he had 3,000 hardy men with him : ‘ wilder people I never saw ; they did not seem much dismayed at the English.’ Orders were given by the king, that every thing around should be set on fire, to weaken the power of the Irish ; many a village and house were there consumed ; 2,500 well-affected natives came to fell all the woods, for there were then no roads, neither could any person find a passage thro them. They were very dangerous, for many places were such deep mire, that those who passed were plunged up to the middle, or sank in altogether. ‘ This is their retreat, and therefore no one can catch them.’

The king then pressed forward anew. The Irish dreaded the English ; uttered vociferous shouts that might be heard a league off, and fell back, frequently assailing the van guard, and throwing their darts with a force which pierced thro the haubergeons and plates of their invaders. They attacked the foragers and their horses, scouring the hills and valleys fleetly than a deer ; they did much mischief to the king’s army, but

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Richard was resolved to reduce to entire obedience a people who were 'almost savage.'

When Mac More's uncle came with a halter round his neck, to throw himself at Richard's feet and sue for mercy, the king pardoned him; and sent a message to Mac More, that if he would also come with a rope round his neck, and submit himself, he should be forgiven, and have elsewhere lands and castles in abundance. The spirited Irishman declared, that he would not do so for all the treasures of the sea. His courage was supported by his sagacity, in perceiving that the English army had little to eat, and could find nothing to buy; no one had any food but what he had brought with him. In this state they remained eleven days, finding only a few green oats for the horses, who from the rain, wind and hunger, became faint, and of whom many perished; 'no one can believe what the English endured. I witnessed that on some days five or six persons had but a single loaf between them. There were some gentlemen, knights and esquires, who did not eat a morsel for five days together. The army could not have remained three days longer, when three ships arrived from Dublin with provisions; for these there was an eager contention: the troops rushed into the sea as they would into straw, to get a share of them. The next day, the king marched towards Dublin, and Mac More sent a mendicant friar to ask that some person might be sent to him with whom he could treat for peace.'

The author accompanied the amicable embassy, that he might see Mac More. He thus describes him: 'I saw him and his Irish descend the mountain; he had a horse without housing or saddle, which was so good as to have cost him 400 cows, for as they have little money, their usual traffic is in cattle. In coming down, it galloped so hard, that I never saw any hare or deer run with such speed. In his right hand he bore a great long dart, which he cast with much skill; he was a fine large man, wonderously active; to look at him, he seemed very stern and savage.' The interview did not end in an agreement; and on hearing its result, Richard grew pale with anger, 'he swore in great wrath, by St. Edward, that no; never; would he depart from Ireland till he had Mac More in his power, alive or dead.'

The king finding no provisions, was obliged to dislodge and proceed to Dublin, which he reached with 30,000 men. In the abundance of that city, all their sorrows were forgotten. They remained there a fortnight: the king sending out parties in quest of Mac More, and promising a hundred marks of pure gold to the man who should bring him in: he projected, after the autumn, to burn down all their forests. They passed six weeks very pleasantly at Dublin, without hearing any thing from England, where the revolution was taking place which ended in the deposition of Richard. See the original of this MS. Arch. v. 20. p. 295-309; and Mr. Webb's translation and notes, p. 13-45.

The account which Henry Cristall gave Froissart, adds some further features of the state and manners of Ireland at that period.

'No king of England had ever led so large an army before into Ireland; 4000 knights and esquires, and 30,000 archers, accompanied the king.

'Ireland is one of the worst countries to make war in or to conquer, from its impenetrable and extensive forests, lakes and bogs, which cannot be passed. It is so thinly inhabited, that the Irish, whenever they please, desert the towns and take refuge in their woods, and live in huts made of boughs, like wild beasts. Whenever an enemy advances, they retire to

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their narrow passes, where they cannot be followed. At every favorable opportunity of attacking their enemy with advantage, which they frequently have from their knowledge of the country, they fail not to seize it. They are so swift of foot, that no man at arms, tho well mounted, can overtake them. They sometimes leap from the ground behind a horseman, and clasp round the rider, and so tightly from their great strength of arm, that he cannot get rid of them; one of them served Cristall so, and urged his horse forward for two hours without doing him any harm, till they had reached a thicket to which the Irishman's companions had fled, who then made Cristall their prisoner. The person who had thus captured Cristall used him kindly, made him marry his daughter, and kept him seven years with him.

'The Irish have pointed knives with broad blades, sharp on both sides; they cut their enemy's throat and take out his heart, which they carry away. They take no ransom for any prisoner: and if defeated, they instantly separate and hide themselves in hedges, bushes, or holes under ground, so that they seem to disappear, and no one knows whither.

'They are a very hardy race, of great subtlety, various in temper, and paying no attention to cleanliness, nor to any gentleman, altho their country has several kings: they seem desirous to remain in the wild state in which they have been brought up.'

Cristall was appointed to teach four of the Irish kings the manners of the English. His account is: 'I must say these kings were of coarse manners and understandings, and in spite of all I could do to soften their nature and language, very little progress was made. As they sat at table they would make grimaces, that did not seem to me either graceful or becoming, and I resolved to make them drop that custom.

'When these kings were seated at table, and the first dish was served, they would make their minstrels and principal servants sit beside them, and eat from their plates and drink from their cups. They told me this was an applauded custom in their country, where every thing was in common but the bed: I permitted this to be done for three days, but on the fourth I placed the four kings at an upper table, the minstrels at another below, and the servants at a lower still. The kings looked at each other and refused to eat, saying that I had deprived them of their old custom in which they had been brought up;' but on Cristall's reasoning with them, that it would be more honorable to conform to the manners of the English, they acquiesced in his wishes.

The kings, like their subjects, wore nothing on their under limbs; he had great difficulty in making them put on silk robes trimmed with squirrel skins, for they only wrapped themselves up in an Irish cloak. They used neither saddles nor stirrups; their sons were made knights at seven years old, and the young aspirant began to learn to tilt with a light lance against a shield fixed to a post in the field; the more lances he broke, the more honor he acquired. Froissart, v. 11. c. 24. p. 154-162.

On Richard's first visit to Ireland, in 1394, all the Leinster chieftains, with others, laid aside their caps, skeins and girdles, and did homage, and swore fealty on their knees to the earl marshal of England; and the same ceremony was performed by the principal chiefs of Ulster to Richard himself at Drogheda. Mr. Webb has added some valuable documents on the transactions in Ireland at this period, from the MSS. Titus B 11, in his appendix to his translation in the *Archaeol.* v. 20. p. 243-250.

CHAP. VIII.

History of the Deposition of RICHARD II.

NEVER was any sovereign more confident of his power; never was any sovereign more easily dethroned. It would appear that all classes of people were so united in opinion on the necessity of a change, that no hesitation either divided or delayed them. Richard had scarcely reached Bristol on his way to Ireland, but a general commotion and disorganization began.¹ The country became full of plundering bands. There was an universal exclamation, that the king only cared for his pleasures and his arbitrary will. The people said to each other, "The wicked king Richard of Bourdeaux will spoil every thing. Since he took the throne, nothing has prospered in England. He minds only idleness, dissipation with women, collecting great treasures, and destroying the nation. He has killed Gloucester and Arundel, banished Henry of Lancaster and the valiant Percys, and soon there will be no brave man left in England. Henry of Lancaster ought to be invited here to reform the government. Richard should be sent to the Tower, with his partisans. Their works, which are infamous, will condemn them."²

CHAP.
VIII.
Disaffec-
tion of the
nation.

The citizens of London held secret counsels with

¹ Les hommes generalement parmi Angleterre se commencerent fort à emouvoir et elever l'un contre l'autre. Froiss. c. 104. p. 295.

² This is the substance of Froissart's chapter, c. 104. pp. 296, 297.

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RICH. II.Henry in-
vited, and
lands.

some prelates and knights, and agreed to send for Henry, who was at Paris. The archbishop of Canterbury undertook to be the messenger. He went to Valenciennes, disguised as a pilgrim; proceeded to Paris, obtained a secret interview with Henry, and, describing the state of England, intreated him to return to it. At first the duke gave no answer; but, leaning on a window which looked into the gardens, he pondered on the enterprise. At length he agreed to consult his friends; and they urging him to undertake it, he took leave of the French court,³ travelled to Bretagne, sailed from thence with three ships, having only fifteen lances or knights in his company; landed at Ravenspur, in Yorkshire, in the beginning of July, and was soon joined by the Percys and others so eagerly, that in a short time he was at the head of 60,000 men.⁴

During these transactions, Richard was pursuing his war in Ireland with much personal activity,⁵ but with much suffering to his army, from the want of supplies.⁶ At this most critical juncture, when every hour was pregnant with evil to his cause, the adverse wind kept him for six weeks without any news from

³ Froiss. c. 105-107. pp. 297-301.⁴ Wals. 397.⁵ Ib. 396. In the British Museum, Titus, B 11. is a letter from the king's council in England, to Richard in Ireland, congratulating him on the submission of 'vos rebeaux Mac Mourgh, et le grand Onel, et autres grands capitains illocques, le plus forts de la terre.' Arch. p. 19.⁶ We have here a valuable original document on the history of this part of the life of Richard II. by a French gentleman of distinction, who came over to England with a Gascon knight, and attended him to the king in Ireland. It is written in very prosaic French rhyme. The MS. adorned with illuminations portraying the leading events of each chapter, is in the British Museum, Harleian MSS. No. 1319. Its first four chapters describe the campaign with the Irish; of whom see also Froissart's description, vol. 4. c. 63. Since the first edition of this history, this MS. and a translation of it by Mr. Webb, with copious notes, have been printed in the Archaeologia, vol. 20. 1-423, with plates of its curious illuminations.

England.⁷ At last it changed ; and he then received the unexpected tidings of the arrival and progress of Henry, and that the archbishop of Canterbury had been exhorting the people to insurrection, and declaring that he had received a bull from the Pope, promising remission of sins to all who should assist it.⁸ Some advised the king to sail immediately, to meet the danger. The duke of Albemarle urged him not to be in such haste: “ It were better to send first for the whole of the shipping—we have not a hundred barges here ; let the earl of Salisbury⁹ go over, to hold the field against the duke, and to collect the Welsh. Let us go by land to Waterford, and summon your navy from every port ; you can then pass over, and will soon destroy your enemies.” The king, unfortunately for himself, preferred this advice, and Salisbury went to England instead of Richard, earnestly pressing his sovereign to follow him without delay, who promised that, whatever should happen, he would put to sea in six days. At first, many joined the earl from Wales and Cheshire, to the number of 40,000 men ; but not seeing the king, who arrived eighteen days later, and dismayed by the public news, that the greater part of the nobles, and full 60,000 men ready for battle, had

⁷ - - - Bien six sepmaines

Sans pouit oir de nouvelles certaines d'Angleterre—

Tant fu le vent contraire.—MS. Harl.

⁸ Harl. MS. c. 5. The MS. has an illumination representing this prelate in his pulpit, reading the bull to the congregation. See it engraved in Arch. vol. 20. p. 53.

⁹ This nobleman is thus described in this Manuscript :—

Hardi estoit et fier, comme lions ;

Et si faisoit balades et chansons,

Rondeaulx et laiz

Tres bien et bel si n'estoit-il que honis lays.

The earl took the author of that MS. with him ‘ for the sake of merriment and song.’—MS.

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—
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joined Henry, they began to murmur; they thought the king was dead, and declared they would advance no further. The earl became almost delirious with vexation at their stubbornness. He burst into tears; he lamented his own personal degradation from their conduct: he invoked death to release him: "I loathe my destiny; the king will now suppose that I also have devised treason." He addressed his army: "My comrades! as you hope for mercy, come with me, I beseech you, and let us be champions for king Richard. He will be here in four days and a half, for he told me when I quitted Ireland, that he would embark before the week ended. Let us hasten forward." But it availed nothing. They stood all mournfully, like men afraid; and many were disposed to join the revolutionary side. The earl managed to keep the field for fourteen days; but the king being still absent, no persuasions could prevail further: the assembled forces broke up; part went to Henry, the rest withdrew to their homes,—a presage of the impending fate of their too dilatory king. Not a hundred men remained with the earl, who then withdrew to Conway Castle, exclaiming that the king was betrayed, and foreseeing all the disasters of his stay.¹⁰

When Richard chose to sail, two days brought him

¹⁰ Harl. MS. As the author was with the duke, this detail may be deemed quite authentic. He speaks very affectionately of Salisbury, and his description shews the character of an applauded nobleman at that time: 'I sincerely loved him, because he heartily loved the French; he was besides humble, gentle and courteous in all his doings; he had every one's word for being loyal and prudent in all places. He gave most largely, and his gifts were profitable. He was bold and courageous as a lion; right well and beautifully did he make ballads, songs, roundels and lays. Tho he was but a layman, so gracious were all his deeds, that I think never will that man issue from his country in whom God hath implanted so much worth as was in him. May his soul be placed in Paradise for ever! for they have since foully put him to a painful death.' MS. and Arch. 72-4.

to Milford Haven; but the depression of the popular spirit, which he there observed, spread to himself; and without communicating publicly his intentions, he put on the habit of a poor minor priest, that he might not be recognized, and with thirteen attendants left the house, where he had lodged, at midnight.¹¹ His erring supposition was, that he should find Salisbury keeping the field with his forces; he rode hard towards him, in sad and pensive mood, but with this hope; not at all suspecting that his own tardiness had destroyed it. Among his few companions, were the dukes of Exeter and Surrey, the earl of Gloucester, three bishops and two knights. They travelled all night with such speed and perseverance as to reach Conway by break of day.

The meeting with Richard and his loyal Salisbury was cordial, but melancholy; tears, sighs and lamentations were mutual. The earl's face was pale with watching and anxiety; he told the king frankly, "I had got 40,000 Welsh and Cheshire men together; but as they did not see you there immediately, they thought you were dead, and have left me alone. Very little did he love you who detained you so long in Ireland. ALL IS LOST!" The king heard him with indignation and sorrow. He exclaimed, "Glorious and merciful God! with folded hands I implore thy mercy; suffer me not to lose my country and my life

CHAP.
VIII.

REIGN OF
RICH. II.

Richard
lands in
Wales.

Goes to
Conway
castle in
disguise.

¹¹ Lors s'avisa que, sans dire nul mot,
Se partiroit a minuit de son ost
A peu de gent. Car pour rien il ne vot
Estre aperçus.
De robe estrange fu la endroit vestus
Comme un prestre, qui a peu de menus;
Pour la doubte qu'il ot d'estre cogneuz
De ses nuisans.

This dress, in the illumination, is represented to be a black cowl and a scarlet habit. MS. and Arch. 72.-4.

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thru these perfidious and envious traitors. Alas! I know not what they would require of me ; according to my ability I have desired to observe justice and right. That Sovereign King who sitteth above and seeth afar, I call to witness, that my sad heart would wish that all men could know my thoughts and my desires. If I have been most unvarying in maintaining right, reason demands it ; for a king should be firm and steady in the punishment of the bad, and for supporting truth in every place. Alas ! because I have followed this righteous course, as far as I have been able, for these three years past—even for eight or ten—these people throw this affliction upon me. O God of glory ! as I never consented to bring evil upon any one who did not deserve it, be pleased to have mercy on me, a poor king ; for unless thou wilt deign speedily to regard me, I am utterly lost.”¹²

Richard consulted with his few friends at Conway on his future proceedings. The duke of Exeter recommended a message to Henry, to know what were his wishes or intentions : this advice was adopted, and Exeter and the earl of Surrey undertook the commission.¹³

The army, which had accompanied the king to Milford, were disheartened and astonished at his desertion. Their commander completed the disaffection, by declaring that he knew not when his sovereign would return. Every one began then to unload the waggons, to secure his own property, and to depart.

They soon dispersed, carrying off all that belonged

¹² As the author was present, and this speech contains Richard's own justification of his conduct, I have inserted it at length from the Harl. MS. and Arch. 97, 98.

¹³ MS. Arch. 107-110.

to their sovereign ; his robes, jewels, gold, silver and horses, and many a good mantle and much ermine, cloth of gold, and foreign stuffs. But the Welsh watched their movements, and in companies of one or two thousand, sprang upon them wherever booty was to be had, and soon robbed the English of all that they had appropriated.¹⁴

The king and his friends soon removed from Conway to Beaumaris, about ten miles off. The castle here was capable of a defence for some years. One side fronted a champaign country ; the other was on the sea. But it did not seem secure enough to Richard, and he soon left it for Carnarvon, whose fortress was still more impregnable ; here he pined at the survey of the evils which surrounded him. He bitterly regretted the hour that he had crossed the sea to Ireland. He was frequently imploring succor from the Virgin Mary ;¹⁵ inveighing against the treachery which had distressed him, and expressing his hopes that the king of France would sympathize with him.¹⁶ He found the castle without either garrison or provisions. There was nothing but straw for him to lie upon ; and, after enduring this state of great poverty for five or six days, he returned to Conway.¹⁷

¹⁴ MS. Arch. 103-105.

¹⁵ Disant souvent

- - - - - 'Doulce Vierge Marie!

Secourez moy. Dame! mercy vous crie.' MS. Ib.

¹⁶ En doulce France certament j'espoir,

Que mon beau pere

Si en aura au cuer douleur amere. MS. Ib.

The author adds, 'Thus often spake king Richard, sighing from his heart ; so that I solemnly protest, more than a hundred times I shed many a tear for him. There lives not a man so hard-hearted, or so firm, who would not have wept at the sight of the disgrace that was brought upon him.' MS. Ib. Arch. 116.

¹⁷ His recollections there turned strongly upon his queen. His companion has transmitted to us these affectionate exclamations: 'O my mistress and my consort, little does that man love us who thus separates

BOOK
II.REIGN OF
RICH. II.Henry's
plan to
secure the
king.

Exeter and Surrey reached Henry at Chester, who received them courteously. He heard the earnest address of Exeter, and told them the king had not considered their rank, in sending them for messengers, and intimated that he might detain them a week for his answer. They pressed for an immediate dismissal, lest they should be suspected of treason. Surrey was committed to the castle, but Exeter was allowed to be at liberty. Henry secured a strong fortification near Chester with all Richard's treasure,¹⁸ and then held a council of his adherents. The archbishop reminded him, that Richard was in Wales, a very defensible country, from its mountains, and therefore advised, that an amicable message should be sent to him, professing a desire of peace, requiring that a parliament should be summoned, when those who were guilty of his uncle's death should be punished, and declaring that the king and Henry might be good friends. The prelate is charged with having recommended this, because the sea being open to Richard at Conway, there was no other way to get him into their power.¹⁹ This deceitful counsel was adopted, and the earl of Northumberland was selected to be the instrument to carry it into execution.

us! O my fair sister! my lady, and my sole desire! robbed of the pleasure of beholding thee, pain and affliction oppresses my whole heart. Alas! Isabel! you were wont to be my joy, my hope and my consolation. Day and night I am in danger of bitter and certain death—and no wonder. From such a height to have fallen thus low, and to lose my solace and my consort! No one makes a secret of vexing or cheating me; every one attacks or hates me!—MS. Arch. 119.

¹⁸ Car il y ot cent mile marc et mieulz
D'esterlins d'or
Que le bon roy Richart la eu tresor
Faisoit garder et si avoit encor
D'autres joyaulx grant foison—
J'oy conter

Qu'a deux cent mille mar d'or estimer. MS. Ib.

¹⁹ MS. Ib.

What can be more expressive of the low state of moral principle, in all orders of the country, than these transactions? Northumberland set off with 400 lancers and 1000 archers. Henry said to him at parting, "Fair cousin, be careful to accomplish your enterprise;" and the earl replied, "Either by reason or by subtlety, I will bring him to you."²⁰ Northumberland reached the castle of Rhuddlan, and, tho nearly impregnable, it was surrendered to him. He was now within ten miles of Conway. Under a rock in advance of Rhuddlan, he placed two companies of his armed followers in ambush, beneath its rough and lofty cliffs, with orders to remain there till they saw either him or the king. He then proceeded to Conway, and was admitted to the royal presence. He began his speech with declaring, that he was not going to utter lies.²¹ He then stated, that Henry required, That the king should be in future a good and true judge; that he should fulfil justice on those who should be named; that a parliament should be convened at Westminster; that Henry should be made the grand justiciary of the kingdom, as his father and ancestors had been for a hundred years; that those who should be arraigned, were the dukes of Exeter and Surrey, the earl of Salisbury, and the bishop of Carlisle, who had advised the king to put his uncle to death; and that he should then be king and lord, with Henry his justiciary, who would come on his knees, and humbly ask his pardon. He said he would swear to all this upon the sacrament; and he intreated the king to accompany him to the duke.²²

²⁰ MS. Harl. c. 5.²¹ Je vous dirai

Ce qu'il vous mande. Riens n'en mentiray: MS. Ib.

²² MS. Ib.

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REIGN OF
RICH. II.
Mutual
perfidy of
Northum-
berland
and the
king.

The treachery of this address is sufficiently revolting. It was unhappily to be equalled by the perfidy of the king himself. He retired, to consult his own friends. He said, "My lords, we must grant his requests; I see no other way: things are desperate; you must perceive this as well as I do. But I swear to you, that he shall die a bitter and a certain death, whatever I shall assure him."²³ Consider the outrage and the injury which he has done us. I will send some persons among the Welsh, and will cause them to assemble secretly, and then some day we shall have the power. If they be in anywise discomfited, they shall be put to death. There are some of them whom I will flay alive: I would not take all the gold in the land for them, if I continue alive and well."²⁴ Having thus settled his own plan of treachery, he called in the treacherous earl, and making him pledge his conscience to his sincerity, he declared solemnly that he would himself perform his part of the agreement; then adding hypocritically the moral sentiment—"The man who perjures himself, knows that he must live in disgrace, and at last die from it in great sorrow,"²⁵—he accompanied him to Chester.

It is painful to see majesty, on whose welfare so greatly depends the well-being of the nation, untaught by the calamities which its own errors had contri-

²³ - - - Le roy

Dist 'Beaux Seigneurs! nous lui ferons ottroy;

Car autre tour, par Marie, je n'y vey.

Tout est perdu. Vous le veez comme moy.

Mais je vous jure

Qu'il en mourra de mort amere et sure,

Quelque chose que je lui asseure.'

MS. Harl. c. 5.

²⁴ MS. Ib. Arch. 140.

²⁵ Ib. 'Each of them devoutly heard mass' upon these mutual pledges of premeditated perfidy. The author himself owns, 'the one had bad intentions, the other still worse;' yet he adds, 'as for the king, his offence was not so great, because necessity has no law.' Ib. As if the criminality of a crime was lessened by its convenience.

buted to produce. With a self-delusion that could not have existed in a sound mind, Richard saw nothing in the universal disaffection of his subjects but the personal faction of a few nobles. In all his conversations with his confidential friends, so carefully recorded by his observing companion, there is not one self-accusation for past misconduct; not one plan or purpose expressed, of a better or wiser government; no perception of the impolicy and evils of his system of violence. We find nothing but new resolutions of vengeance; fruitless regrets, that he had suffered Northumberland to deceive him; passionate prayers, and unmanly lamentations. The weakness or vanity of the mind that could contemplate such a fearful change of fortune without one moral impression or prudential recollection, or any suspicion of its own previous mistakes, must have been great and pertinacious. But that, amidst his own meditations of deception, he should be so easily entrapped by it in another, in whom he had every reason to suspect it, is but a new instance that a large degree of folly always accompanies vice, and the cunning which it loves to practise.

Richard, self-satisfied with his hope of out-manceuvring his adversaries by his future contrivances, surrendered himself up to their selfish deceit. Both Northumberland and he congratulated themselves on their craft in outwitting each other; and both perished violently: Richard, by those whom he meant to circumvent; the earl and his son by the man for whom he acted this treachery. The king desired the earl to go on before to Rhuddlan, to get the dinner prepared, and then followed him from Conway. He passed the broad and great water there; and riding

King ac-
companies
Northum-
berland.

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on four miles, mounted the rock where the earl and his party were lying concealed on the descent. As he saw the ambush rise, with their spears bristling around him, he exclaimed, "I am betrayed; can this be true? O God of Paradise! assist me!" The narrator of these interesting scenes, who was accompanying the king here, says, "We were all thrown into a state of bitter doubt; I wished then that I had been in France, for I saw them all almost in despair;²⁶ for not a man of them could get away from that place to flee, without being stopped or taken. The king had come so near to them, that it was much farther to return to the town than to descend the rock; and as that was washed by the main sea, we could not get away on the other side, owing to the rock: hence, cost what it might, we were forced either to die, or pass on into the midst of the body of the earl's people."²⁷ The king found Northumberland armed in his mail, and burst into such lamentations, that it was pitiable to see him. He exclaimed often, "O true God! what mischief and trouble I shall have; I see that this man is carrying us to the duke, who little loves us. O Virgin Mary! sovereign queen! have mercy on me, for I perceive that I am lost, if you do not deign to visit me." The king was convinced that nothing could be done. His friends did not exceed twenty-two.²⁸ Therefore every one descended the lofty rock, to the king's great grief. He complained much to the earl

²⁶ Lors furent tous en amere doubtance.
J'eusse voulu bien alors estre en France.
Car je les vy pres de desesperance.

MS. Harl. c. 5.

²⁷ MS. Arch. 146.

²⁸ Ainsi desoit le roy, qui nul puoir
N'avoit droit la
Car nous ne fumies que vingt, ce me sembla,
Ou vint deux.

MS. Ib.

of Salisbury, and frequently said to him, "I see that I am dead without redemption; for I am sure that duke Henry hates me. Alas! why did we believe this earl upon his plighted faith? It has been our utter ruin, but it is now too late." As they drew near, Northumberland came and knelt before him, and apologized for the appearance of the armed men, on the pretext that the country was in a state of warfare. The king told him, that he did not want such attendance, that it was not what he had promised him, that it was a violation of his oath, and that he would return to Conway. The earl answered, that he must carry him to the duke, because he had promised this ten days before. He caused bread and wine to be presented to the king, who dared not refuse it. They remounted, and went on to Rhuddlan, where they dined sumptuously. After their dinner, they proceeded to Flint, where they rested. All that night the king passed in great disquiet. He saw his enemies on all sides, desiring to put him to death as a tyrant. He passed some of the lingering hours in recollections of his queen, in lamentations of his fate, and in passionate exclamations of vengeance.²⁹

Henry marched from Chester to Flint, with all his power, above 100,000 men. Richard rose early,

Henry advances to Flint;
22 August
1399.

²⁹ As the author narrates what he heard, and the king's expressions best display his character, they are worth reading. 'My sweetest heart! my sister! I bid you adieu. I have never deserved of my people to be so basely ruined! If it be thy pleasure I should die, O Lord! vouchsafe to guide my soul to heaven, for I can neither escape nor fly. Alas! my father-in-law of France! I shall never see you more; I leave you your daughter among these false and wicked and faithless people. I am almost in despair. She was my joyous delight—may you take vengeance for me—the matter concerns you. I have neither vessels, men nor money now to send you, but I leave it to you; it is now too late. O why did we trust Northumberland, who hath delivered us to these wolves! We are all dead men, for they have no pity. May heaven confound both their souls and their bodies!' MS. Harl. c. 5.

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heard mass with his friends,³⁰ and then ascended to the castle walls, where they fronted the sea. He there beheld his adversaries advancing along the shore; he heard the sound of their horns and trumpets; and recommended himself to heaven, again inveighing against the earl who had entrapped him. He wept much, and his confidential friends mourned with him.³¹ The archbishop, preceding the rest, came and fell at the king's feet, who raised him, took him apart, and conversed a long time with him. The prelate endeavored to comfort his sovereign, and to assure him that his person should be safe.³² Soon Henry was seen approaching with his great and splendid force. It was led by the celebrated Hotspur, then reckoned the best knight in England. It wound along between the sea and the lofty rocks that edged the sands. Neither hedge nor bush intervened, and the shining arms were beheld moving in a train of floating splendor, with all the triumph of martial music, till the leaders reached the castle gates. The duke there conferred for some time with Northumberland, and agreed not to enter till the king had dined. Richard sat down to his repast, but, observing his four companions maintaining their ceremonious respect, he said, "My kind and loyal friends, as you are in the same peril of death for your fidelity,

³⁰ One knight with them would not take off 'la devise' of his lord the king, which was *the hart*. He was the last that carried the order of Richard in England. MS. Harl. which now begins a prose narration.

³¹ This author says, 'I believe that in this mortal world, no creature whatsoever, whether Jew or Saracen, could have seen these five together, without having great pity and compassion in his heart for them.' MS. Ib. The five were, the king, the earl of Salisbury, the bishop of Carlisle, and the two knights, Scroup and Ferriby. Ib.

³² On this conversation, the writer declares, 'What they said I know not; but the earl of Salisbury told me afterwards,'—as in the text. MS. Ib.

sit down with me." As they dined, many knights came rudely in and out to see him, not from kindness, but to disperse around the castle, that all their heads should be taken off. The king remained long at table, not to eat, but to prolong the time, as he knew he should be afterwards removed.²⁸

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At last the dinner was ended, and the archbishop and Northumberland went to fetch the duke, who had arranged his followers in fine order before the fortress. Henry entered the castle, armed complete, except his bacinet. The king was brought down from the donjeon, where he had dined, to receive him. Henry bent lowly on seeing him, and again as he advanced, with his hat in his hand. The king then uncovered his head, and speaking first said, "Fair cousin of Lancaster! welcome." The duke, again bowing nearly to the ground, answered, "My lord! I am come back sooner than you ordered me, I will tell you why. The common report of your people is, that for twenty or twenty-two years, you have very badly and rigorously governed them, and so, that they are quite discontented. But if it please our Lord, I will help you to govern better than you have done." The king replied, "Fair cousin! since it pleases you, it pleases us." The duke spoke to all the rest, but Salisbury; and then with a fierce and loud voice cried out, "Bring here the king's horses." Two miserable animals were then led out. Richard

His inter-
view with
the king.

²⁸ The menaces of the knights so alarmed the author of this MS. that he says, 'Every one had fear and fright, for nature teaches every creature to dread death more than any thing else; and for myself, I never was so terrified before.' He and his friend then found out one of the heralds, and begged him to save their lives. The herald on his knees introduced them to Henry, and petitioned in English for their safety. 'The duke answered us in French, 'My children! do not be alarmed at any thing you see; keep near me, and I will warrant your lives.' This assurance made us very joyful.' MS. Harl. c. 5.

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was placed on the one, and Salisbury on the other, and they issued from the castle. On their appearance without the walls, such a roar of military music burst from the horns, trumpets, and other instruments, that the shore rebounded with the sound; and thunder would have rolled unheard.³⁴ In this state they entered Chester, the common people with pretended reverence mocking their unfortunate sovereign. The duke committed him to the care of the sons of Gloucester and Arundel, who most hated him, for the loss of their fathers, and, dismissing the chief part of his armed force, proceeded towards London. At Litchfield, the king tried to escape: he slid from the window of the tower in which he was confined, into the garden; but he was discovered, and, with much ill treatment, brought back. From that time, ten or twelve armed men never left his chamber, day or night. As they approached London, the lord mayor, with his sword of state, at the head of the city companies, in all their costume, came out to meet them. The cry of the populous was, The good duke of Lancaster for ever! And their conversation turned on the miracle of his conquering the kingdom in two months; that he ought to be a king, who thus knew how to conquer; and, that he would subdue one of the chief parts of the world. They compared him to Alexander the Great. As about to enter the city, Henry exclaimed, "Fair sirs! here is your king—think what you will do with him." Their clamorous answer was, "Let him be taken to Westminster."

³⁴ MS. Harl. c. 5. The author adds here, that an aged knight assured him that Merlin and Bede had foretold the king's deposition: he details the pretended prophecy. MS. ib. Arch. 169. The author says of the English at that time, 'Such is their nature, that they very thoroughly believe in prophecies, phantoms and witchcraft, and employ them right willingly.' Ib. Arch. 170.

He was given up to them, and the people then took him and led him westward; while the duke passed through Cheapside to St. Paul's, amid such acclamations, that, says our author, "if our divine Lord had come down from heaven, he could not have received greater." At St. Paul's, Henry, having prayed at the great altar, turned to the tomb of his father, at its side, which he had not yet seen, and wept much over it.³⁵

The record of the "renunciation" of Richard states, That the lords and knights there enumerated, went to him on Michaelmas day in the Tower—that the earl of Northumberland reminded him, that at Conway he had promised him and the archbishop, that he would yield up and renounce his crown, from his confessed inability and insufficiency—that the king then professed himself willing to fulfil what he had promised, and desired a copy of the act of cession for his consideration; this was given to him, and they retired—that, after dinner, the king desiring to see the duke, Henry and the archbishop went to him and conversed with him—that the king, "with a cheerful countenance," took up the act of cession, read it aloud, and signed it, and absolved all his subjects from their allegiance, and then said, that if he had the power, the duke of Lancaster should be his successor—that he took his ring of gold from his finger, and put it on the duke's, as the mark of his intention and will.³⁶ How much of this ceremony was hypocrisy, forced acquiescence, or fiction, it is unnecessary now to inquire. The objections against

³⁵ MS Harl. c. 5. Thirty-five articles of accusation were dispersed against Richard, of which Hall has specified thirty-one; the other four were against the archbishop of Canterbury. Chron. p. 9-11.

³⁶ Parl. Plac. vol. 3. p. 416. where the act of renunciation is printed.

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the king's reign were recorded in the full assembly of parliament.³⁷ Henry rose up, and, crossing himself on his forehead and breast, claimed the crown.³⁸ The lords and commons were asked, what they thought of it? they immediately assented that he should be the king. The archbishop took him by the hand, and led him to the throne. He knelt, and prayed awhile before it, and then allowed himself to be placed in it, amid the shoutings of the people. The prelate harangued them with a sermon; and when he finished, Henry made another short address,³⁹ and the ceremony of his election ended. The parliamentary deputation went afterwards to Richard at the Tower, and made a formal renunciation of their allegiance, ending with declaring, that none of all the states and people would thenceforward bear him faith, nor do him obeisance, as to their king. Richard merely answered, "That he looked not thereafter. Bot he sayde, that after all this, he hoped that his cosin wolde be goode lord to hym."⁴⁰ Henry was crowned with the usual solemnities, and Richard was adjudged by the parliament "to a perpetual prison, to remain there *secretly* in safe custody."⁴¹

Richard's
character.

In estimating the character of Richard, we may remark, that it was its principal defect, that he allowed himself to be advised and governed by young men. All the chroniclers, even his friends, complain of this imprudence.⁴² Nothing rolls on so easily and

³⁷ See them, Parl. Plac. 417-422.

³⁸ His speeches will be noticed in the chapter on our Language and Prose Literature.

³⁹ Vide preceding note.

⁴⁰ Plac. Parl. 424.

⁴¹ Ibid. 426.

⁴² So the archbishop in parliament: 'This honorable kingdom of England, the most abundant corner of riches in all the world, has been a long time ruled and governed by the counsel of children and widows.' Plac. Parl. 415. Was the king's mother intended by the word 'widows'?

so safely as an established government, if that moderate wisdom superintends it, which there are mature minds enough in every country to supply. And as no event of life occurs without its consequences, and still less the greater incidents; it is in the power of foreseeing these, that human wisdom chiefly consists. But the young love rather to dare the future, than to provide for it. Their fearlessness concurs with their inexperience to deceive them; and too late they learn, that the events of life are the masters, not the servants of those who attempt to command what they should have anticipated and managed. Young himself, it was natural that Richard should like the young. But the possessor of the crown of a civilized people is under the necessity of consulting his prudence instead of his pleasure, and to bend self-will to good advice,⁴³ if he hope to make his reign respectable or happy. Unless the sovereign improves with his nation, his inferiority will interfere with his popularity. Richard's companions flattered him into habits, which abated that personal reverence which is a stronger safeguard of the throne than law. Alternations of evil then occurred. The disrespect of his subjects affronted his pride, and disposed him to be violent and vindictive. His arbitrary measures increased their alienation, and the superior qualities of his uncles were recollected to his disadvantage.

⁴³ Froissart observes, that 'he was too strongly repugnant to all counsel, and would never hear any;' vol. 3. c. 77. It was the remark of the duke of Lancaster, 'Our nephew the king of England will ruin all, before he has done. He believes easily bad advice, which will destroy him and his kingdom. He caused my brother and the earl of Arundel to die, because they shewed him the truth, which he will never hear, nor speak to any man who attempts to explain it to him against his inclinations.' Froiss. vol. 4. c. 92.

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New alarms arose from their popularity. The times; from other causes, were agitated; and his ministers suggested and enforced harsh and angry councils, which excited the revenge of the endangered, and increased the national irritation. This redoubled the king's desire of punishing it; and measures were adopted, which made the existence of either party dangerous to the other.

His love of magnificence was certainly the quality of a princely spirit; and his flowing liberalities display something so contrary to a narrow soul, that we can hardly contemplate them without some praise.⁴ But all bounteous feelings, to be estimable, must be just. If he had been a nobleman, giving away his revenues, his munificence would have been the distribution of what was his own, and the extent of his ability would have been its natural limit; but the treasury of a sovereign is filled with the money of his people, and it is their property, not his, which he expends. It is their comforts which he is sacrificing when he is lavish. His splendor must be accompanied by the sighs and privations of many; and the taxations which emptied exchequers make necessary, produce a querulous, critical and discontented country, offending its sovereign by its ill-humor, and offended in its turn by his resentments. Richard so repeatedly excited and experienced this evil, that he must have been almost wilfully blind to

⁴ Thus to Leo, the king of Armenia, who came to England, he presented a thousand marcs of gold in a gilt ship, with the grant of a pension of the same sum yearly. Wals. Hist. No preceding sovereign seems to have been more profuse of new creations of nobility; and he granted annuities to many. He was fond of giving elegant presents. Thus, when his uncle Lancaster went to Spain, he presented him with a golden crown, and his duchess with another. Knyght. 2676.

the gathering storm, to have continued his expensive ceremonies to the very end of his reign.⁴⁵

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His destruction of his uncle was as impolitic as it was wicked; for, independent of the moral retribution which, from the days of *Œdipus* to our own, under whatever system of fate, furies or providence, has been always remarked to pursue such actions, it set an example of violated law and right, which before two years expired was fatally retorted on himself. But this reign is remarkable for the proofs which it affords of the practice as well as the uselessness of violence and wrong. No one prospered that had recourse to them; yet no one would forbear to use them. By violence, the king's favorites sought to oppress the nobles, and were themselves overthrown; by violence, Gloucester, with his friends, overpowered their political antagonists, and perished afterwards by the violence of the king, who, within two years, was himself deposed by the nobleman that with an unjust exertion of power he had recently exiled. Wrong was punished by wrong, till almost every one suffered who had used it. One lesson may be therefore drawn from this unhappy period, That when a political evil presses, to use illegal and unconstitutional means of removing it, is to multiply its mischiefs, and to give them a continuity which cannot easily be terminated.

Yet it is impossible not to pity this unfortunate

⁴⁵ Froissart's description of the king's feasts and justs in the year 1390, vol. 4. c. 22. will give some idea of the splendor of his public entertainments. In 1396, notwithstanding the necessities of his treasury, he spent on his marriage above 300,000 marcs, besides the costly presents he made. Wals. Hist. 391. And see the description given of his public entrance into London, in 1392, Knyghton, 2740. He ends with saying, that such expensive honors had never been shewn to any king of this country before.

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monarch. The celebrity of his father was his first misfortune, for it interfered with that disciplining education which lays the true basis for human rectitude. The accession to a crown at the age of eleven, was a contingency of nature which completed the moral deterioration, which the last years of dotage of his grandfather were not adapted to prevent. Whatever therefore may have been his natural capacity or disposition, all the causes of corrupting and weakening his mind, that courtly pleasure or pride could furnish, were from his situation in full operation upon him, at that age when their influence is the least resistible and the most pernicious. Human welfare requires that the crown should be hereditary; and this necessity will sometimes place it on a brow too young to wear it so early, and yet acquire the manly virtues, which hardier life best produces. Richard's moral imperfections must be censured for the sake of society, which royal vices peculiarly afflict. But it is just to consider him as in a great degree the victim of his situation and circumstances. This is neither an apology nor an atonement for his misconduct; but it is a claim on our compassionate sympathies, for, with such inducements to error, who is there but might have fallen?

Richard appears to have had a taste for literature; he patronized Chaucer. He received graciously one of Froissart's compositions;⁴⁶ and he stopped Gower

⁴⁶ Froissart's account is, 'He opened it and looked within it, and it pleased him very much.' 'He ought to have been pleased,' adds Froissart, 'for it was handsomely written and illuminated, and bound in crimson velvet, with ten silver gilt studs and roses of the same in the middle, with two large clasps of silver gilt, richly worked with roses in the centre.' This detailed description rather implies that the author thought the outside more valuable than the contents. He proceeds thus: 'The king asked me on what it treated? I answered, 'on love.' He was rejoiced

on the Thames, to ask him to book some new thing.⁴⁷ In the works of our ancient poet, we may trace the public impression produced by the successive conduct of his sovereign. The *Vox Clamantis* discovers the apprehensions excited in the first part of the reign, by the unfavorable tendencies which appeared in the royal character.⁴⁸ In the original preface to the *Confessio Amantis*, the king's amiable traits are brought to our notice.⁴⁹ In the alteration inserted in the sixteenth year of the reign (1393) we have repeated complaints of the divisions of the country;⁵⁰ intimations that they proceeded from tyranny

at this answer, and looked into the book in several places, and read, for he could read and speak French very well, and caused one of his knights to take it and put it into his private room, and was very gracious to me for it.' vol. 4. c. 63. When Froissart took his leave at Windsor, the king gave him a silver goblet filled with a hundred nobles. v. 12. c. 32.

⁴⁷ In Themse whan it was flowende,
As I by bote came rowende,
So as fortune hir tyme sette,
My liege lord perchance I mette.
And so befelle as I cam nigh,
Out of my bote, whan he me sigh,
He had me come into his barge,
And whan I was with him at large,
Amonges other thynges seyde
He hath this charge upon me leyde—
Some new thyng I shulde boke,
That he hymselfe it might loke.

Gower's *Confess. Am. Chal.* p. 3.

⁴⁸ See Notes 74, &c. in p. 267.

⁴⁹ I conceive these lines to be applied to the king:—

A gentill herte his tonge stilleth,
That it malice none distilleth;
But preiseth that is to preised—p. 4.

The poet expunged this part of his prologue in Richard's 16th year.

⁵⁰ - - - Love is falle into discorde,
And that I take into recorde—
The common voice which maie not lie.
What shall befall here afterwarde
God wote; for now upon this tide
Men see the worlde on every side
In sondrie wise so diversed
That it well nigh stant all reversed.

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and cruelty;⁵¹ and that law had put on a double face,⁵² which seems to allude to the anticipated opinions obtained or extorted from the judges. At the same time Gower seems impartial, for he implies that both the king and his opponents were equally wrong, and equally averse to good counsel.⁵³ But in his Chronicle, written after the murder of the duke of Gloucester, and the execution of Arundel, his sovereign is mentioned in terms of indignant reproach.⁵⁴ He had praised Henry of Lancaster, when he could not have supposed he would have been the king;⁵⁵ he panegyricised him afterwards with a long Latin encomium, but written with bad taste.⁵⁶

⁵¹ He talks of princes

- - - that diden than amiss
Through tyrannie and crueltee.

⁵² In stede of love is hate guided:
The warre wolle no peace purchase,
And lawe hath take hir double face,
So that justice out of the waie
With rightwiseness is gone awaie,
And thus to loke on every halve
Men sene the sore without salve.—p. 8.

⁵³ - - - But the powere
Of them that bene the worldes guides
With good counsel *on all sides*—
For all reason wolde this;
That unto *him*, whiche the head is,
The members buxome shall bowe:
And *he* shuld eke *their truth* alowe
With all his herte, and make them chere,
For good counseill is good to here.
Although a man be wise hymselfe,
Yet is the wisdom more of twelve.—p. 8.

⁵⁴ See MS. Tib. A 4.

⁵⁵ This booke - - -
I sende unto mine owne lord,
Whiche of Lancaster is Henry named.
The hygh God hath hym proclaimed
Full of knyghthode and all grace.

Gower's Confess. p. 8.

⁵⁶ See MS. Tib. A 4.—Six lines may be cited as a curious endeavor to introduce the Welsh peculiar mode of medial and final rhyming and alliteration into Latin verse—

The dethronement of Richard was the melancholy result of a chain of evils in which he had entangled himself, and which his last paroxysms of arbitrary power had roused the country to terminate. But in every case of regal deposition, such a violation of law, such an infringement of individual right, such a perplexity of justice, such a dislocation of authority, such a diffusion of insurrectionary principles, such a future tendency to factions, such an excitement to ambition, and such a relaxation of public order and private principle, must accompany it, that it never can occur with national impunity. It becomes at last a mixture of reciprocal wrong as well as reciprocal injury, and much calamity follows it. Hence, if a more moderate, wise, and disinterested conduct in the opponents of government, when they impeached the chancellor, and when the king, from his age, not twenty, could be only halting between vice and virtue, would have turned his character to a nobler issue, and saved the country and themselves the disgrace and confusions that followed—the mischiefs are chargeable upon their vindictive spirit and selfish purposes.⁵⁷ We cannot now allot to either party

O recolende, bone, pie rex Henrice, patrone;
 Ad bona dispone, quos eripis a pharaone.
 Noxia depone, quibus est humus hic in agone.
 Regni persone quo vivant sub ratione.
 Pacem compone, vires moderare corone:
 Regibus impone frenum sine conditione. MS. Tib. A. 4.

⁵⁷ We have Richard's person and character thus drawn by the Monk of Evesham:—'A fair, round and feminine face, sometimes flushed; abrupt and stammering in his speech; capricious in his manners; prodigal of gifts; extravagantly splendid in his entertainments and dress; timid and unsuccessful in foreign war; irascible, proud and rapacious at home; devoted to luxury; and remaining sometimes till midnight, and sometimes till morning, in drinking and in other excesses that are not to be named; grievously extorting taxations from his people every year of his

BOOK
II.REIGN OF
RICH. II.

their proper share of censure or exculpation : But however their respective merits stand, there can be no difficulty in perceiving, that no reign inculcates more impressively the danger of flattering unbecoming habits in the sovereign—of beginning systems of violent and unjust counsels—and of connecting the supreme authority, either with undue exertions of that municipal law, which ought to be the venerated protector, not the oppressor of society ; or with the invasion of public rights and privileges, which all may constitutionally claim, and are interested to preserve. Violence is a dreadful sword, which both parties can wield ; and, when once put in action, neither can foresee who will become its victims, nor where will be the limits of its destruction. But perhaps there is no mistake more rooted in the world, than that Power is policy. Few will confess in reasoning, that what we can do, it is wise to do ; yet almost all men act upon this seducing, tho misleading principle.⁵⁸

reign, and wasting on his vices the money obtained under the pretext of repelling the national enemy.' Hist. Rich. pp. 169, 170.

Richard's
marriages.

⁵⁸ The king's first marriage was with Anne, a princess of Bohemia. She died amid the Whitsuntide feasts in 1394, exceedingly regretted by the king. Froissart, 11. p. 121. She introduced the custom of ladies riding on the side-saddle, and occasioned the reforming opinions of Wickliffe to spread into Bohemia. His next marriage was with Isabelle, the eldest daughter of Charles the Sixth, in the autumn of 1396. He went to Calais to meet her and the French king. Four hundred French, and as many English knights, brilliantly armed with swords in their hands, drew up in two lines, and between these the sovereigns advanced towards each other. As they approached together, the eight hundred knights fell on their knees and wept for joy. The two kings met bare-headed, saluted and took each other by the hand. The French sovereign led Richard to his splendid tent ; the four dukes, who attended them, followed hand in hand, while the knights kept their station till all the ceremony was over. Partaking their spices and wine, the kings conversed freely together, and then separated with stately ceremony, to meet on the following day at a magnificent dinner ; after which the young elected queen, a child in age,

but interesting in appearance, entered at the head of a long train of ladies and damsels. The king of France led her by the hand, and gave her to Richard, who instantly after took his leave. The queen was placed in a very rich litter, but only one lady accompanied her. At Calais she was married to Richard: the feastings were splendid, and the heralds and minstrels were liberally remunerated. On a following morning, having heard an early mass and drank some wine, their majesties embarked for England, landed at Dover, and passed to the palace at Eltham. Fifteen days afterwards she went to the Tower, and made a grand entry into the metropolis, where a tournament was proclaimed, for forty knights, at the ensuing Candlemas. Froissart, v. 11. c. 40. p. 284-291.

CHAP.
VIII.REIGN OF
RICH. II.


C H A P. IX.

History of the Reign of HENRY IV.

1399—1413.

BOOK
II.

THE reign of Henry IV. was short and disturbed. He had gained the sceptre from the unpopularity of the preceding sovereign; not from his own pretensions, plottings, ambition, or peculiar desert. The majority of the nation wished the removal of Richard, and they gratulated Henry with warm acclamations, because he presented himself as the substitute; because his reputation was fair; and because, from his affinity to the royal blood, he was, tho not the next entitled,¹ yet so near in right, that his elevation made the smallest legal breach in the succession, which on such a dislocation of the sovereign power by violence, and under the pressing exigencies of the nation, would occur. But however varnished by plausible or reasonable pretexts; however popular or seemingly expedient or even inevitable, it was still an acquisition of power by force, without right; an invasion of the supreme authority, by a grandson indeed of Edward III., but still by a subject, and contrary to the national rules of hereditary descent. It could not stand upon its own merits. It rested upon the necessities made by

¹ The earl of March, descended from Lionel duke of Clarence, the elder brother of Henry's father, was the next heir to Richard, and, in strict hereditary right, preceded Henry.

the vices of others. It succeeded by the temporary support of the great and populace, and principally of the earl of Northumberland and the clergy; and it had no foundation if their humors changed. It was therefore naturally insecure, mutable, and disquieting.²

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IX.

REIGN OF
HENRY IV.

The acts of Richard's last parliaments were repealed, and the friends of Henry liberally rewarded by grants and titles.³ But the people began to murmur as soon as the change they desired had been completed, because their resentments were not fully gratified. They expected the arrest and execution of those adherents of Richard, by whom they had been most oppressed;⁴ and were displeased at the wise forbearance of the king, who, knowing that clemency may reconcile and attach, but that punishment sometimes irritates more than it deters, permitted the earls of Salisbury, Huntingdon, and others, to live unmolested. It was no impeachment of Henry's policy that these two earls entered into a conspiracy to assassinate him at Oxford, and afterwards to seize him at Windsor, and to destroy him.⁵

Plots
against
him.

² Feeling the difficulty as to his legal right from Edward III. he had in parliament claimed the crown as descended from Henry III. and had obscurely hinted at pretensions on the ground of conquest, by declaring that no man must think that by way of conquest he would disinherit any man. Plac. Parl. vol. 3. p. 423. The embarrassment of his title probably produced the farce acted on his coronation. He was anointed with oil, stated to have been given by the Virgin Mary to Becket. It had lain hid till it was found in Richard's reign, with an inscription, predicting that the sovereigns anointed with it should be champions of the church. The archbishop refused to apply it to Richard, but poured it upon Henry, obviously to create a popular impression, that he was chosen and appointed by heaven. Walsingham details this pretended miracle, p. 401.

³ See the patents of their honors and titles, in Rymer's Fœd. vol. 8. pp. 89-94.

⁴ Wals. 402.

⁵ The project was, that Exeter should hold a solemn just at Oxford, and invite the king to be present at the chivalrous amusement. The conspirators prepared to hold it with great magnificence, and employed

BOOK
II.
REIGN OF
HENRY IV.

Privately informed of the plot, the king eluded the blow by withdrawing secretly to London. The ill-advised noblemen flew to their expected prey with vain attempt. They had dressed up an impostor somewhat resembling Richard, to personate that prince, and they were joined by many. But finding Henry prepared with 20,000 men to encounter them, they retreated towards Wales. At Cirencester, they were defeated by the citizens, who took the earl of Salisbury, and put him to death. Huntingdon fled to Essex, and endeavored to escape by sea. The adverse winds drove him back. He was seized by the people, and led to Pleshy, the mansion of their favorite Gloucester, where he was beheaded.⁶ Many adherents were executed with severity.

1400.
14 Feb.
Richard's
death.

The death of Richard on St. Valentine's day, sudden in its annunciation, mysterious as to its cause, dreadful in all that is intimated of its nature, and

their armorers to make very splendid armor, which Hall describes to the following purport: 'Some had the helm and its vizor, beavers and plackardes, curiously graven and cunningly costed; some had their collars fretted, and others had them set with gilt bullions. One company had the plackard, the rest, the port, the burley, the tassess, the lamboys, the backpiece, the tapull, and the border of the cuirass, all gilt; and another band had them all enamelled azure. One sort had the vambrases, the paceguards, the grandguards, the poldren, the pollettes, parted with gold and azure; and another flock had them silver and sable. Some had the mainferres, the close gauntlets, the guisettes, the flancardes, dropped and gutted with red; and others had them speckled with green. One sort had the cuishes, the greives, the surlettes, the sockettes on the right side and on the left side silver. Some had the spear, the burre, the cronet all yellow; and others had them of divers colors. One band had the scafferon, the cranet, the bard of the horse, all white; and others had them all gilt. Some had their arming swords freshly burnished, and some had them cunningly varnished. Some spurs were white, some gilt, and some coal black. One party had their plumes all white, another had them all red, and the third had them of several colors. One wore on his head-piece his lady's sleeve, and another bare on his helm the glory of his darling. But to declare the costly bases, the rich bards, the pleasant trappers, both of goldsmith's work and embroidery, no less sumptuously then curiously wrought, it would ask a long time to declare, for every man after his appetite devised his fantasy.' Hall's Chron. p. 17.

⁶ Wals. 403-405.

suspicious from the time of its occurrence, surprised and grieved the nation.⁷ He had been transferred from the Tower to Leeds Castle in Kent. Out of this place he was secretly conveyed to Pomfret Castle,⁸ and there expired.

The account most favorable to his opponents, attributed it to vexation and sorrow for the failure and execution of his friends;⁹ others thought that he had been deprived of all food from the time of reaching his last confinement, and that he died miserably of hunger.¹⁰ The Percys, before the battle of Shrewsbury,¹¹ and the archbishop of York soon afterwards, charged Henry publicly with this cruelty.¹² But some, who admitted his death by famine, asserted that he had inflicted it on himself by a voluntary abstinence.¹³ A foreign MS. declares

⁷ We have several contemporary accounts of Richard's death, but their narratives are all guarded with qualifying expressions.

⁸ Wals. MS. Bib. Sl. 1776. Hard. 356.

⁹ MS. ib. 'Pro nimia amicorum suorum interemptione, dolore, tristitia arreptus, non voluit consolare, nec consolatorem habens diem clausit extremum in festo S. Valentini.'

¹⁰ Ib. This author at the same time confesses that *how* he died: 'penitus a nobis nescitur:' his words are 'quidam tum opinantes quod fame miserabiliter ibidem interiit. Hoc est quod privabatur penitus ab omni sustentatione naturali usque ad diem suæ resolutionis.' MS. Ib.

¹¹ Hardyng, who says he was brought up from twelve years of age in sir Henry Percy's house, mentions that the Percys in the written 'quarrel' which they sent in to the king, thus charged him: 'Thou didst cause our lord the king to be killed and murdered by hunger, thirst and cold, for fifteen days and nights: horrible to be heard!' Hard. Chron. p. 352. Ellis ed.; and see it in Arch. 16. p. 140.

¹² In his manifesto against Henry, the said prelate thus repeats the accusation; 'for fifteen days and nights they harassed and crucified him with hunger, thirst and cold, and at last by the basest death, hitherto unknown in England, but no longer to be concealed, they destroyed and killed him.' But he introduces this with the guarding 'ut vulgariter dicitur.' Artic. Abp. York. 2 Wharton's Anglo Sax. 355. Sir John Fortescue, as quoted by Stowe, has the same story nearly in the prelate's words, p. 325.

¹³ Walsingham, in his printed History, 'semetipsum extinxit inedia voluntaria, ut fertur.' p. 404. So the Chronicle of Croyland, which adds that he was five days in dying. 1 Gale Scrip. 495; and see Otterb. 228. and Monk. Ev. 169.

BOOK
II.REIGN OF
HENRY IV.

that he was violently murdered ;¹⁴ an account which has been disproved by the late appearance of what remains of the royal body.¹⁵

Nothing in Richard's character or conduct before his demise indicated the capability of such a Spartan resolution, as was necessary for a lingering suicide. This idea is therefore the least probable supposition.¹⁶ But he may have been the victim of an harassed mind and broken heart, without either self-destruction or a wilful murder.¹⁷ The royal corpse was removed to the metropolis and exposed to public view,¹⁸ till all doubts of the certainty of his death was removed, and was then buried at Langley.¹⁹ It was afterwards conveyed by Henry V. with great honor and finally interred in Westminster Abbey.²⁰

¹⁴ In this MS. No. 8448, in the French king's library, the account is, that sir Piers d'Exton and seven other assassins entered to kill him ; that Richard, pushing down the table, darted into the midst of them, and snatching a battle-axe from one, laid four of them dead at his feet, when Exton felled him with a blow on the back of his head, and as he was crying to God for mercy, with another stroke dispatched him. See the notice of this MS. by M. Gaillard, in the Notice des MSS. du Roi. But I must remark generally of the narrative of this MS. that it is half a romance, and cannot be implicitly relied upon. Fabian and Hollinshed mention this story.

¹⁵ When the tomb of Richard, in Westminster Abbey, was accidentally laid open, Mr. King was present at the time the skull was examined, and saw no marks upon it of such blows or wounds. See Archaeol. v. 6. p. 316.

¹⁶ Hardyng, a contemporary, merely mentions, ' men sayde for hungered he was.' p. 357.

¹⁷ The lines of Gower in his MS. Chronica, Tib. 4, cited by Mr. Webb, Arch. 20. p. 282, favors this notion :

Semper enim plorat ; semper de sorte laborat,
Qua cadit ; et tales meminit periisse sodales.
Solam deposcit mortem, nec vivere possit.
Amplius est ; et ita moriens sua pauper sopita.

¹⁸ Otterbourne, a contemporary, says, that so much of Richard's face was uncovered as would allow him to be recognised from the lower part of the forehead to the throat, p. 229. Froissart mentions, that above 20,000 persons came to see the king, who lay in the litter, his head on a black cushion, and his face uncovered, v. 12. p. 190. Hardyng was one of the spectators, ' In herse real, his corse lay there I see,' as in the Lansdown MS. of his Chronicle, cited by Mr. Amyot. Arch. 20. p. 430.

¹⁹ Wals. Hist. 405. Hard. 357.

²⁰ The character of Richard as drawn in the MS. contemporary

Robert, King of Scotland, declaring war against the English government, Henry, who had commanded all the clergy in the north, except the mendicant orders, to shew themselves in arms before their bishops and the appointed commissioners, by the next Ascension day after midsummer, led a strong army into Scotland; but the Scots withdrawing to their mountains and caves, the king was compelled to return without any opportunity of distinguishing himself.²¹ In a subsequent year, the Scots attempted an invasion under their brave earl Douglas, which the earl of Northumberland and his gallant son Hotspur confronted at Hamildon Hill. The flower of the Scottish chivalry was taken or destroyed, and its celebrated leader became the captive of the Percys.²²

CHAP.
IX.

REIGN OF
HENRY IV.

Henry's
wars with
Scotland.
1400.
1402.

Scots de-
feated at
Hamildon
Hill.
Sept. 14,
1402.

chronicle is worth preserving: 'He was of the common size, yellowish hair, his face fair and rosy, rather round than long, and sometimes diseased; brief and rather stammering in his speech. In manners unsettled, and too apt to prefer young friends to the advice of his elder nobles. He was prodigal in his gifts, and extravagantly splendid in his dress and banquets, but timid as to war; very passionate towards his domestics, arrogant and too much devoted to voluptuous luxury. So fond of late hours, that he would sometimes sit up all night drinking. Heavily taxing his people, scarcely any year passed in which he did not get grants of fifteenths, which were consumed as soon as they reached his treasury. Yet there were many laudable features in his character: he loved religion and the clergy; he encouraged architecture; he built Westminster almost entirely, and the Carthusian monastery near Coventry, and the Dominican at Langley.' MS. Bib. Sloan. 1776.

²¹ Wals. Sl. MS. 1776. Wals. printed Hist. 405. Rymer has published the summons of Henry to Robert to do homage, v. 8. p. 156. It traces the origin of his claims from the fabled Brutus.

²² Wals. 407, 408.—Rymer has printed the prohibition to the earl of Northumberland to dispose of his Scotch prisoners, dated 22 Sept. 1402, vol. 8. p. 258. On the 22d Oct. Northumberland brought some of them to the king at Westminster. The Parliament Rolls mention the Stewart, son and heir of the duke of Albany; the king of Scotland's brother; three other Scotsmen, and three French. Plac. Parl. 487. But Douglas was not among them. Their reception is thus described: 'They were led by the earl of Northumberland and several lords, and other Englishmen, before our lord the king in his palace of Westminster, and knelt three times to his royal person; first, at the entrance of the Whitehall in the said palace; secondly, in the middle of the same hall; and thirdly, before

BOOK
II.SIGN OF
HENRY IV.
—
Owen
Glendower's
insurrec-
tion,
401.

A more vexatious warfare began in Wales, under Owen Glendower. Educated at Westminster, he had been Henry's shield bearer,²³ and wished to accompany the king on his Scottish expedition. The official letters to require his attendance were accordingly prepared and entrusted to Lord Grey de Ruthvyn, who had lands in his vicinity, to deliver; this nobleman is accused of having purposely delayed their presentation to Glendower till it was impossible for him to join the king, that he might offend his sovereign and incur the legal penalties for his disobedience. Grey declared that Owen had wilfully refused to attend, and obtained a grant of his lands: in revenge for this treachery, the provoked Welshman ravaged the possessions of his deceiver. Returning from Scotland, Henry marched into Wales, to seize and punish Owen; but the Welshman abandoning the plains and taking refuge in the mountains, want of food obliged Henry to retire. Again and again the king repeated the invasion, with the same result. Fatigue, hunger, thirst and cold, weakened and distressed his army, and Owen Glendower remained unsubdued till he became terrible for his excursions, his ravages, and his impunity;²⁴ and he was so much beloved by his countrymen, that they preferred death

the king near his royal seat. The steward requested Henry to treat them honorably and graciously. He told them that they were welcome; but reminded them, that their white words and fair promises had occasioned him to retire from Scotland, which he would not have done so lightly if he had known them better. One of the captives then humbly prayed him, that it would please his benignity to give him grace and pardon for what he had grieved him. The king assured the steward that he should not be troubled nor 'pensifs' for what had happened, because he was taken in the field like a valiant knight. They were afterwards led into the painted chamber, where they were ordered to remain to eat with the king.' Plac. Parl. 487.

²³ Wals. Hist. 405.²⁴ Wals. Sl. MS. 1776.

to betraying him.²⁵ The French sent him some occasional supplies;²⁶ and whenever the king withdrew from his ineffectual invasions, he emerged to new successes, new devastations, and increased popularity. In one excursion, as he approached Herefordshire, the earl Mortimer, the nobleman whose title to the throne preceded Henry's, led out its militia to repel him; but was betrayed, beaten, and taken prisoner. Owen's talents and activity, the defensible means of the mountainous parts of Wales, the internal disturbances of England, and Henry's personal disquietudes, combined to give Glendower so many advantages, and to continue his triumphant ravages so long, that it became the popular belief that he was aided by the powers of magic.²⁷ The real demon that assisted him besides the natural impediments of the country, was the spirit of civil turbulence and proud disaffection which now agitated England.²⁸ The king found that the best policy was to keep a

²⁵ Henry beheaded a Welsh gentleman who had let Owen escape, and who declared before his death that Glendower had been his master, and he would rather be executed than discover Owen's counsel. Sl. MS. 1776.

²⁶ Monst. 1. p. 87. 103. Rym. 8. p. 172. On 14th July 1404, a league was signed between him and the king of France, ib. p. 365.

²⁷ Wals. 406, 407.—Hardyng, who lived at the time, gives us the general impression and his own:—

The kyng had never but tempest foule and raïne,
As long as he was ay in Wales groundes;
Rockes and mystes, windes and stormes certaine.
All men trowed that *witches* it made that stounde.

Chron. p. 360.

²⁸ The king having experienced bad weather in Wales, it was believed that the rain, snow and hail, by which his army suffered, had been raised by Glendower, with the aid of the devil. One incident fixed the opinion of many: Henry had pitched his tents in a very pleasant meadow, and was sleeping quietly, when a sudden hurricane and furious rain threw down his tent, and whirled his lance against him, striking the armor he wore. This seemed so like an aim from an invisible hand, that the agency of demons was not doubted, tho a little farther exertion of reasoning might have suggested, that supernatural power would not have struck so ineffectively. Some of their enemies had the art to involve the minor friars in the suspicion of joining the demoniacal confederacy. Wals. 407.

BOOK
II.REIGN OF
HENRY IV.Grecian
Emperor
in England.His dif-
ferences
with the
Percys

strong force on the borders to watch and coerce him.²⁰ This was raised and stationed, and the command of it given to his son Henry; ²⁰ who performed his duty with intelligence and activity.²¹

It was a national gratification to see Manuel Paleologus, the emperor of Constantinople, in London. He came thither from Paris to solicit aid from the English government against the Turks: Henry shewed him all the civilities of knightly tournaments and public festivities, and added many personal presents; but declined the military supplies which he earnestly solicited.²² Yet his visit may have contributed to the project which both the king and his son entertained, of heading an expedition to Palestine against its Mahomedan possessors.

To be indebted to a subject for the crown, is to incur an obligation which gratitude can never return, and for which no requital will be deemed adequate. The sovereign, dissatisfied with the remembrance of a debt so unextinguishable, and jealous of the power that conferred it, will be always measuring the respect, misconceiving the conduct, suspecting the intentions, and dreading the versatility, of his benefactor. The subject, disproportionately elevated in his self-opinion by an evidence so fatal of his own importance and influence, which few could temperately bear, will be unreasonable in his expectations of requital, irritable at every appearance of indifference, and indignant at the first breath of hesitation to grant the favors which he chooses to ask, however improper or inconvenient. Solicitation from

²⁰ Wals. Sl. MS.²¹ The patent appointing prince Henry the lieutenant of Wales, is dated 7 March 1403. Rym. 8. p. 291.²² Rym. 8. p. 382.²³ Wals. Hist. 405. and MS. Sl.

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IX.REIGN OF
HENRY IV.

such an individual, is demand. The delay or refusal of the concession, will be thought insult and wrong. Hence, Northumberland and his family could not avoid seeming presumptuous, intruding, insatiable, and dangerous to Henry; while he would be always supposed by them to be more or less ungrateful, envious, treacherous, and malignant. The recollection of the deceit which Northumberland practised to Richard, would also preclude all confidence in his future demeanor, however specious or even truly honorable. Such fair semblance had he borne to his former master, when he was practising to betray him. What could give his new lord assurance against his future instability, or distinguish his allegiance from his hypocrisy? Impossible! Vice must submit to be suspected, and expect to be sacrificed by its companions in iniquity.

It is to these general causes of mutual dissatisfaction between parties so situated, that we must look for the origin of the warfare between the Percys and the throne; for the chroniclers have not discovered or detailed the beginning incidents. The king had not been a niggard in his favors to them. He made the head of the house, and his son, the lords of the northern marches, and his brother the governor of the prince of Wales. This nobleman, the earl of Worcester, whom both Richard and his father had much employed, and honored, and titled, having deserted his sovereign for Henry, now exhibited himself as abandoning the king he had assisted to raise, and who had rewarded him for his support.³⁹ He is

Battle of
Shrews-
bury,
1403.

³⁹ Henry 'bestowed many high appointments upon him; made him ambassador to France; governor of Aquitaine; admiral of the fleet; lieutenant of North and South Wales; and retained him as governor to his eldest son.' Rym. Froiss. Webb, p. 15.

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II.REIGN OF
HENRY IV.

charged with having incited his nephew, the famous Hotspur, to rebel.²⁴ In this young noble's mind, proud of the undeviating favors of fortune, animated by its own love of enterprise and gallant daring, too sensible of its own merit, stimulated to ambition by deserved popularity,²⁵ and constitutionally warm and excitable, it was not difficult for a respected kinsman to rouse irritability and disaffection. He had been also one of those sent against Glendower: but he found the mountainous district to which the Welshman retired so defensible, that he thought a peaceful arrangement with him wiser than a useless warfare. This termination dissatisfied some of Henry's counsellors, and their representations soured the royal mind. Hotspur's irritable pride was offended by his cool reception and by the breath of censure, where he had expected applause. His Scottish prisoners were demanded; he refused to bring them to the king, and was offended that

²⁴ Walsingham calls him 'inventor, ut dicetur, totius mali.' p. 360. Worcester's life exhibits the activity and variety of occupations by which noblemen of talent in that day were so often distinguished. Beginning his career as sir Thomas Percy, he had served under the Black Prince in Aquitaine. He defended Poitiers unsuccessfully against the celebrated Du Guesclin, and was taken prisoner by the enterprising Evan of Wales near Senbric. He was soon ransomed in exchange for a castle, and had an annuity of 100 marcs settled on him by the Black Prince and his father. Under Richard II. he was made admiral of the north seas, and the joint governor of Brest. He was appointed one of the king's counsel, and to negotiate with Flanders and France, and to guard the East marches there. He attended the duke of Lancaster to Spain, and fought valiantly in several conflicts there. In 13 Richard II. he was vice-chamberlain of the royal household, and justice of South Wales. Three years afterwards, he was steward of the household, and at the head of the embassy for the peace with France. In 21 Richard II. he was captain of Calais, and was created earl of Worcester. Next year he was made admiral of Ireland. Mr. Webb's note in *Archaeol.* v. 20. p. 13. details the authorities for these dignities; after which, he forsook his confiding and liberal patron.

²⁵ Walsingham says, that in him 'spes erat reposita totius populi.' p. 409. Hardyng gives their written defiance sent to the king, p. 352; and Hall states their proclamation in English, p. 29.

Henry would not ransom Mortimer, whose defeat and subsequent marriage with Owen's daughter had raised the king's suspicions of his good faith.³⁶ The family united in a determination to rebel. Douglas joined them. They spread assertions that Richard was alive.³⁷ Their public papers were as empty, and probably as false,³⁸ as such productions usually were; and they seem to have produced no general sympathy. Hotspur now resolved to raise Mortimer, his wife's brother, to the crown.³⁹ But the country appears to have considered it more as a personal quarrel between two great families, than as a national concern; for the force with which the king went down to the battle at Shrewsbury, where Hotspur met him, and chose to fight, before his father, detained by sickness, had joined him, was but 14,000 men;⁴⁰ and Hotspur, who had now allied with Douglas, had as many. They are described by Hardyng as "9,000 knyghtes, squyers and chosen yomanry, and archers fyne, withouten raskaldry."⁴¹ The king sent the abbot of Shrewsbury with offers of pardon and peace. By the

³⁶ Sl. MS. 1776. Hardyng, who was with the Percys, states,
But sir Henry his sonne ther would not bryng
His prisoners in no wise to the kyng.
But the kyng he prayed for Mortimer,
That raunsomed might he been with his frendes so.
He saied hym nay, for he was taken prisoner
By his consent and treson to his foo.—Chron. p. 360.

³⁷ Wals. 410.

³⁸ Ib. 409. Northumberland and his son went to Paris to solicit aid against Henry, but the French king refused to interfere. 1 Monst. 264.

³⁹ 'He purpaid had Mortimer his coronement.'—Hard. 361.

⁴⁰ Wals. 410.

⁴¹ With Percy was the erle of Worcester,
With nyne thousande of gentyls all that wer,
Of knyghtes, squyers, and chosen yomanry,
And archers fyne *withouten raskaldry*.

Ellis's Hardyng, Pref. iii.

Otterburne states that Hotspur had 14,000 choice troops. p. 239.

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persuasion of Worcester, they were rejected,⁴² and the battle ensued. At their first attack, Henry's van was defeated, which kept the second division from advancing. Hotspur chose his ground so, that the king's troops had to charge over a field of peas, which he had tied and interwoven. But they resolutely persevered. The bowmen on both sides were vigorous and expert, and the discharges of their arrows were destructive to each party. Hotspur and Douglas directed their attack solely at the person of the king. The earl of Dunbar perceiving their object, withdrew the king from his endangered station. Their charge was so irresistible, that the king's standard was thrown down, and the bearer, and the earl of Stafford, and sir Walter Blunt, destroyed. The king made great exertions. He is stated to have slain with his own hand, thirty-six men at arms; but he was thrice unhorsed by Douglas. The prince of Wales, for the first time in a field of pitched battle, displayed a courage which checked the unfavorable opinions that had been formed of him, and was wounded in the face by an arrow. In the middle of the greatest fury of the conflict, Hotspur fell while piercing too eagerly and too adventurously into one of the royal battalions. His friends believing that he had slain his sovereign, were shouting, "Henry Percy, kinge!" But as his death became known, his adherents began to break and fly. The king triumphed in every part; and Douglas, Worcester, sir Richard Vernon, and others, were taken prisoners.⁴³ Few

⁴² Walsingham's statement is, that Henry was willing to have treated with his adversaries before the engagement, and in a conference with Worcester had even humbled himself to submit to unfavorable terms; but that the earl wilfully misrepresented his expressions to Hotspur. Wals. p. 368.

⁴³ Otterburne, 239. Wals. 411. 1 Monst. p. 48.

battles had been fiercer or more decisive. It secured to Henry his crown. Sometime afterwards, the archbishop of York, a relation of the Percys, attempted another insurrection, but it was soon repressed;⁴⁴ and when the earl of Northumberland, at a later period, endeavored to revive the struggle, he was easily defeated,⁴⁵ and Henry reigned till his death without being disturbed by any other competitor.

A lingering quarrel, mutual bickering, and occasional warfare, marked the transactions between Henry and France. Many efforts were made to establish a truce for twenty-eight years;⁴⁶ and at times the English demanded the yet unpaid arrears of the ransom of king John, whom the Black Prince had taken.⁴⁷ In 1402, the duke of Orleans sent his challenge to Henry for a personal combat,⁴⁸ which the English sovereign, with a due regard to his own dignity, to the national welfare, and to its unbecoming example, and with a manly disregard of the censure of the fighting part of the social community, had the good sense to refuse.⁴⁹ The two French factions took

⁴⁴ Wals. 416. Hard. 362. See his published articles of complaint, and the incidents ending in his execution; in Wharton, *Anglia Sac.* 12. p. 362-372.

⁴⁵ Wals. 419.—His head, venerable for its silver hairs, was brought to London and placed on the bridge. 'The common people lamented his misfortune not a little, recollecting his magnificence, fame and glory.' Wals. *ib.*

⁴⁶ Rymer, v. 8. p. 98, 124, 186, 275, 405.

⁴⁷ Rymer, p. 230, 267, &c.

⁴⁸ See it in Monstrelet, 1. p. 55. Orleans mentions his motives to be because he considered 'idleness as the bane of lords of high birth,' and because he could 'no better way seek renown.'—He requires that no incantations be employed, that they should use lance, battle-axe, sword and dagger, as they should think fit, but not to aid themselves 'by any bodkins, hooks, bearded darts, poisoned needles, or razors, as may be done, unless ordered to the contrary.' *ib.* p. 56.

⁴⁹ Monstrelet gives Henry's answer, dated 5 Dec. 58-61; and the second letter of Orleans, 26 March 1403, containing angry charges, 67-72; to which the king sent a long reply, 73-83; and 25 Feb. 1404, wrote to Charles VI. on the subject. Rym. 8. p. 348.

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arms against him. Orleans made a vexatious irruption on the English possessions in Guienne, and Burgundy began incursions towards Calais,⁵⁰ while the count of St. Pol attempted an invasion of the Isle of Wight.⁵¹ Henry complained to his parliament that his enemies were beginning to make war upon him,⁵² and sent a naval expedition against Sluys;⁵³ and another fleet maintained an action at sea with the French near Aquitain.⁵⁴

Petty truces for a year were made;⁵⁵ but money was given by the French government to the ambassadors of Scotland, to enable that country to harass England,⁵⁶ and small bodies of French were also landed in Wales, to keep up the fever of revolt in that country. A bitter warfare of the predatory kind was kept up at sea, but with no other result than to injure the merchants of each country;⁵⁷ and England was called upon to arm itself, as the French meditated an invasion.⁵⁸ Treaties of amity and of matrimonial alliance were again negociated.⁵⁹ But in January 1410, the hostile prospect was so menacing, that the chancellor's speech declared that it was probable that war would take place with France.⁶⁰

When the mutual hatred between the families of Orleans and Burgundy had become, from the crimes of each, inveterate and irreconcilable, both endeavored to procure military aids from the English government. The Orleans faction offered the entire restitution of Guienne,⁶¹ and Burgundy entered into

⁵⁰ Rym. 8. p. 336. Monst. 118, 126, 167.

⁵¹ Rym. 342. Monst. 114. This count also sent a personal challenge to Henry. Monst. 84.

⁵² In Oct. 1404. Parl. Rolls, v. 3. p. 545.

⁵³ Monst. 134.

⁵⁴ Ibid. 168.

⁵⁵ Ib. Rym.

⁵⁶ Monst.

⁵⁷ 2 Monst. 118.

⁵⁸ Rym. 8. 374, 402.

⁵⁹ Rym.

⁶⁰ Parl. Rolls, 3. p. 627.

⁶¹ Their commission is in Rymer, 8. p. 716; and see Monst. 3. p. 13, 39.

negotiations for the marriage of his daughter with prince Henry.⁶²

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The king issued a proclamation, forbidding his subjects to engage on either side,⁶³ but afterwards began to prepare to lead, himself, an expedition to Guienne, to take possession of the places which the Orleanists had offered.⁶⁴ On 18th May 1412, he signed a treaty with this party, by which the princes warring with their sovereign engaged to give up to Henry about 1500 towers and castles in Guienne, and to assist him in conquering the rest; for which he was to supply them with 1000 men at arms, and 3000 archers at their expense.⁶⁵

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Henry sent to the Flemings to inquire if they meant to join the duke of Burgundy against him during his absence in Aquitain;⁶⁶ and England now began a serious interference in the French dissensions.

Burgundy finding the king engaging the English government to support his political antagonists, had interested the prince of Wales to give him succors, by which he obtained some advantages;⁶⁷ but finding Henry about to support his adversaries, he made a temporary reconciliation with them.⁶⁸ The king of England, ignorant of this unexpected change, sent

⁶² The diplomatic powers issued for this object are in Rymer, p. 698, 721; and see Monst. 3. p. 9.

⁶³ See it in Rymer, p. 728, dated 10 April 1412. Monst. 3. p. 27.

⁶⁴ Various orders respecting their voyage in April and May 1412, are in Rymer, p. 730, 733, &c.

⁶⁵ See it in Rymer, 747. The king ratified it on 15 July, p. 763.

⁶⁶ His letter to them is in Rymer, p. 737.

⁶⁷ I derive this new and important fact from Wals. Sl. MS. 1776, who thus states it: 'Dux Burgundiæ destinavit Domino Henrico Principi Anglie, pro auxilio resistendi duci Aureliensi, qui sibi in ejus succursum destinavit comitem Arundell; Johannem Oldecastell, Dom. de Cobham; D. Gilbertum Umfravelt, Dom. de Kyme, et cum eis magnum exercitum, cujus fortitudine apud Senlow juxta Parisiam fuerat dux Aureliensis victus et a campo fugatur.' MS. ib.

⁶⁸ Monst. 3. p. 65-73.

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his second son, the duke of Clarence, in a fleet with 8000 men.⁶⁹ The duke anchored off La Hogue, disembarked his forces, and entered France. His presence was now as unwelcome as it had been earnestly solicited. The French lords renounced all confederations with England;⁷⁰ and while the English kept advancing into Maine and Touraine, the king of France issued his official proclamations, that all who could bear arms should assemble at Chartres to drive the invaders from the country.⁷¹ Henry made a diversion of 2000 men from Calais into the Boulonnois, but Clarence agreed to withdraw, on being paid the stipulated sum for the expense of the expedition;⁷² as this was not ready, he proceeded to Bourdeaux, plundering and destroying the country; at last, on receiving hostages for the payment, he retired to Guienne.⁷³

He supports the
papal hierarchy.

The chief domestic feature of Henry's reign, and the most disgraceful one, and to his family the most calamitous, was the deadly persecution of the new religious opinions which he chose to sanction and enforce. His father had been the great defender of Wickliffe; but so were many of the courtiers of Richard;⁷⁴ and Henry himself had favored some of his opinions.⁷⁵ Henry was base enough to bargain with the ecclesiastical power for its support, by promising a suppression of the Lollards. Richard had been urged by the hierarchy to perform this

⁶⁹ Wals. Sl. MS. Wals. Hist. 425. Monst. 79.

⁷⁰ Monst. 3. p. 81.

⁷¹ Monst. 88.

⁷² Monst. 91-3. The money demanded was 200,000 crowns.

⁷³ Wals. Sl. MS. and Monst. 93.

⁷⁴ Particularly the earl of Salisbury, whom Walsingham calls '*Lollardorum fautor in tota vita; et imaginum vilipensor; contemptor canonum; sacramentorum que derisor.*' 404.

⁷⁵ An abbot of Westminster had heard Henry, when earl of Derby, say, that princes had too little, and the religious too much. Hall, p. 16.

fatal office, but had been visibly reluctant, and had delayed to pursue it. The clergy found a willing instrument in Henry Bolingbroke, and their sacerdotal chief had, as already narrated, not only invited but supported his movements against Richard.⁷⁶ Henry was scarcely seated on the throne, before he made his public requital of their services. He sent the earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland, as his commissioners, to the clergy assembled in convocation, to state, that they did not visit them, as under preceding reigns, to exact money, but to beg their prayers, and to certify that the king would sustain all the liberties of the church, and destroy as far as he could all heresies, errors and heretics.⁷⁷ In performance of this pledge, in his second year was passed that sanguinary act, the first that stains the English statute book on this subject, which orders heretics to be burnt, that their punishment might deter others from forming erroneous opinions “contrary to the catholic faith and the determination of the church.”⁷⁸ An unworthy sacrifice of moral

⁷⁶ See before, pp. 323. 328. 12 Froiss. 115.

⁷⁷ See the record of the convocation and its proceedings, printed in Wilkins' Concil. vol. 3. pp. 237-245.

⁷⁸ Stat. 2 Hen. 4. c. 15. This was followed by an order to burn William Sautre, ‘jady's chapeleen heretic.’ It is addressed to the mayor and sheriffs of London, and commands them, ‘Coram populo publice igni committi ac ipsum in eodem igne realiter comburi fac, in hujusmodi criminis detestationem, aliorum que cristianorum exemplum manifestum.’ Plac. Parl. vol. 3. p. 459. And see the proceedings against him in Wilk. Conc. vol. 3. p. 254. To the same parliament the clergy presented a petition, praying that no one should be suffered to preach without the licence of the diocesan; nor teach any thing, nor write any book against the catholic faith or the determination of the church, nor have conventicles or schools of the sect; and that all their books and writings should be delivered up to the diocesan of the place. To this the king returned a full assent, adding his order, That if any were convicted of such opinions, and would not abjure them, that they should be burnt before the people ‘in eminenti loco, ut hujusmodi punitio metum inculcat mentibus aliorum.’ All mayors, sheriffs and bailiffs, were ordered to be assisting the bishop and his commissioners in executing the above directions. Plac. Parl. vol. 3. p. 467. Persecution could not be carried further. Did it avail?

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principle to greatness—to that greatness, which was made very brief with him—briefer to his son, and productive only of misfortune, deposition and death, to the next and last of his race. The retribution is striking. By thus incorporating his dynasty with the corruptions and evils of the Papal hierarchy, he made one of these two alternatives inevitable; either that the improvements of mankind should be intercepted, or that the sovereignty of his house should cease; a mad and desperate stake, which could only have the issue that ensued. The Bolingbrokes disappeared, and the reformation proceeded.⁷⁹

His conduct towards France.

His transactions with France were conducted on the policy of preserving amity with that country. He renewed the truce for twenty-eight years, and proposed a marriage between his son and a French princess. This connexion was eluded. The French court, notwithstanding the truce, encouraged the insurrections against Henry; but he persisted in his pacific plans till he was released from all dread of domestic rebellion; he then retaliated by interfering in the civil disorders that were afflicting France, and sent a force to Normandy to aid the duke of Burgundy against the duke of Orleans.⁸⁰ The most remarkable feature which occurred in one of these expeditions, was the noble and spirited exhibition which its commanders, sir Gilbert Umfreville

⁷⁹ The clergy also petitioned and carried another point from Henry, which his predecessors had so strongly struggled for; this was, that they should not be amenable to any secular judge. *Plac. Parl.* p. 494.

⁸⁰ See the various public papers published on the affairs with France, in Rymer's 8th volume; and see also Walsingham's account of the piratical attempt of some French ships on Plymouth, the Isle of Wight and Dartmouth, in 1403 and 1404, p. 412; and of their actually landing in the next year at Milford Haven from 140 ships, to assist Owen Glendower, p. 418. The armament to Normandy was put under the command of his second son, the duke of Clarence. *Ib.* p. 425. It was sent from the prince's army in Wales.

and sir John Gray, gave to the conflicting French nation, of English humanity and courageous generosity. With the usual ferocity of civil warfare, the duke of Burgundy ordered the prisoners taken from his enemies party to be slain. The English commanders resisted the sanguinary mandate, declared that they would die with their captives rather than see them destroyed, and formed into battle-array to support their noble purpose with their lives, in case their allies should have persisted in its execution. Astonished, but instructed by such magnanimous feelings, the duke abandoned his cruel intentions; and when the English force returned home, sent with them his letters of commendation and thanks.⁸¹

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The support which Henry gave to the established

⁸¹ I quote, with pleasure, the lines of the contemporary versifier, who has not only recorded, but applauded this incident. He says of the duke of Burgundy,

Theim to haue slayn, he comaunded then eche capitayn
His prysoners to kyll then in certeyn.

To whiche Gilbert Vmsfreuile, erle of Kyme,
Aunswered for all his felowes and there men,
They shuld all die together at a tyme,
Ere theyr prysoners so shulde be slayn then ;
And with that toke the felde as folke did ken,
With all theyr men and all theyr prysoners,
To die with them as worship it requyers :

He said they wer not come thyther as bouchers,
To kyll the folke in market or in feire,
Ne them to sell, but as armes requiers
Theim to gouerne without any dispeyre,
As prysoners owe home agayn repeire ;
For fyne paying as lawe of armes wyll
And not on stockes not in market them to kyll.

With whom syr John Graye as his cousyn dere
And all Englyshe with many other of Fraunce
With their prysoners full familier
Batayled in felde with full strong ordinance ;
More like to fight then to make obeysaunce :
And helde the erle of Kyme for theyr cheiftayn
To lyue and dye vnder his baner certayne.

Hardyng's Chron. p. 368.

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of the
Commons
against the
clergy.

hierarchy did not wholly preclude his parliament from attempting to reform it. In his fourth year, the house of commons petitioned that all monks who were French by birth should be expelled from the country; that all priories in the hands of foreigners should be seized; that every benefice should have a perpetual vicar; that all persons advanced to benefices, should be made to reside upon them, and to be hospitable to the poor; and that no one should be allowed to enter or to be received into either of the four orders of friars under the age of twenty-one. To this last request, the king returned a limited assent, that no child under the age of fourteen should be admitted without the consent of his parents.⁸² As these attacks of the commons were obviously but the prelude to others, the chancellor, in his speech to the parliament on the next session, declared that the king had commanded him to state, That it was the royal will that holy church should be maintained as it had been in the times of his progenitors, with all its liberties and franchises; that every kingdom resembled a human body, and that the right side was the church, the left the temporal powers, and the other members the commonalty of the nation.⁸³ The house of commons heard the mandatory rebuke, but immediately addressed the king to remove his confessor, and two others, from his household. Henry submitted to their pleasure, not only to dismiss the obnoxious persons, but even to add, that he would in like manner displace any other individual "about his royal person, if he had incurred the hatred or the

⁸² Plac. Parl. vol. 3 pp. 499-502.⁸³ Ib. p. 522.

indignation of his people.”⁸⁴ He also assured them, that he wished to be as good a king as any of his predecessors had been, as far as he was able ; and he begged them “ not to be abashed from shewing him whatever they thought would be pleasing to God, and honorable and profitable to him and his kingdom ; and that he would very willingly perform it on their good counsel and advice.”⁸⁵ They prayed, that in settling his household, honorable and virtuous persons, and of good reputation, might be appointed and notified to them,⁸⁶ and that no foreigners might be permitted to be there.⁸⁷ The king, anxious for popularity, graciously assented. In the next year the house requested that he should “ live upon his own.” With the same good humor he answered, “ The king thanketh hem of here gode desire, willyng to put it in execution als sone as he wel may.”⁸⁸

The commons renewing their attacks on the clergy, stated to the king, that while the knights of the kingdom exhausted themselves in resisting his enemies, the clergy sat idly at home, and did nothing. The archbishop of Canterbury replied, that the church paid their tenths more frequently than the laity their fifteenths ; that their tenants went with the king to battle ; and that they themselves were day and night saying masses and prayers for his prosperity. The speaker of the commons sneering at their devotions, the prelate knelt before the king and besought him to defend the church : and declared that he would sooner expose his head to the sword, than allow the church to be deprived of the least of its rights.⁸⁹ In 1410,

⁸⁴ Plac. Parl. vol. 3. p. 525.⁸⁵ Ib. p. 525.⁸⁶ Ib. p. 525.⁸⁷ Ib. p. 527.⁸⁸ Ib. p. 549.⁸⁹ Wals. Hist. 414, 415.

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the contest was renewed. A Lollard was burnt;⁹⁰ and the house of commons, as if in retaliation, presented a schedule to the king, shewing, that he might have from the temporal possessions of the bishops, abbots, and priors, that were then uselessly wasted, 15 earls, 1500 knights, and 6200 esquires. The king, adhering to his policy of connecting his dynasty with the existing hierarchy, forbade them to discuss such subjects. On this rebuke, they petitioned that at least the clergy might be subjected to the lay tribunals. This application was refused. They persevered to request, that the statute against the Lollards might be changed or modified; and they were answered, that it ought to be made more severe.⁹¹ But their last application for this alteration experienced a more favorable reception. The king assented to the request, but desired that it might not be taken for an example.⁹² This conduct committed the king and his family with the whole nation on this momentous and deeply interesting subject.

Henry's
alarms,
character,
and death.

That Henry's personal enjoyment of his greatness was embittered by much danger, alarm, and inquietude, was a natural consequence of its forcible origin.⁹³ A throne is rarely the seat of happiness. Peculiar personal qualities, and great serenity in the political atmosphere, the most variable of all things,

⁹⁰ Wals. 421.

⁹¹ Wals. 422.

⁹² Plac. Parl. p. 623.

⁹³ Otterbourne describes a three-pointed instrument, which the king found so placed in his bed, that if he had thrown himself upon it as usual, the weapon would have pierced him. p. 232.—Hardyng thus alludes to his personal dangers :—

O very God, what torment had this kyng!
To remember in bryef and shorte entent,
Some in his sherte put oft tyme venemyng,
And some in meate and drinke great poysonment;
Some in his hose, by great ymagement,
Some in bed straw, yrons sharpe ground well and whet,
Enuenemed sore to slee him if he had on them set.

are requisite to give felicity to a crown. If Henry had succeeded in the regular line of inheritance, he was formed to have enjoyed a reign as popular and as prosperous as either of his two first namesakes; but there was an unsoundness in the principle of his greatness, which made its continuance precarious, and its enjoyment embittered. He was altogether a superior man. In person he was of the middle stature, but well proportioned and compact, and very active.⁹⁴ His courage was great; and he had shewn the enterprising activity of his mind by his youthful campaign in Prussia.⁹⁵ We may infer his literary taste, from his inviting to England the celebrated French lady and memoir-writer Christine de Pisan.⁹⁶ His courage and decision of mind were displayed, not only in his landing to depose Richard, but in the celerity and effect of his movements against Hotspur.⁹⁷

Some made for him diuers enchauntments,
To waste hym oute and vtterly destroye;
And some gave hym batayle full felonement
In felde within his realme, hym for to noye;
And on themselves the hurte and all the annoye
Ay fell at ende, that honged were and heded
As traytours ought to bene in every stede.

Hardyng's Chron. 370.

⁹⁴ Hall. Ch. 45.

⁹⁵ Wals. 377.—It was 1390, that he made this chivalrous adventure into Prussia. He joined the forces that were attacking the pagan king of Lithuania, and distinguished himself in the battles in that country. Wals. 377. He is mentioned to have travelled also to Palestine and Egypt. Froiss. v. 12. p. 57. He was desirous to have gone with the knights and archers when the counts of Hainault and Ostrevant were engaging in England for their war in Friesland, but his father procured the king's prohibition of the enterprize. Ib. v. 11. p. 256. After his banishment, he endeavored to accompany the French army that was proceeding under marshal Boucicaut into a campaign in Hungary, but was prevented. Ib. 12. p. 83-87.

⁹⁶ Mem. de Christ. de Pisan, p. 95.

⁹⁷ He was of great service to James, the son of Robert the king of Scotland. This prince at the age of nine had been sent by his father to France, for safety and education. He was taken near Holderness, on his passage, and was detained in England eighteen years; but as Hall describes it, was so instructed and taught by his schoolmasters and pedagogues, appointed to him by the sole clemency of Henry IV. that he not only

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He was meditating a crusade, and had ordered galleys and other preparations to be made for it,⁹⁸ when death surprised him, at an age that is to many but the season of vigorous manhood. He was subject to epileptic fits, and had been attacked by one after his return from Scotland, in which he lay as dead for several hours. They returned in 1413, amid his Christmas festivities at Eltham.⁹⁹ He recovered enough to continue them; but some years before, a disease in the lower part of his face, which was then called a leprosy,¹⁰⁰ had attacked him, and it became so severe as he was about to open his parliament, that instead of attending personally, he commissioned his chancellor, the bishop of Winchester, to meet it. It was in this illness that the scene is placed between him and his son, who had taken his crown from his bedside—which our Shakspeare has so interestingly depicted. The simpler detail is given by the contemporary French historian Monstrelet.¹⁰¹ That the

flourished in good learning and fresh literature, but also excelled in all points of martial feats, musical instruments, poetical art, and liberal sciences, insomuch that at his return from captivity, he furnished his realm with both good learning and civil policy, which before was barbarous, savage, rude, and without all good nurture. Chron. p. 39. This was James I. celebrated for his poems.

⁹⁸ Fabian, 388.

⁹⁹ Otterbourne, 263, 272. Wals. 426.

¹⁰⁰ Walsingham in his MS. history says, that in his sixth year he was struck in the face, below the nose, with the infirmity of a detestable leprosy, of which he could never afterwards be cured. MS. Wals. 1776.

¹⁰¹ The king's attendant not perceiving him to breathe, concluded he was dead, and covered his face with a cloth. The crown was then upon a cushion near the bed. The prince, believing his father's death, took away the crown. Shortly after the king uttered a groan, and revived, and, missing his crown, sent for his son, and asked why he had removed it. The prince mentioned his supposition that his father had died. The king gave a deep sigh, and said, 'My faire son, what right have you to it? you knew I had none.' 'My lord,' replied Henry, 'as you have held it by right of your sword, it is my intent to hold and defend it the same during my life.' The king answered, 'Well, all as you see best; I leave all things to God, and pray that He would have mercy upon me.'—Shortly after, without uttering another word, he expired. v. 3. p. 137–139. Monstrelet is a good authority.

chamber incident occurred, must depend on his authority. Our preceding historians seem to have known no other; but I have met with a passage in a MS. work, hitherto unprinted and unnoticed, of the contemporary chronicler Walsingham, which affects the memory of the prince on this subject with a darker charge; even with a deliberate purpose, publicly attempted to be executed, of dethroning his diseased father. The words of Walsingham, after mentioning the king's being disabled from opening the sessions by his disease, are, "In this parliament, prince Henry desired the resignation from his father of his kingdom and crown, because his father, by reason of his malady, could not labor any longer for the honor and advantage of the kingdom. But the king expressly refused to assent to it, and resolved to govern the nation with its crown and appurtenances while the vital spirit remained in him. On this declaration, the enraged prince withdrew with his counsellors; and afterwards, in the greatest part of England, associated all the nobles to his dominion in homage, and in his pay."¹⁰²

The king's subsequent death prevented the final explosion of this unfilial conduct, which, as thus

¹⁰² As this fact was not known to former historians, and is only mentioned in the Sloane MS. I will add the original words concerning this parliament, from the unpublished MS.—'In quo parlamento, Henricus princeps desideravit a patre suo regni et coronæ resignationem; eo quod pater, ratione egritudinis, non potuit circa honorem et utilitatem regni ulterius laborare. Sed sibi in hoc noluit penitus assentire; ymmo regnum, una cum corona et pertinenciis, dummodo hereret spiritus vitalis, voluit gubernare. Unde princeps quodam modo cum suis consiliariis aggravatus recessit; et posterius quasi pro majori parte Angliæ, omnes procures suo dominio in homagio et stipendio copulavit.' MS. Ib. This strange request has been omitted from the Parliamentary Record, but the account of the alteration of the coin, which follows in this MS. is noticed in the Rolls, p. 658, which also states Beaufort's opening the Parliament on 3d Nov. 1411.

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stated, deserves the denomination of an unnatural rebellion; and shews that the dissolute companion of Falstaff was not the gay and thoughtless youth which his dramatic personification exhibits to us; but that amid his vicious gaities he could cherish feelings, which too much resemble the unprincipled ambition of a Catilinarian temper.

The last two years of this king's reign, probably from the disabling effects of his disease, seem to have been disturbed by measures that resemble those used to assist the weakness of an Henry VI. The general historians do not mention or elucidate them, and we know them only from the imperfect and unexplaining intimations on the parliament rolls. From these it appears, that in March 1410, the house of commons, soon after their meeting, called upon the king to appoint a council of valiant, wise and discreet lords, in aid and support of the good and substantial governance and welfare.¹⁰³ This strange innovation on the royal authority, and visible imputation of some incapacity or misconduct, was not allowed to be ineffective; for in the following May they petitioned him to know the lords who would be of his *continual* council to execute this ordinance. The king told them that certain peers whom he had chosen, had excused themselves, but that the others were, the prince, and the six persons whom he named.¹⁰⁴ The prince immediately desired that they might all be excused, unless their necessary expenses were supplied. The council, thus nominated, were sworn

¹⁰³ Parl. Plac. v. 3. p. 623.

¹⁰⁴ Ib. 632. The lords, besides the prince, were the three bishops of Winchester, Durham and Bath, and the earls Arundell and Westmoreland, and the lord Burnell.

to govern and acquit themselves well and loyally according to what the commons had established.¹⁰⁵

In the ensuing parliament, in November, the speaker, in the name of the house, asked the king to thank the prince and lords for their great labors and diligence, as the commons thought they had done their duty. The prince, kneeling with the other peers, asserted that they had executed their charge according to their sense and knowlege.¹⁰⁶ The king thanked them very graciously, but the next month sent his chancellor to request their re-consideration of this subject. The speaker, in their names, desired to know his pleasure about it, and he told them he wished to have and keep his liberty and prerogative as entire in all points as any of his predecessors had done. The speaker assented to this, and the king then thanked them and repeated his declaration, that he wished to be, and stand in as great freedom, prerogative and franchise as any of his predecessors had been; and therefore in full parliament he annulled the said article, and all the circumstances and dependencies upon it in every point.¹⁰⁷

That some compulsion displeasing to him, had been put upon the king by the extraordinary measure thus annulled, may be inferred from the petition which the lords and commons on the same day presented to him, praying him to declare and acknowlege their fidelity and loyalty.¹⁰⁸ These proceedings, combined

¹⁰⁵ Parl. Plac. v. 3. p. 632. These proceedings seem to have some connection with the incident mentioned in the Sloane MS.

¹⁰⁶ *Ib.* p. 648.

¹⁰⁷ *Ib.* 658.

¹⁰⁸ It was in French, to this purport: 'As there has been a great murmur among your people, that you have had in your heart a heavy load against some of your lieges come to this present parliament, and at your last; may it please your royal majesty of your nobleness and uprightness, for the comfort and rejoicing of your petitioners, to declare your noble intentions in this present parliament, that you have held and reputed all

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II.REIGN OF
HENRY IV.

with the prince's requisition of his father's resignation, and sending troops to France to aid Burgundy, while the king was making a treaty with Orleans, tend to shew, that Henry's jealousy of his son was more than an unwarrantable suspicion, and that the prince's irregularities were not merely the delinquencies of juvenile conviviality. But as Henry had by violence dispossessed his own sovereign of the crown, he gave a precedent to the ambition of others, from which he was always in danger of suffering himself. He expired in the leprous affection,¹⁰⁹ in the fourteenth year of his reign, having, probably from his resolution of supporting the persecutions of the hierarchy, outlived the popularity with which he had commenced it.¹¹⁰

the estates and every one of your parliament for your faithful and loyal lieges and subjects, as those who have been, and are, and will be, all your said liege's faithful and humble subjects.' It is added, 'This petition the king in his especial grace granted and conceded in full parliament, which was then dissolved.' Parl. Plac. 658.

¹⁰⁹ Mezeray intimates that he died of a leprosy. The truth is probably implied in the soliloquy which Hardyng puts into his mouth:—

Lorde I thank the with all my herte,
With all my soule and my spirytes clere,
This wormes mete, this caryon full vnquerte,
That some tyme thought in worlde it had no pere,
This face so foule that leprous doth apere,
That here afore I haue had suche a pryde
To purtraye ofte in many place full wyde.

Chron. p. 370.

¹¹⁰ So Hardyng, who lived in his reign, expresses:—

Of whome the realme great ioye at first had ay,
But afterwarde they loued not his araye:
At his begynnyng full hye he was commende
With comons then, and also lytell at the ende.

Chron. p. 371.

He was buried at Canterbury. His last marriage was to Joan, the duchess dowager of Bretagne, and sister to the king of Navarre. Monst. 1. p. 42. She survived him.

CHAP. X.

*History of the Reign of HENRY V. or, Henry of Monmouth,
to the Battle of Agincourt.*

1413—1415.

*His Character.—War with France.—Siege of Harfleur.—And
March to the Battle of Agincourt.*

WITH the traditional irregularities of the youth of Henry V. we are early familiarized by the magical pen of Shakspeare; never more fascinating, than in portraying the associates and frolics of this illustrious prince. But the personifications of the poet must not be expected to be found in the chroniclers, who have annalised this reign. It is a Froissart who dramatises and paints with living descriptions and characteristic anecdotes; not a rhetorical Elmham, or a modern Titus Livius, profaning an immortal name;¹ nor a barren Otterburn; nor a Hardyng, versifying meagre facts, without either spirit or detail; nor a Walsingham, capable of better things, but too zealous for the destruction of the Lollards, to detail the faults of a king, who degraded and endangered his reign, by

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X.

¹ Thomas of Elmham was prior of Lenton, and Titus Livius an Italian, who in a grant is called the 'Orator of Humphrey duke of Gloucester,' Rym. v. 10. Both have written the reign of Henry V.; both have nearly the same facts, and in the same order; but their composition is very different. Livius presents a plain and perspicuous statement, rather homely; Elmham a pompous and verbose amplification of the same incidents, more suitable to the taste of Persia than of England. Otterburn's Chronicle is not above the level of the commonest monkish annalist. Hearne has published all three authors. The text speaks of Walsingham's printed work.

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II.REIGN OF
HENRY V.Henry's
youth.

persecuting and burning these unprotected reformers. The general facts of the irregularities, and their amendment, have never been forgotten; but no historical Hogarth has painted the individual adventures of the princely rake. The most authentic circumstances of his youthful life may be comprised in the following incidents.

On his father's exile, he was taken by Richard II. to his palace,² and in his twelfth year accompanied him to Ireland. He is there described by a person in the expedition, as a young, handsome, and promising "bachelor." The king made him a knight, with this address, "My fair cousin, be noble and valiant;" and to do him honor, and to fix the favor in his memory, at the same time raised eight or ten others to this dignity.³ When the news arrived of his father landing in England, Richard expressed his feelings to the young prince; but Henry, reminding the king of his own innocence and youth, Richard acquiesced in the propriety of his self justification.⁴

On his father's obtaining the crown, he was declared prince of Wales, duke of Cornwall, and earl of Chester;⁵ and afterwards duke of Aquitain, and heir apparent to the kingdom of England.⁶ It is related that he received some part of his education at Oxford, in Queen's College, under the care of his uncle, the well known cardinal Beaufort,⁷ who was the chancellor of the university. His chamber was

² Thomas de Elmham, p. 5. Titus Livius, p. 3.

³ MS. Harleian, No. 1319, already quoted in the latter part of the reign of Richard II.

⁴ Otterburn, p. 205.

⁵ Plac. Parl. vol. 3. p. 426.

⁶ Plac. Parl. p. 423.

⁷ Rous's Hist. Reg. Angl. 207. Hence, Rous remarks, the king always greatly favored Oxford, and promoted those of the University whom he knew to be virtuous and noble-minded in knowledge and manners. Henry intended, if he had lived, to have founded a new college there. Rous, 208.

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HENRY V.

over the gate at the entrance of the college. In his thirteenth year, he made a campaign in Scotland,⁸ being the second expedition in which he became personally acquainted with military movements. When the king went into Wales to repress Glendower, Henry was acting under him, while his brother was sent to govern and preserve Ireland.⁹ In the next summer, that rebellion of the Percys occurred, which shook his father's throne. In the furious battle of Shrewsbury, he felt that upon its issue depended the fortunes of his house, and his soul rose to an energy equal to the greatness of the struggle. Tho wounded in the face, he refused to quit the field, as he was desired; "With what spirit will others fight," he exclaimed, "if they behold me, the son of their king, retiring frightened from the battle? Lead me to the foremost ranks, that I may animate my fellow-soldiers by my conduct, and not merely by my words." He made a fiercer attack, and assisted to win the hard-fought victory.¹⁰

Having thus had, four times, the experience of military affairs, in Ireland, Scotland, Wales, and England, his father deemed him competent, tho but sixteen, to conduct the troublesome war in Wales against Owen Glendower, and appointed him lieutenant of the forces¹¹ directed against this obstinate and active chieftain. In this petty, but difficult warfare, all the qualities of an able general were exercised

Intrusted
with the
war in
Wales.

⁸ Tit. Liv. p. 3. Monstrelet mentions the prince making an incursion into Scotland, with 1000 men at arms and 6000 archers. The result was, great carnage and much mischief to the Scots, and a year's truce. v. 1. p. 190.

⁹ Plac. Parl. p. 486.

¹⁰ Tit. Liv. p. 3. Elmham, p. 7.

¹¹ Rymer's Fœd. vol. 8. p. 291. It is dated 7 March 1403. On 16th October 1402, the commons mentioned that the prince had four times accompanied his father to Wales. 3 P. P. 486.

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II.REIGN OF
HENRY V.March
1405.

and formed. Privations, vigilance, enterprise, patience, and perseverance, were successively required. In the second year of his campaigns there, we find him petitioning parliament for supplies to guard the Marches effectually;¹² and in the following spring he defeated, with an inferior force, a Welsh army of 8000 men from Glamorgan, and its neighborhood. He details his success in a respectful and modest letter to his father.¹³ But its date from Hereford, and the scene of the conflict being in Monmouthshire, imply that he had not been able to penetrate effectually into the interior of Wales, but was contented to watch the border counties. Tho he was

¹² In October 1404. Plac. Parl. 549.

¹³ M. Luders has translated it from the original French in Rymer, vol. 8: I insert it as a specimen of the prince's style:—

‘Most dread sovereign lord and father.—In the most humble manner that I may in my heart devise, I recommend myself to your royal majesty, humbly praying your gracious blessing. Most dread sovereign lord and father, I sincerely beseech God graciously to shew his providence towards you in all places; praise be to him in all his works! For on Wednesday the 11th of this instant month of March, your rebels of the parts of Glamorgan, Morgannock, Usk, Netherwent, and Overwent, drew together to the number of 8000 men, by their own account, and went in the morning of the same day, and burnt part of your town of Grosmont, within your lordship of Monmouth and Jennoia.’—After mentioning his opposing force, he adds, ‘And there, by the aid of the blessed Trinity, your men won the field, and overcame all the said rebels; of whom they slew in the field, by fair reckoning upon our return from the pursuit, some say eight hundred, and some one thousand, being questioned upon pain of death. Nevertheless, be it one or the other in this account, I will not dispute. And to give you full information of the whole affair, I send you a person worthy of credit therein, one of my faithful servants the bearer hereof, who was in the battle, and very satisfactorily performed his duty, as he has ever done. Now such amends hath God ordained you for the burning of your houses in your town aforesaid. And no prisoners were taken, except one who was a great chieftain among them, whom I would have sent to you, but that he is not yet able to bear the journey. And with respect to the course I propose to hold hereupon, please your highness, to give credence to the bearer hereof, in what he will himself inform your highness on my part. And pray God ever to keep you in joy and honor, and grant that I may shortly have to comfort you with more good news. Written at Hereford the said Wednesday at night.

‘Your most humble and obedient Son,

‘HENRY.’

then but seventeen, his services in this war were so highly estimated, that the house of commons, by their speaker, requested of the king, that for the safeguard of his subjects, and to resist the malice of the Welsh rebels, the prince might be continually residing and attending to those hostilities.¹⁴ They also addressed the king, to send his letters, under his privy seal, to the prince, thanking him for his good and unceasing labor and diligence, which he had endured and continually sustained in his honorable person, to conquer that revolted country.¹⁵ In the same year, the speaker prayed, that the prince might be ordered to go with all possible haste to Wales, on account of the news which had arrived of the rebellion of the earl of Northumberland; ¹⁶ and in 1407, requested that he might be graciously thanked for the great labor, diligence, and diseases which he had many times suffered, in resisting the great rebellion of the Welsh.¹⁷ The prince, kneeling, immediately afterwards, before his father, generously interceded for the duke of York, whom the king had imprisoned; avowed his obligations to him, and that if it had not been for his good counsel, both the prince and his army would have often been in great perils and desolations.¹⁸ In 1403, his father was negotiating a marriage for him with Catherine, the sister of Eric X. king of Denmark, which did not take place; ¹⁹ and in 1410, he was appointed warden of the Cinque Ports, and captain of Calais.

These high appointments and acknowleged ser-

¹⁴ Plac. Parl. 569.¹⁵ Ib. 569.¹⁶ Ib. 576.¹⁷ Ib. 611.¹⁸ Ib. 611.¹⁹ The ambassadors also treated for a marriage between Eric and Henry's daughter Philippa, which was effected. The official papers are in the Cotton library, Nero, B 3.

BOOK
II.REIGN OF
HENRY V.His im-
puted
errors.

vices imply early and active talents, popular reputation, and military diligence. But, altho sometimes expressed plainly, sometimes rhetorically, and always with a friendly generalization which obscures and diminishes what the writers wished perhaps to have forgotten, yet, that dissolute habits and unbecoming irregularities in his private life accompanied his laudable public conduct cannot be doubted, after reading the various passages of all the contemporary chronicles, in which they are expressed or implied.²⁰ The description which his contemporary encomiast and biographer has left us, of his compunction and resolutions of amendment at his accession, strongly intimate them.²¹ Tradition ought certainly to be kept distinct from history; and we may allow Shakespeare's scenes to be but the creations of the poet, supplying and superseding from popular tales the scanty and vague phrases of the chroniclers. But the facts noticed in this History, of his conduct at the end of his father's reign, imply an ambitious and unfilial conduct which can claim no excuse, and which can only be palliated by his subsequent regret. With these remarks we may dismiss a subject on which no satisfactory evidence can now be attained, either to confirm or refute the traditionary stories. It is unfair to distinguished merit, to dwell on the blemishes which it has regretted and reformed; and no prince can on this ground claim greater liberality than

²⁰ Elmham, Livius, Otterburn, Hardyng, and Walsingham, allude to them. And see the old Chron. 2 Lel. 496. Fabian, 389. Grafton, 443. and Hall, 46.

²¹ 'He reconsidered and revolved with himself the past years of his youth, with a wounded spirit, a bitter mind, and a contrite heart; and while he was grievously afflicted that that time had been disgraced by the dregs of vice, he exclaimed, 'How many days, how much of my late life do I feel to have been covered by the black smoke of misconduct!'' Elmh. p. 14.

Harry of Monmouth. Whatever irregularities he may, from a too early initiation into military life, have stooped to practise between the ages of sixteen and twenty-five, they were with rare self-command shaken off when higher duties called for nobler conduct. It is declared by Walsingham, that the king, from the time of his coronation, became suddenly changed into a different man; that he made it his study to be gentlemanly, modest and grave, and aimed at exerting every future virtue, and became an example to all classes of his people.²² This mutation of character sufficiently implies his previous imperfections, but also calls upon the impartial to forget what was so resolutely amended. That his father's death greatly affected him; that he afterwards lamented the loss of an intelligent parent in the prime of mature life, who had so often treated him with high respect and confidence; that he reviewed and confessed the errors of his own ungoverned youth,²³ which had given that father pain, and lessened his own respectability; that now, becoming a king, his lofty soul felt the intellectual dignity and sublime duties of his station; and that, aspiring to merit and compel the praise instead of the censure of mankind, he should resolve to make his future conduct as noble as his great office, and therefore, as one contemporary says, to let no virtue pass by him without attempting to transfer it into himself²⁴—these circumstances, and his firm and persevering execution of his exalted purpose,²⁵ are entitled to our

²² Wals. Hist. 426.

²³ See Elmham, c. 7. Livius, p. 5. Pol. Virg. p. 439.

²⁴ Otterburn, p. 273.

²⁵ The assertions of his reformation are so express, that the fact cannot be justly questioned, without doubting all history; and if there were reformation, there must have been previous errors.

BOOK
II.REIGN OF
HENRY V.His at-
tachment
to litera-
ture.

admiration ; and, tho rare, are not incredible. Nor ought the glory reaped at Agincourt to throw them into oblivion. Many have conquered apparent impossibilities in the field of battle. Few princes have so magnanimously conquered and amended themselves.

That he was fond of music, his biographers declare.²⁶ We have also the evidence of the poets, whom he patronized, that he loved literature, and encouraged it. He delighted to read books of antiquity.²⁷ His uncle, who became the celebrated cardinal Beaufort, and who, while chancellor of Oxford, assisted his studies there, may have contributed to give him a taste for the grander exploits of history, and a desire to emulate them ; for we find this prelate so well acquainted with the life of Alexander the Great, as to quote in parliament a conversation between this applauded king and the not less celebrated Aristotle.²⁸ But whatever may have been its origin, it is evident that Henry, amid his unbecoming extravagances, had contracted a sympathy for the renowned feats of ancient days, and soon directed his exertions to attempt similar achievements. He requested Lydgate to translate the Destruction of Troy, because he wished the noble story to be known generally to high and low.²⁹ His desire of the praise of true

²⁶ ‘*Musicis delectabatur.*’ Tit. Liv. p. 5.

‘*Instrumentis organicis plurimum deditus.*’ Elmh.

²⁷ So Lydgate states in the introduction to his poem on the wars of Troy, which has been printed ; speaking of the prince,

Bycause he hath joye and gret deynte
To rede in Bokys of antiquite.

²⁸ It was in January 1410, that the chancellor bishop made the allusion. 3 Plac. Parl. 622.

²⁹ Henry the worthy prynce of Wales,
Whyche me comaunded the drery pitious fate
Of hem of Troye in Englyshe to translate—
So as I coude and write it for his sake ;

ighthood, led him to study the worthiness and the prowess of old chivalry.³⁰ To avoid the vice of sloth and idleness, he employed himself in exercising his body in martial plays, according to the instructions of Vegetius.³¹ He was also one of the patrons of the poet Occleve, who addresses to him, while he is prince, two of his poems.³² Occleve describes himself as advised to select some subject that would be beneficial to Henry.³³ A book on government is the subject adopted. He suggests respectfully to the prince, that it may be useful to read of an evening

By cause he wolde, that to hyge and lowe,
The noble story openly were knowe.

Lydgate, Wars of Troy.

Lydgate says he began his translation in the fourteenth year of Henry the fifth's reign.

³⁰ For to obeie withoute variaunce
My lordes bydding fully and plesaunce,
Whiche hath desire, sothly for to seyn,
Of verray knyghthood, to remember ageyn
The worthyness, gif I shal nat lye,
And the prowesse of olde chivalrie.—Lydgate, Ib.

³¹ - - - - and also for to eschewe
The cursed vice of slouthe and ydelnesse,
So he enjoyeth in vertuous besynesse,
In all that longeth to manhood, dar i seyn,
He besyeth evere, and therto is so fayn
To hawnte his body in pleies marcyal,
Thorug exercise to chide slouthe at all
After the doctrine of Vygetious.
Thus is he both manful and vertuous.—Lydg. Ib.

³² In one, Occleve says—
Hye and noble prynce excellent!
My lord, the prynce! O my lord gracious!
I, humble servaunt and obedient
Unto your estate, hye and glorious,
Of whiche I am full tendir and full jelous,
Me recomaunde unto your worthynesse,
With hert entier, and spirite of mekenesse.

MS. Bib. Reg. 17 D 6.

³³ Wrote to him nothing that sowneth to vice—
Loke yf thou fynde kanst ony trefyse,
Grounded on his estates holsomnesse;
Suche thyng translate, and unto his hynesse,
As humbly as that thou kanst, presente.
Do this my sone. Fader! I assente.—MS. Ib.

BOOK
 II
 REIGN OF
 HENRY V.

in his chamber.³⁴ He looks forward to the hope, that his kingly dignity may benefit his people and advance his own praise.³⁵ He reminds him of the responsibility of that exalted station;³⁶ of the necessity of himself observing the laws;³⁷ that the vox populi is the vox Dei;³⁸ and that courage should be united with prudence.³⁹ He exhorts him to set the example of good faith and magnanimity; to avoid falsehood, cruelty, flatterers, prodigality and avarice; and to love and cultivate peace.⁴⁰ Occleve addresses him with expressions that imply affection

³⁴ To the prince he writes,
 And although it be no maner of nede
 You to counseile what to done or leve;
 Yf that you liste of stories to take hede,
 Somewhat it may profite, by your leve.
 At hardest, whan ye ben in chambre at eve,
 They ben goode to drive forth the nyght.
 They shall not harne yf they be herd aryght.—
 Occleve, MS. Bib. Reg. 17 D 6.

³⁵ Now, gracious prynce, agayn that the corone
 Honoure you shall with roial dignitee;
 Beseche I Hym that sitte on hye in trone,
 That whan that charge receyved han ye,
 Such governaunce men may fele and see
 In you, as may be to his plesaunce,
 Profite to us, and your goode loos avaunce.—MS. Ib.

³⁶ First and foreward the dignitee of a kyng
 Impressed in the botme of your mynde,
 Consideryng how chargeable a thyng
 That office is ——— MS. Ib.

³⁷ Prince excellent! have your lawes in chere;
 Observe hem; and offende hem by no wey.—MS. Ib.

³⁸ This, my gode lord, wynneth peples voice,
 For peples voice is Goddes voice men sayn.—MS. Ib.

³⁹ O worthy prynce! I trust in your manhode
 Meddled with prudence and discrecion,
 That ye shall make many a knightly rode,
 And the pride of our foes threshe adoun.
 Manhode and witte conqueren hye renoun;
 And whoso lakketh eny of the tweyn,
 Of armes wanteth the bridell and the reyn.—MS. Ib.

⁴⁰ On these topics he expatiates with much good sense, inserting occasional examples from history, in illustration of his observations.

well as respect,⁴¹ and inserts a remembrance of master Chaucer, which does honor to his feeling and gratitude.⁴²

That the prince possessed a soul soaring above common level of mankind, appeared in many incidents of his life, and in none more than in his behaviour to the chief justice of the king's bench. On insisting on the release of one of his servants, who had been arraigned for felony, the judge commanded him, upon his allegiance, to leave the prison and depart. In a rage at this public rebuke, he rushed on the judge with his sword. The undaunted magistrate calmly said, "Sir! remember yourself. I keep here the place of your sovereign and father, to whom you owe double obedience; therefore, in his name, I charge you to desist from your wilfulness and unlawful enterprise, and from henceforth give good example to those who hereafter shall be your proper subjects. And now for your contempt and disobedience, go you to the prison of the king's bench, whereunto I commit you, and remain there prisoner until the pleasure of the king your father be further known."—Impressed by

CHAP.
X.

REIGN OF
HENRY V.
Incident
with the
chief justice.

⁴¹ Though that my livelode and possession
Be skant, I riche am of benevolence
To you. Thereof kan I be no nygon.
Goode have I none, by whiche your excellence
May plesed be; and, for myne impotence
Stoppeth the way to do as I were holde.
I write as he that your goode lyfe fayne wolde.
Occ. MS. Bib. Reg. 17 D. 6.

⁴² Symple is my gost, and scarce my lettrure,
Unto your excellence for to write
Myne inward love; and yet in aventure
Wole I me putte, though I can but lite.
My dere Maister—God his soule quyte—
And fader—Chaucer—fayne wold me han taught,
But I was dulle, and lerned right nought.

Ibid.

BOOK
II.REIGN OF
HENRY V.

this firm and well reasoned address, the prince laid his weapon aside, did reverence to the steady and upright judge, and with true magnanimity of mind went submissively to the king's bench, as he was commanded. With eager haste, his attendants stated to the king the indignity put upon his son ; but the judicious parent duly comprehended the greatness of character which both the prince and the judge had displayed. With thankful gladness, he raised his eyes and hands to heaven, exclaiming, " How much am I bound to your infinite goodness, O merciful God ! for having given me a judge who feareth not to minister justice, and a son who can thus nobly submit to obey it." ⁴³

Difference
with his
father.

The tendency of the imperfect intimations which exist in the ancient documents on the subject is, that some misunderstanding occurred between this prince and his father, in his latter days, altho the cause of the difference is obscure. It is difficult to credit the strange scene usually annexed to this event,⁴⁴ because there seems no reason for the prince's uncouth dress, nor in his presenting his father with a dagger to kill him, which he was sure his parent would not do ; and still less in coming for such a purpose with a large company of noblemen, or for choosing the time of his father's sickness, to agitate him with such a conference. The advice which the dying king is stated to have addressed to him, has not the sanction of any contemporary authority that has come down to us. If it has not been invented

⁴³ Sir Thomas Eliot, in his 'Governor,' addressed to Henry VIII. has narrated this pleasing incident. M. Luders, who quotes the passage at length, 79-82, has properly remarked on the unauthorized additions of the blow and ill company, which even Sir Edward Coke has appended to it.

⁴⁴ See the detail in Hollingshed and Stowe's Chronicles.

by subsequent chroniclers,⁴⁵ it has been taken from documents that have since disappeared. His unnatural attempt to procure his father's resignation, and the authority on which it is mentioned, have been noticed before, and it must be left to the reader's judgment whether it has any connection with these incidents.⁴⁶

That on acceding to the crown he banished from his court the young noblemen with whom he had formerly associated, thus avoiding the rock on which Richard II. had been wrecked, has been stated, and is not improbable ;—that he paid the tribute of grateful affection to Richard, who had knighted him, by having his body brought in state to Westminster,

⁴⁵ 'The reader may be pleased to have a specimen of it:—'Thou shalt be exalted unto the crowne for the wealth and conservation of the realme, and not for thy singular commodity and avail. My sonne, thou shalt be a minister to thy realme, to keep it in tranquillity and defend it. Like as the heart in the midst of the body is principall and chiefe thing in the body, so, my sonne, thou shalt be amongst thy people as chiefe and principall of them to minister, imagine and acquire those things that may be most beneficiall for them. And then thy people shall be obedient to thee, to ayde and succour thee, and in all things to accomplish thy commandements, like as thy members labour every one of them in his office, to acquire and get that thing that thy heart desireth: and as thy heart is of no force and impotent without the ayde of thy members, so without thy people thy raigne is nothing. My sonne thou shalt feare and dread God above all things, and thou shalt love honour and worshippe him with all thy heart; thou shalt attribute and ascribe to him all things wherein thou seest thyself to be well fortunate, be it victorie of thy enemies, love of thy friends, obedience of thy subjects, strength and activeness of body, honour, riches or fruitful generations, or any other thing whatsoever it shall be that chanceth to thy pleasure. Thou shalt not imagine that any such thing should fortune unto thee, by thine act, nor by thy desert; but thou shalt thinke that all comethe only of the goodnesse of the Lord.' Stowe's Chron. p. 341.

⁴⁶ See before, p. 372. That he sent the forces from his own friends to help Burgundy against Orleans, is mentioned by Elmham, p. 10, and by T Livius, p. 4. The latter adds, 'bona venia patris,' which is not probable, as Henry IV. was then negotiating a treaty to assist Orleans; and Livius says, that 'in hoc' for this 'his fame was a little while hurt by the detraction of some.' p. 4. Instead therefore of denying the previous faults of Henry V. it is more beneficial to his memory to recollect his sudden and earnest reformation, and the new direction of his feelings and character.

BOOK
II.

REIGN OF
HENRY V.
Projects a
war with
France.

and honorably buried,⁴⁷ was an incident expressive of that elevation of character which marked his kingly conduct.

Introduced to war so early by his father—aware, from his self-experience, of the necessity of giving a little-educated and turbulent nobility some greater subject of activity than the habits of their ordinary life supplied—alarmed by the disposition of many to question his title—urged by the clergy, who saw with disquiet the knighthood of the country investigating religious questions—and fond of partaking of the fame that has too lavishly been given to martial deeds—he soon renewed his claim to the crown of France, and gave the national mind its favorite employment of a war with France. The state which that country exhibited, presented indeed a temptation to English ambition, which an enterprising spirit, taught to consider battles as the noblest work of life, could scarcely be expected to resist.

State of
France.

Notwithstanding the hostilities of the king of Navarre, of the Jacquerie rebellion of the French peasantry, and of the factious demagogues at Paris, Charles V. had succeeded in disappointing the ambition of Edward III. and died in 1380, leaving France still agitated with interior dissensions, but recovered from the hands of its English conquerors.⁴⁸

On his death, thirty-six princes of the blood, who were then alive in France, instead of being the sup-

⁴⁷ Mon. Croy. Gale's Script. vol. 1. p. 499.—It is mentioned of Henry V. by Rous, his contemporary, that it was said at that time, that he was afflicted with the same disease of the white leprosy from which his father suffered. p. 207.

⁴⁸ On the state and trouble of France, from the turbulence of the king of Navarre, and the factions that ensued, the summary of M. Lecousse's *Memoirs*, published in the *Hist. de l'Acad. Inscr.* vol. 8. pp. 329-373, may be profitably perused.

port of the kingdom, from their unity and patriotism, became its scourge by their divisions. Each of these princes had his partisans and creatures. The whole nation followed their example, and subdivided itself into factions of every sort. The uncle of Charles VI. who governed the kingdom in his name during his minority, contributed to its ruin; he multiplied the imposts, and pressed down the people by their weight. The treasures collected by Charles V. were dissipated. Every prince of the blood availed himself of the opportunities that presented themselves, of abusing his power, and gratifying his personal resentments.

At length Charles VI. attained his legal age of sovereignty, and assumed the helm of government. The hope of a happy and peaceable reign delighted the nation. He was naturally good and benevolent, and loved his people. In grateful return, they called him "The well-beloved;" an applausive title, of which his disastrous reign has not deprived him. But he became unhappily afflicted with a mental derangement. Intrigues and factions then burst out on all sides. Every prince aimed at seizing the supreme authority. The power of the disabled sovereign was little else than a name; anarchy, and corruption of manners, spread over the country.⁴⁹

The two chief parties that divided France were respectively led by the duke of Orleans, the king's brother; and by the duke of Burgundy, his uncle. In 1403, Burgundy died, and his son John Sans-peur succeeded to the command of his party, which the

⁴⁹ I take this concise view of the history of France at this period, from the able Summary prefixed to the *Memoirs du Pierre de Fenin*, pp. 310-317.

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people favored. He was of the same age with Orleans : and these two young rivals, full of ambition and impetuosity, distracted France by their fierce competition. The queen attached herself to Orleans. Their differences assumed the shape of actual war. A reconciliation followed ; they swore mutual amity ; and a few days afterwards, Orleans was assassinated by the orders or with the privity of the duke of Burgundy.⁵⁰ The latter, indeed, did not affect to deny his participation. He fled to Flanders to his brother-in-law, the duke of Holland, and in 1410 commenced war against Orleans and his party, who were called the Armagnacs. A small body of English assisted him in these hostilities.⁵¹

Burgundy reached Paris, and got possession of the king. In 1411, peace was again made between the rival factions, and Orleans pardoned him for the murder of his father. In 1413, the French nobility endeavored to dispossess him of the government ; he resisted them ; the populace of Paris supported him ; the king was taken from him ; and another civil war ensued. It was terminated by an apparent peace, but all the spirit and causes of dissension and rivalry remained.⁵²

It was at this period, so inviting to a foreign enemy, that Henry V. determined on renewing his claim to the crown of France, and of invading that country. Much fencing negotiation followed.⁵³ The

⁵⁰ Pierre du Fenin, who was prevost of Arras, and died in 1433, and whose Memoirs are esteemed as those of an honest man, tho favoring the party of Burgundy, says of this catastrophe, ' Par la connoissance du duc Jean de Burgogne, il fit tuer le dit duc d'Orleans.' p. 331.

⁵¹ Pierre du Fenin, p. 347.

⁵² Ib. 349-378.

⁵³ See this detailed in Rymer's *Fœdera*, v. 9. p. 208, and in Rapin's *History of England*, and *Abrégé of Rymer*. The first demands of Henry were extravagant,—the cession of Normandy, Maine and Anjou ; of

English clergy, dreading his reformation of their luxuries, and diminution of their temporal wealth, encouraged his ambition;⁵⁴ the English parliament and nation did not oppose, but rather applauded his project as soon as they were urged to it, and a large force was assembled at Southampton. His embassy to France, claiming his right, and threatening war if it were refused, was ineffectual.⁵⁵ If the young dauphin of France sent him the puerile insult of the tennis balls,⁵⁶ it could only arise from the misconcep-

Aquitain and of half of Provence; the arrears of King John's ransom, and the French king's daughter Catherine in marriage, with two millions of crowns. The French offered to give the duchy of Aquitaine, the princess, and a portion of 600,000 crowns. Henry's embassy in January 1415 prolonging the truce till 1st May, relinquished the claim to Normandy, Maine and Anjou, and half the required dowry. On 14th March, France advanced so far further as to make this 800,000 crowns, and to treat on the rest. These mutual concessions brought the parties to few points of difference. Rym. 210.

⁵⁴ Fab. 390. 2 Lel. Coll. 490. Hall Chron. 49-56.

⁵⁵ Tit. Liv. p. 6. On 7th April, Henry wrote to Charles, complaining that the expected ambassadors had not arrived. On 15th April, before he could have received an answer, he wrote another letter, acknowledging that the ambassadors had been named, and that he had seen a copy of the safe-conduct for them, specifying the persons, and that he was content with their number; but he presses on the king's conscience a recollection of the bloodshed and miseries which would follow an invasion, as if it was the passive Charles, and not the attacking Henry, who would inflict them; a strange but not uncommon instance of selfish self-delusion. Laboureur has printed these letters, vol. 2. p. 993, which M. Nicolas has englished. p. 16-21. But on the next day after the last, on 16th April, Henry met his parliament, and declared that he was determined to undertake the expedition in person for the recovery of his inheritance. Hence we cannot but infer that he had resolved upon it; and that his negotiation for peace was insincere, and intended only to draw the scrupulous or the hesitating into a gradual acquiescence and support. So early as the 8th March, and again on 4th April, he had sent commissioners to Holland and Zealand to engage transport ships for his troops in May. Rym. v. 9. p. 215, 16. Henry was manifestly bent upon his warlike and ambitious enterprise, but pursued his negotiations to make a case for the great and little multitude, on the old but unprincipled maxim, *qui vult decipi, decipiatur*, and perceiving that mankind only want, for the most part, a plausible verbal excuse for doing what they wish to do.

⁵⁶ Otterbourne mentions this incident, p. 275; and the Monk of Croyland, p. 500; Elmham, in his MS. life of Henry, in Latin verse, Julius, E 4, cited by Nicolas in his Agincourt, p. 7. The dauphin was

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tion of his character, which his youthful irregularities had occasioned. But Henry was from policy and sentiment too earnestly bent on the expedition, to need that additional excitation. The ambassadors who afterwards arrived from France, on finding the English seriously preparing to invade, displayed no qualities likely to conciliate the two countries;⁵⁷ and the king was about to sail from Southampton with his fleet, when a strange conspiracy of three noblemen endangered and astonished him; one was his bosom friend and favorite counsellor, Henry le Scrop; another, the brother of his kinsman the duke of York, whom he had created earl of Cambridge, and enriched with various grants; the third, was sir Thomas Grey, a northern knight. The king wept at the discovery of their treason. Their lives were forfeited to

then only eighteen. The king's answer was, that he would return him some London balls, which should knock his houses about his ears. The insult was probably not given until the French government found that all their offers and negotiations to avert the invasion were ineffectual. Thus driven to self-defence, it became a policy to lead their gentry to that contempt of Henry which would make them more ready to resist his attempt. The inedited contemporary MSS. Claud. A 8. quoted by M. Nicolas, p. 8, mentions the dauphin to have said, 'That the king was over young, and too tender of age to make any war against him; and was not like yet to be no good warrior to do such a conquest there upon him: and (somewhat in scorn and despite) he sent to him a tun full of tennis-balls, because he would have somewhat for him and for his lords to play with, and which became him better than any war.' The MS. poem in the Harl. MSS. No. 565, which has been attributed to Lydgate, has a similar account:—

And thanne answerd the dolfyn bold
To our bassatours soon again:
'Methink your king, he is nought old
No warres for to maintain.
Greet well your king, he said, so young,
That is both gentile and small,
A tonne of tennis-balls I shall hym send,
For to play him withall.'

Nicolas, p. 10.

I think there can be no doubt that the incident occurred. The dauphin did not live to reign, but died before his father, two months after the battle of Agincourt.

⁵⁷ One of these was the archbishop of Sens, whom Walsingham describes as a 'vir verbosus et arrogans, sed parum disciplinatus.' p. 434

the law, but he remitted the usual consequences of such a conviction. The popular belief referred the plot to corruption by French bribes;⁵⁸ but the written confession of the earl of Cambridge shews that its object was to raise the son of the earl of March, his kinsman, to the throne, whom he declares to have assented to the plot.⁵⁹ It may have sprung from the resisting spirit which Henry's religious persecutions occasioned, and which led some to wish for another sovereign. He had provided for the defence of his kingdom against the diversion of an hostile incursion,⁶⁰ but he had no expectation of such domestic treachery. The king had raised his pecuniary means for his purpose with some difficulty. His parliamentary grant being insufficient, he applied to his people for voluntary loans.⁶¹ He mortgaged the receipt of some of

⁵⁸ Wals. 435. Tit. Liv. 8. So the Cotton MS. Claud. A 8, which charges them to have received of the Frenchmen a million of gold. So Lydgate in Harl. MS. No. 565.

⁵⁹ It is in the Cotton Lib. Vesp. C 14, and in Rymer, v. 9. p. 301, and corresponds with the account of Monstrelet, v. 4. p. 141, and with Hall, p. 61. A commission was issued to seventeen peers, to try the earl and lord Scrope, by whom they were found guilty. They suffered 5th August 1415. Rolls Parl. v. 4. p. 64-7. The jury at Southampton had found that they had conspired to collect a body of armed men to conduct the earl of March to Wales, and to proclaim him heir to the crown, *if Richard II. was actually dead.* Ib.

⁶⁰ On 8th May, he issued orders to the archbishop of Canterbury and other prelates, *to array the clergy* for the defence of the realm; and three weeks afterwards ordered some of the principal knights and esquires of each county to take a review of all the freemen capable of bearing arms; to divide them into companies, and to keep them in readiness for resisting an enemy. Rym. Fœd. v. 9. p. 261. Dr. Lingard has justly remarked, that such commissions were usual in every reign since Henry II.

⁶¹ His proclamation to his '*tres chers et foialautz et bien amez*' subjects is dated at Reading on 10th May. It states that the lords and others of his retinue had been paid a quarter's wages; but that he had promised them another quarter's at the time of their embarkation, and that the money granted was not sufficient for this payment at that time, and implores all to grant such sums as his two officers named should point out, and that security would be given for the repayment. Rym. Fœd. p. 241.

Some of the sums given on these loans were—Canterbury, 100 marcs;

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the custom duties,⁶² and at last pawned a great portion of his jewels and plate,⁶³ for none seemed willing,

Sudbury, 26*l.* 1*s.* 3*d.*; Bristol, 240*l.*; the bishop of Hereford, 100*l.*, and of Lincoln, 40*l.*; a merchant of Lucca, 100 marcs.' Rym. Fœd. v. 1. p. 268, 9. 271. Nicol. Agin. p. 44.

⁶² Rym. p. 311–12.

⁶³ As these jewels and plate shew the taste of the day, and the price of gold and silver, I will enumerate the chief from Rymer and Mr. Nicolas:— 'One great circle of gold, garnished with fifty-six balays (rubies of a pearl color), forty sapphires; eight diamonds and seven great pearls, weighing 4 lbs. and value 800*l.* was pawned for 1000 marcs;' thus lent: The corporation of Norwich, 500 marcs; of Lynn, 400 marcs; three individuals, 40*l.*, 20*l.* and 10 marcs. The loan was for a year and a half, after which, if not repaid, the jewels might be sold. Rym. p. 286. Redeemed 7 Henry VI.

A great gold collar of Ilkington, the king's jewel when prince of Wales, garnished with four rubies, four great sapphires, thirty-two great and fifty-three lesser pearls, weighing 36½ ozs. and value 300*l.*, pawned for 500*l.*; lent by the bishop of Worcester and prior and corporation of Coventry, and one private person.

A pair of basins of GOLD, chased in the fashion of roses, pounced with great bosselets, and garnished with scutcheons, weighing 28 lbs. 8 ozs; price 26*s.* 8*d.* the oz., value 458*l.* 11*s.* 3*d.* Redeemed 7 Hen. VI.

The palet of Spain, with thirty-five balays and bastard rubies, four sapphires, fifteen great emeralds, three hundred small ones, and three hundred little pearls, worth 200*l.*; pawned with other jewels for 500 marcs to several persons. Redeemed 4 Hen. VI. Rym. p. 285, 6.

Among the other jewels and plate pledged for loans were—

A great tabernacle of silver gilt, garnished with gold, which belonged to the duke of Burgundy; with twenty balays, twenty-two sapphires, and one hundred and thirty-seven pearls. Rym. p. 285, 6.

A collar, called Pusan d'or, worked with antelopes, and set with precious stones. p. 284.

Of the crown, called the HARRY CROWN, broken and distributed, part of it being a great flower-de-lys, garnished with one great balays: another, one ruby, three great sapphires, and ten great pearls, to sir John Colvyl. A pinnacle of this crown, with two sapphires, one square balays, and six pearls, to J. Pudsey, esq.; and two other such pinnacles to other individuals.

An alms dish of GOLD, called the Tyger, made in the fashion of a ship, standing on a bear, with nineteen balays, twelve great, and fourteen other pearls; weight, 22 lbs. 1½ oz.; value the ounce 26*s.* 8*d.*; value the ship, 332*l.*; to the duke of York.

A great ship of silver, over gilt, bearing twelve men at arms fighting on the deck; and a cast at each end of the ship; weight, 65 lbs. 3 ozs.; value of the pound 48*s.* and of the ounce, 4*s.*

Two candlesticks of GOLD, each weighing 14 lbs. 7½ ozs.; price the ounce 26*s.* 8*d.*

A paxbrede of gold, enamelled white, and a crucifix; weight, 5 ozs.; value the ounce, 26*s.* 8*d.*

A little gold tablet, in fashion of a mirror, garnished with three balays and nine pearls, hanging on a gold chain: one part enamelled with the Salutation of our Lady, and on the other a looking-glass; weight, 6½ ozs. and half a quarter; value in all, 12*l.*

or were perhaps able, to embark without some adequate payment in advance. The French ambassadors arrived, and were presented to him on 1st July.⁶⁴ They made further propositions to avert the invasion;⁶⁵ but the chancellor demanding the money and jewels offered to be placed in the king's hands on a day named, the French gentlemen assured him that the money could not be coined by that time.⁶⁶ This minister, the bishop of Winchester, was then ordered by Henry to break up the discussion.⁶⁷ The archbishop of Bourges gave a provoking reply, which he purposely made such,⁶⁸ and which so affronted the

A great hawk's bowl of gold, with two vertorlls and one warrok of gold, and thirty other bowls, all of one sort: weight 12 ozs. and 20 d.; value the ounce, 26 s. 8 d.; in all, 16 l. 20 d.

A tablet of gold: on the top the Trinity; beneath, at their feet, the Virgin Mary: on the foot of the table, the three kings of Cologne: it is garnished with twenty-seven gross pearls, seven of them worth each five marks, and the other twenty worth 30 d. a piece: the weight, 5 lbs. 1 oz. This jewel was given to Richard II. by the city of London, 1292: its value, 800 l.

A pair of gold spurs with red typers: weight, 7½ ozs. at 26 s. 8 d. the ounce.

An ewer, over gilt, garnished with coral.

A sword, garnished with ostrich feathers; the king's sword when prince of Wales. Value, 22 l.

A great ring of gold, in which is written 'en un, sans plus.'

A tabernacle of gold, within which is an image of our Lady sitting on a green terrace, with the figures of Adam and Eve, and four angels at the corners. On the tabernacle is a crucifix of gold and a church. It is garnished with three rubies, three diamonds, four balays, three sapphires, seventy great pearls, and forty little ones. Weight 42 ozs.; value, 60 l. Nicolas, 46-53.

⁶⁴ Laboureur's Charles III. v. 2. p. 992.

⁶⁵ They offered, besides the towns before consented to, the city and castle of Limoges, and 40,000 gold crowns, besides the 800,000 ones promised on the marriage with Katherine. Labour. Ib.

⁶⁶ The next St. Andrew's day, on 30th November. Ib.

⁶⁷ He said the present embassy had arrived from France very late, to his sovereign's great prejudice; and that altho they had offered 800,000 crowns and 17 towns, yet they had not specified how they were to be held; that is, whether their cession was to be considered as an impediment to his right to the crown of France, and therefore he doubted the sincerity of their king's wish for peace. Labour. v. 2. p. 999-1001.

⁶⁸ Des Ursins mentions, that after the chancellor's speech, Henry added, that he was the true king of France, and that he would conquer that

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invades
France,
14 Aug.
1415.

king, that he ordered them, in all haste, to depart, with an assurance that he would soon follow.⁶⁹ War then became as certain, as from the first, the king apparently meant it to be.

Henry made his will, as if acting with a full foresight of the peril he was encountering.⁷⁰ He went to Southampton on 2d August 1415, and on the following Sunday, the 11th, the wind becoming favorable, 1400 vessels of various sizes expanded their sails, and passed the Isle of Wight. Swans were seen swimming about as the fleet was sailing, and every one hailed their appearance as a happy pre-sage. Strange reasoning!⁷¹

On Tuesday afternoon, the king approached the mouth of the Seine, and directed his course to the

kingdom. On this the prelate said, 'Sir! if it will not displease you, I will reply to you.' Henry granted his permission. 'Sir! the king of France, our sovereign lord, is the true king of France; and over those things to which you say you have a right, you have no lordship—not even to the kingdom of England, which belongs to the true heirs of the late king Richard; nor can *our* sovereign lord safely treat with you.' Des Ursins, p. 289. ⁶⁹ Ib.

⁷⁰ It has this addition, which is said to have been in Henry's own autograph: 'This is my last will, subscribed with my own hand. R. H. Jesus! mercy! and gre mercy, Ladie Marie! help!' Nicolas, p. 67.

⁷¹ Having observed, in the British Museum, two MSS. which contain an interesting description of this invasion, by a chaplain or priest, who attended the king during it; which no preceding writer of our history had noticed, I inspected them, and found the account to be more exact and authentic than any which had been yet given to the public: I shall detail the account of it from the Sloane MS. It illustrates the mode of attacking towns when cannon were begun to be employed against them. The MSS. are Sloane MSS. 1776, and Cotton MSS. Julius, E 4. I have before quoted the first as Walsingham's, because it is indorsed as Higden Chron. and because Walsingham is stated to have written an 'Auctarium Higdeni,' Tann. Bib. Mon.; but if the MS. be a work of Walsingham's, it is rather his compilation than a composition, for the first part of his Henry V. is this chaplain's account, and the last part is a manifest transcription, with some abbreviations, of Th. de Elmham. Mr. Nicolas has since incorporated the Sloane MS. in his 'Agincourt,' with the remark, that it had never been cited by any other historian than myself, and that only in the 8vo. edition of my work. This is true; but I had not discovered it when I printed the quarto edition. Mr. Nicolas's book is more valuable for its additional notes from St. Remy, Des Ursins, and others.

bay of Harfleur, where he proposed to land.⁷² It was then deemed a place of great military importance.⁷³

As he entered the bay, his standard was hoisted as a signal for the captains to come to him for a naval council; and an order was diffused, that none should land before the king on pain of death, but that all should be ready to disembark on the following morning.

On this day, the 14th August, the sun rose in beauty, and a lovely tissue of clouds distinguished his appearance. But before the dawn had emerged, the earl of Huntingdon, with some knights, went on shore to explore the country, preparatory to the king's descent.⁷⁴

The army hastily descended from the ships into various skiffs, boats and barges, and rowed to the shore, at a point, where a wood of small trees in an inclining valley on one side, and farms, inclosures and orchards on the other, offered some protection to their flanks, till the necessary defences could be obtained from the ships.⁷⁵

⁷² Sloane MSS. 1776. Monstrelet mentions the fleet to have contained about 1600 vessels. v. 4. p. 142.

⁷³ The speech to parliament in 1415, calls it, 'the strongest town in those parts of the world, and the greatest enemy of the king's subjects,' 3 Plac. Parl. 62; and in the speech in 1416, it is distinguished as 'the principal key of France,' p. 94. Monstrelet says, 'It was the commanding sea-port of all that coast of Normandy.' v. 4. p. 142.

⁷⁴ Sloane MS. Kydcause is the name given to the place where Henry landed, by Elmham, about three miles from Harfleur, p. 38. So Ypod. Hist. 188. Monstrelet calls it the harbour between Harfleur and Honfleur. p. 141.

⁷⁵ MS. ib. Monstrelet makes Henry's army to have consisted of 6000 helmets, and 23,000 archers, besides cannoneers, p. 143; but the list printed by Mr. Nicolas, p. 81, from the Sloane MS. No. 6400, which particularizes the names of the chief persons, enumerates about 2500 men at arms, 4000 horse archers, 4000 foot archers, and 1000 persons of different descriptions, as miners, gunners and other artizans; in all 11,500. If we suppose that every man at arms had his valette and other servants, the whole body may have doubled this number. The minstrels were

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The coast was here very rocky. Great stones lay about, fit for the destruction of shipping, and also many smaller ones that would have annoyed them greatly on their attempt to land, if any troops had been there to have used them; but the English passed safely and unmolested the first ridge of the shore, and then found, between them and the land, deep ditches full of water, and earthy walls of great thickness at their back, towards the land. These were armed with angles and bulwarks for defence, as if they had been a castle with its towers. Between each ditch the breadth of two feet only was left for the passage of a single person.⁷⁶

This state of defence was continued from the beginning of the rocks on the shore, which it was assumed none could ascend without the greatest difficulty, up to the marshes, which joined Harfleur, for above half a mile, and was full of stones, by which artillery might have impeded or prevented their advance. But by the enemy's inattention and surprise, all this strong locality was found by Henry quite undefended, altho so capable of checking his intended progress.⁷⁷

The passage thro the marsh was very difficult: it was full of ditches and pits of water, into which the river had been made to ebb and flow; and the causeways thro it were so narrow, that a few could have defended them against many thousands; but the English had arrived unexpectedly, and the French were not prepared to take advantage of their own means of resistance.

John Cliff and 17 others, to each of whom were assigned 12*d.* a day. Among these, three 'trompers,' three 'pypers,' and one 'sydler,' are specified. Rymer, v. 9. p. 260. Nicol. 101.

⁷⁶ Sloane MS. p. 143.

⁷⁷ Ib.

By the 18th August, all that was necessary for effectuating the advance of the troops was transported from the ships; and the king then ordered, on the penalty of capital punishment for disobedience, that no more burnings of the enemy's houses or property should be made; that all churches and sacred edifices, and their goods, should remain untouched; and that no women, priests or clergy, should be meddled with, unless armed or attacking.⁷⁸

The army then moved towards Harfleur in three bodies; and the king halting his division in front of the city, shewed himself before it in the middle of his troops on the summit of a hill, while the others were arranged behind as his wings; the tide prevented them from coming up to take their stations round the town.⁷⁹

Siege of
Harfleur.

Harfleur was situated in the extremity of the valley, thro which the Seine ran, and over which the sea flowed at highwater above a mile beyond the middle of the town. The river descended with its sweet water thro the middle of the vale, filling

⁷⁸ Sloane MS. p. 143. On the discipline of the English army at that time we may remark, that it had been settled on very creditable principles in 1386 by Richard II. His ordinances then made, enjoined that no one should touch the sacrament nor its pix, nor pillage a church, nor destroy any religious person, nor force women, on pain of being hanged; nor take lodging but by the assignment of the constable and marshal, on pain of arrest and forfeiture of horse and harness. If he robbed or pillaged either in victuals, forages, or other thing, or victuallers or merchants, his head was to be smitten off. None were to make debate of arms, prizes or lodgings, nor riots or contentions in their quarters, nor be parties in quarrels, on other penalties. None to be so hardy as to cry havoc, on pain to have their head smitten off. If one overthrew an enemy, but from going on, another should receive his faith, each was to have half the ransom. None to move out of his array from the battles, in the marching or in lodging. Every man to pay one third of his winnings to his lord and master. Every one to be obedient to his captain, to do his watch and ward, to go a foraging, and all things that appertaineth to a soldier to do, on pain of arrest and loss of horse and harness. These and other regulations are in the Harl. MS. No. 1309. Nicol. 107.

⁷⁹ Ibid.

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the deep and broad ditches which it contained.⁸⁰ It was a small but pleasing town, well armed and surrounded with walls, with external angles, that, in the opinion of Master Ægidius or Giles,⁸¹ made it more difficult to be impugned and easier to be defended. It had also high towers and several inferior forts. Its entrances were by three gates. One of these fronted the part where the king took his stand; the others were on the opposite side. Before each of these, the French had built a strong fortification, which by the army was called a Barbican, and, by many, a Bulwark. That on the king's side was very large, and had been made stronger by round and thick trees, nearly as high as the wall, fixed round the work, and strongly tied and fastened to it. Earth and timbers were piled up within it, with hollows and interstices for guns and projectile machines. It was circular in its structure, and in diameter wider than the space over which a stone is usually thrown. The whole bulwark was surrounded with a deep water, as broad as the extent of two lances in its narrowest part, with a bridge and moveable portcullis.⁸²

⁸⁰ Sloane MS. p. 143. Tit. Livius describes Harfleur as situate between two mountains on the sea shore. p. 9.

⁸¹ This Magister Ægidius is mentioned several times in this MS. and reads as if a Master Giles had been the king's chief engineer. But I presume he means Ægidius Romanus, or De Columna, who, tho a disciple of Thomas Aquinas, and one of the Fratres Eremitæ, and doctor of theology at Paris, and known among the schoolmen by the title of the 'Doctor fundatissimus,' yet wrote a book 'De Regimine Principum, and how cities should be governed in time of war,' which appears to have embraced the subject of battles and sieges. Altho military studies now form no part of a clergyman's mind, yet, in the middle ages, the martial priest and prelate were not uncommon characters; and that this volume of Ægidius embraced warlike subjects, is obvious from this citation of Du Cange, from its 19th chapter: 'They ought to have great plenty of iron and of timber to make the necessary engines,' v. 2. p. 481. This Ægidius was bishop of Berry, and died in 1316. Fab. Bib. Med. v. 1. p. 52; and Cave Hist. Lit. 657.

⁸² Sloane MS. ib. Monstrelet says, the king fixed his quarters at a priory in Graville, p. 142.

On the 18th August, the king having encamped his army in the fields, orchards and inclosures about the town, called a council, to decide how he should arrange his siege against such visible strength; and from what points he should draw his supplies, and what watches should be appointed for the night as well as for the day, to guard against the irruptions and the ambushes of the besieged, to whom the lord de Gaucourt had arrived with 300 lances, and had assumed the command of the defence.⁸³

The river had made the other side of the town apparently inaccessible, but Henry sent his brother, Clarence to place his force at that point. The duke marched to it during the night, and took a convoy of cannon, gunpowder, darts and balistæ, which had been sent from Rouen to assist the town.⁸⁴

The next day, the king again exhibited his person and powers to the besieged, and ordered his navy to form the siege on the sea quarter, and to place their boats and smaller vessels in the river, and along its canals in the valley. He then sent in a summons, inviting the garrison to a peaceable surrender to him as rightful duke of Normandy. On their refusal, he threatened to punish them as rebels if they resisted. His menaces were disregarded. They considered themselves to be the subjects of another prince, and

⁸³ Sloane MS. p. 143. Monstrelet says, that 'about 400 picked men at arms had been sent by the French government to defend Harfleur, under the lords D'Estouteville the governor of the town, De Gaucourt, and others.' ib.

⁸⁴ Sloane MS. ib. Monstrelet remarks, that the English took a supply of gunpowder sent by the French king to the town. p. 144. Des Ursins mentions, that about the end of August the besieged let down a man by night under the walls to go to the French king to request assistance; and that he so managed as to deliver his message to the duc de Guyenne, at St. Denys, on Tuesday the 1st September. p. 292.

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resolved upon a firm and loyal defence.⁸⁵ The king immediately commanded his warlike machines to be prepared, the trenches and ramparts to be formed, and his cannon to be mounted, and he passed many nights without sleep, from his anxiety to see them completed. He extended his works below the range of their shot in front of the town, and placed before them protecting munitions, composed of thick and high boards, with iron fastenings, to save them from the projectiles of the enemy. He caused ditches also to be made on each side of them, for the safety of those who worked his artillery and engines, and also of their stationed guard. Other fortifications were erected, to benefit those who were appointed to watch the main bulwark of the besieged. This body of the assailants dug up unceasingly the earth, and piled it against this strong work as far around it as the water would permit.⁸⁶

The king then directed all his guns and instruments to batter this barbican, as the chief defence of the town; and the impetus and weight of the stones he discharged, in a few days so shook its walls and towers, that a great portion of it was in ruins, and the fine edifices of the town to its very centre were beaten down, or greatly dilapidated. During these attacks, the besieged were not inactive; they plied all their artillery and means of annoyance as assiduously and with considerable effect; and as fast as their fortifications were injured by Henry's cannon during the day, at night by new timbers, and by baskets full of earth, sand or stones, and with faggots compacted

⁸⁵ 'They took up the pavement between Montivilliers and Harfleur, to make the road as bad as possible, and carried away the stones.' Sloane MS. p. 143.

⁸⁶ Ibid.

with clay and dung, they filled up the breaches and made new defences; they covered also every vacant space and opening with soft mud of great thickness, that the stone balls of the English artillery might be absorbed as they fell, and, however violent their impulse, be prevented from doing harm. They provided also pots full of gunpowder, sulphur and quicklime, and vessels of wildfire, and others of burning fat, to cast into the eyes of the assailants, and upon them, whenever they should attempt a storm and to be scaling the walls. Contrivances were also made for burning every instrument that the besiegers could employ to assist them in the actual assault and the preliminary aggressions.⁸⁷ The French government was in the meantime collecting a powerful army to relieve the town, or to harass the besiegers.⁸⁸

The king resolved to undermine the walls. The tortoise covering was prepared to save the operators, and subterraneous excavations were accordingly begun; but the neighboring hills and the nature of the ground compelled them to work in the sight of the enemy,⁸⁹ who discerning their purpose, twice by countermines defeated all their labors. Henry a third time repeated his attempt, but with no advantage, excepting that of alarming the besieged,⁹⁰ and seeing their determined and effective resistance to

⁸⁷ Sloane MS. p. 143.

⁸⁸ They were assembled at Rouen, and other points on the frontiers, under the charge of the constable, the celebrated marshal Boucicaut, and several other captains. Monstrel. p. 144.

⁸⁹ The author here remarks, that it was contrary to the doctrine of Mag. Ægidius to do this in sight of the enemy.

⁹⁰ Sloane MS. 143. This writer and Monstrelet curiously confirm each other. The latter mentions that Henry 'caused three mines to be carried under the walls, and his engines had nearly demolished the gates,' p. 145. Tit. Livius also says, that the king's miners dug till they met the enemy's counterminers; a cruel slaughter followed their contentions, but the English excavations were stopped from reaching the town. p. 10.

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the ordinary measures of attack, he bent his mind to a resolute assault.

With this object in view, he caused faggots ten feet long to be made and carried thro his army, to fill up the ditch on his side, and also some wooden platforms of the height of the walls, with scaling ladders. Similar things were fabricated by the duke of Clarence in his camp, and bound together, that the assault might be from both divisions simultaneous and general. But the French observed these preparations, and by darting upon them all their means of inflammation, checked their intention.⁹¹

The force placed with the mining parties succeeded in carrying the exterior ditch of the walls, and from hasty ramparts raised on that, discharged showers of arrows from their balistæ, and of stones from their slings, which drove the defenders from the part before them; and as the waters so completely separated the king's division from the duke's, that the communication between them could be kept up only by boats, and as the French made some demonstrations which created the idea that they might attack it singly with an overwhelming force, Clarence, by Henry's desire, caused a ditch of great depth and breadth to be dug between him and the town,⁹² and to make a rampart

⁹¹ Sloane MS. p. 145.

⁹² This was also done according to the directions of Mag. Ægidius, with whose work this author, tho a clergyman, appears to have been well acquainted. Indeed the whole style of this narrative implies a military eye and judgment. There is a MS. copy of Mag. Ægidius's *de Regimine Principum* in the British Museum, which is the work alluded to by this author. It is chiefly a work of moral and prudential instruction to kings. Its first chapters inculcate, that it does not become majesty to place its happiness in sensual pleasures, nor in riches, beauty, bodily strength, civil power, nor in glory of fame; but that it should aim to be prudent, just, temperate, liberal, firm, magnanimous and mild. It urges sovereigns to love the good, to cultivate humility, to speak truth, and to be steady, kind and amiable. It is in the last part of the third book that its military instructions begin, and its lessons are most full on encamp-

upon its bank of the excavated earth, with thick trees and infixed stakes, that from the guns and engines and cross-bowmen placed upon it, he might annoy the garrison with their destructive projectiles.

For making this work with rapidity, a certain number of feet was assigned to every lance and to every bow, till the whole was completed.⁹³

The deleterious effects of a place so enveloped in waters, on which a summer's sun was acting, were felt throughout the army; diseases spread, and the ripe and unripe fruit of the orchards about Harfleur increased the evil. The king's favorite counsellor, the bishop of Norwich, suddenly died after five days illness of a dysentery. The French had been carefully watching the besiegers, and perceiving some relaxation of activity on the day of the prelate's death, they sallied out unexpectedly from the bulwark, overpowered all that opposed them, and set fire to all the English works. They were at last repelled, and retired with expressions of contempt to the slothful ones, who could not better watch their laborious constructions.⁹⁴

The next day, Lord Huntingdon retaliated by a similar attack on their main fortification, at the point where its walls had been levelled by the English artillery. Fire was thrown skilfully upon it; the assailants persevered; the French fought vigorously to drive them back and to extinguish the

ments, sieges and defences. One chapter teaches how naval battles should be fought. It was written before cannons were used, but it recommends (c. 17.) that something fiery or ignited should be attached to the stones, which were thrown from their machines, to show by the blaze the state of the places where they fell. Harl. MS. 4802. Ægidius was a tutor to the French king, Philip the Fair, and wrote the book for his instruction. It was so popular as to be translated even into the Hebrew language. Tirab. Hist. Lit.

⁹³ Sloane MS. p. 145.

⁹⁴ Ib.

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burning element, but the flames acknowledged no master; they raged with an increasing fury, and the combustible wood works, which had made it so strong against the external foe, now but insured the destruction of the protecting rampart. It was necessarily abandoned; and so fierce was the conflagration, that the English were obliged to let it burn for three days, till it had consumed all that fed it, before they could suppress it.⁹⁵

The country was so well guarded by the French armies, who were hovering round the besiegers, that the English could take no town or castle in the neighborhood, to support their operations; but their strong foraging parties overran the lower countries in search of provisions, and brought large booties to their head quarters. These advantages were of great importance to the English army, because, as the greater part of the food they had brought with them had been spoiled by the sea, they began to be straitened for provisions,—an extraordinary circumstance, with the channel open to their navigation, and England so near—but commissariats were in those days little understood, tho good supplies of victuals are even more necessary to an army than its artillery.⁹⁶

On this disaster, the town was again summoned, and a haughty refusal was again returned. The king then resolved to risk an immediate assault; the disease that was spreading thro his army, made the protraction of the siege more destructive than the

⁹⁵ Sloane MS. p. 145. St. Remy mentions that the French noblemen assembled five or six thousand horse as near the English camp as possible; planted ambuscades, and sent out parties to draw the besiegers in pursuit towards these places. This was done; but the English pursued too warmly, and one of the ambushes discovered itself too suddenly for them to inflict the injury they had intended. p. 84.

⁹⁶ Monstrel. p. 145.

weapons of his opposers;⁹⁷ and in the evening he caused it to be proclaimed by his trumpets thro all the army, that the mariners on the sea side, and the military forces, according to the assignments of their captains, on the land side, should prepare to assault and scale the walls on the ensuing morn. To fatigue the garrison by an unsleeping night under arms, and make them thereby more sluggish for the next day's resistance, he directed all his artillery to keep up during the darkness an unceasing discharge of stones and missiles.⁹⁸

The besieged now anticipated the calamity that was approaching them. They compared their means of repulsion with Henry's powers of attack, and their chiefs were satisfied that if they endured it, they must fall the victims of the onset. It was beyond all military probabilities that they could prevent the capture and all its bloody consequences: therefore in the night they sent to the king, to propose a conditional capitulation; they asked leave to apprise the French king and his son, the dauphin, of their situation, and proposed to surrender, if in a few days they were not relieved.⁹⁹ Many of the English leaders, thinking only of a certain prey and enriching booty, from the sack of an opulent town, were adverse to all amicable arrangement, but the king's humanity and wiser policy accepted of their offer.¹⁰⁰ He took hostages for its

⁹⁷ A bowel complaint had become epidemical, and above 2000 had died of it. Monstrel. p. 145.

⁹⁸ Sloane MS. p. 145.

⁹⁹ Sloane MS. ib. Monstrelet mentions three days as the allotted term, p. 146. The Cotton MS. Cleop. c. 4. states 'that the Frenchmen asked only two days,' but our king answered and said, that the day that they asked was too short, and so he gave them till the Sunday next suing, that was the fourth after, at twayn after noon.' Nicol. p. 124. The answer of the French princes was, that the king's forces were not yet assembled, and could not give them such a speedy succor. Sloane MS. p. 146.

¹⁰⁰ MS. ib.

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just fulfilment. Notice was sent to the French princes: Another nobleman of eminence fell in the meantime a victim to the spreading malady that was thinning the besiegers, in the earl of Suffolk; and on the stipulated day, no relief advancing, the governor appeared to surrender.

The king resolved to receive the submission in regal state. Under a splendid tent his throne was raised, with hangings and carpets shining with gold, on the hill before the city; his nobles, in their most brilliant apparel, stood around him, and his helmet crown was triumphantly borne upon a spear by sir Gilbert Umfreville. The lord of Gaucourt then came slowly from the city, with the chief inhabitants following; and, kneeling before Henry, rendered up the keys; the king received them graciously, and soothed the submitting citizens with a supper of that magnificence, which lessened their mortified feelings and satisfied their sensual tastes.¹⁰¹

It is remarked, as a subject of military exultation, that this strong and faithfully defended town was

¹⁰¹ Sloane MS. p. 146. This scene is interestingly described in another MS. cited by M. Nicolas. 'When the embassatores were come fro the French king on the Sunday, our king was in his tent, with his lords and gentells; and sat in his estate as royal as ever king did; and as it is said, there never was a Christian king so royal, neither sat any so lordly in his seat as did he. The king had assigned certain lords and knights to bring them to him. When the Frenchmen were come, a knight in the midst of them brought the keys in his hands; and when they came to the tents, they kneeled all down together, but there they had no sight of the king, and then they were brought into other tents, and there kneeled down eftsoons a long time; but sight of our king had they none. There they were taken up, and brought into an inner tent; and there kneeled down a long time, and yet saw not our king. And then they were took up, and brought where our king was. There they kneeled long time; but our king would not reward them with none eye till they had long kneeled; and then the king gave them a reward with his look, and made a countenance to the earl of Dorset, that he should take of them the keys. And so he did. And then were the Frenchmen taken up and made cheer, and thus had our king the town delivered; and made thereof the earl of Dorset, captain.' MS. Cleop. c. 4. p. 24. Nicolas, p. 129.

mastered by Henry in thirty-eight days.¹⁰² It is probable that this early surrender of a place, so advantageously situated for defence, so well fortified against the usual modes of attack in that age, and so skilfully and resolutely maintained, may have justly done credit to the vigor and judgment which assailed it; but the achievement, tho it established the king's warlike reputation, cost him a great portion of his brave army. The free use of autumnal fruit, the chilliness of the nights, and the exhalations of the unburied animals that were killed in the camp, afflicted the army with a dysentery during the siege, which spread destruction amid its commanders and soldiers. In this attenuated state, the king thought it necessary to hold a council of war, to deliberate on his ulterior measures. His brother Clarence expressed the dictates of prudence, in recommending them to re-embark, and return to England.¹⁰³ But to the king's heroic mind, even wisdom was unpalatable. He preferred danger to disgrace. The recollection of the triumph which his retreat would afford to his enemies, who had already personally taunted him, was a mortification to which even death seemed

¹⁰² Elmham, p. 50. It was thus taken possession of according to Des Ursins. One of the king's brothers entered Harfleur in great pomp, and caused those who would not swear fealty, to be sent to England. He went from house to house, mounted on a small horse, and commanded that every thing should be delivered up to him on pain of being hung. He asked nothing of any man who was not found armed: and allowed all men of the church and all women to put on their best apparel, and to carry with them what they pleased, without making a bundle. It was forbidden to search them. More than 1500 women thus left the town; and when without the town, near to St. Aubin, they brought them bread, wine and cheese, and wished them to drink. The English escorted them as far as Lislebonne, where the marshal Boucicaut provided for them, and next day sent them to Rouen. Des Ursins. When Henry came to the gates of Harfleur, he dismounted from his horse, took off his shoes and stockings, and with naked feet went to the parish church, to give thanks for his success. St. Remy, p. 84. Nicolas, p. 131.

¹⁰³ Tit. Liv. 12.

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a less evil. To march by land to Calais, would be an act of superior courage; and he declared that he would rather dare every peril, than let his rivals say that he had fled from his inheritance thro fear. His gallant countrymen sympathized with his feelings, and adopted his determination. The spirit of daring valor, defying the calculation of probabilities, sprang up in most, so encouragingly, that Henry resolved upon the attempt. He sent some knights of courage and judgment to explore the country and ways towards Calais, and to gain every useful information as to the opposing forces which might be collecting. He dispatched a herald with the governor of Harfleur, to the dauphin, to propose terms of peace, and to observe whatever it would be beneficial to know; and also to propose a personal combat between himself and the French heir apparent, for the decision of the quarrel.¹⁰⁴ Eight days elapsed, but the herald did not return, and no messenger came instead. Dreading the effects of further delay, the king appointed 300 lancers and 900 archers on pay to keep the town; and as many were still suffering from the diseases of the siege, who would be useless in his further operations, he caused these to be separated from the sounder part of his army, and gave them leave to return to England. Not fewer than 5000 men, some of them furtively, availed themselves of this permission, and withdrew from his standard.¹⁰⁵

After this diminution, not above 900 lancers and 5000 archers are declared to have remained with

¹⁰⁴ Sloane MS. p. 146. Rymer has printed the challenge, v. 9. p. 313.

¹⁰⁵ Sloane MS. p. 146. The duke of Clarence and the prisoners went with these. Monst. v. 4. Walsingham adds the earl Marshal, earls of Arundel and Warwick, and also March, who was ill of the flux.

him fit for march and battle;¹⁰⁶ and with these, in opposition to the dissuasions of the greatest part of his state-council, he resolved to proceed thro Normandy to Calais, then calculated to be above 100 miles distant. He supposed that he could accomplish it in eight days; and as provisions could be carried with them for this short period, he anticipated no evils on this account, and therefore ordering every one to furnish himself with food for this space of time, and settling in his own mind the stations where they would rest, on Tuesday, the 8th October, he divided his small army into three distinct bodies, with moveable advance and rear guards, and intrepidly began his adventurous expedition,¹⁰⁷ altho he knew that all the activity and power of the French government were in full exertion to destroy him. A more desperate enterprise, since the darings of Alexander the Great, had seldom been attempted.

That the distance of 100 miles would be an easy march of eight days, if uninterrupted, was a reasonable supposition; but that the French princes would allow the condition to occur, on which the correctness of the calculation depended, was an assumption which implied that the king contemplated his opponents with an undue depreciation. He is stated to have acted with an unshaken reliance on the Divine support,¹⁰⁸ a just ground of steady confidence in every virtuous undertaking, but which no one has a right to

¹⁰⁶ I insert this number from the Sloane MS. as the author was then with the army. Monstrelet makes the English forces 2000 men at arms, and 13,000 archers, besides others. p. 160.

¹⁰⁷ Sloane MS. p. 146. Tit. Liv. 12. When he had resolved on this land march, he ordered the indispensable baggage to be carried on horseback, and left the carriages behind. As the French discovered the road by which he would proceed, they removed or destroyed the articles of food in that direction as much as they could. Elmham, p. 52.

¹⁰⁸ Sloane MS. p. 146.

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anticipate in the selfish battles of political ambition; yet on whatever based, heroism in its most determined shape was the actuating principle of Henry's mind in this defying, but imprudent march. We cannot now see the animating images of inviting and expected glory which arose in his imagination, as he meditated on the exploit; nor which of the great characters enshrined in their ancient fame, he proposed to himself to emulate. All that is mentioned of him, by those who knew him, is, that a sincere, though erring persuasion, that he had a right to the crown of France, an ardent desire of accomplishing some great action, or at least of attempting one, and a sublime confidence in Providence for the result, pervaded his resolute mind; and with a calm intrepidity, and a self-possession never surpassed, he prepared to meet the chances.

The French princes, suspending their feuds, were assembling a powerful force to overwhelm him. The disease and privations which the English army had suffered, and by which they were still enfeebled, became generally known; and great numbers crowded to the French standard to destroy the invaders, whose annihilation seemed unquestionable, and who were, from their own presumption, advancing to entangle themselves in an inextricable net. They kept for a time at a convenient distance, but they watched the English movements with a vigilance, that left nothing undone, to defeat the apparent arrogance of their rash expedition.

Henry began his march on Wednesday, 9th October, by passing to the left at Moutac de Villiers, about two miles from Harfleur, and by commanding all his troops, on pain of death, neither to ravage nor burn

the country, nor to take any thing by force but victuals and indispensable necessities, nor to injure any but those who should attack them. The next day he reached Archies, whence a river flowed to Dieppe, about three miles from their left on the sea shore. The town of Archies was defended by a narrow bridge and a castle, and the road lay directly thro it. Henry displayed his forces in array around it, but the garrison refused a passage, and discharged stones from their artillery.

Further deliberation disinclined them to a protracted resistance; and to redeem themselves and the neighborhood from the flames that were threatened, they opened their gates, and supplied the English with bread and wine.¹⁰⁹

The troops passed thro the middle of the town; whose entrance they found fortified by thick trees across the road, which might have caused much annoyance if resolutely defended, and on Saturday, 12th October, they reached Eu, a strongly fortified town.¹¹⁰

At first Henry left it about half a mile on his left, but a part of the French army having assembled there, came out furiously to attack him; after a short conflict he drove them into the town, and this success fixed his attention upon it.¹¹¹ The French again chose to treat, and to preserve the contiguous districts (in which the English took their lodging for the night) from being laid waste, by furnishing bread and wine for the refreshment of the army.

¹⁰⁹ Archies or Arques, 'a small town on the river Arques, about four miles SSE. from Dieppe.' Nicol. 144.

¹¹⁰ Sloane MS. Monst. 160. Eu is a sea-port town on the river Brele, 15 miles NW. of Dieppe.' Nic. 145.

¹¹¹ Sloane MS. Tit. Liv. 13.

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But this amicable intercourse occasioned it to be diffused thro the camp, that a vast multitude of hostile force was preparing to attack it, and that the deadly battle would take place on the next day, or on the Monday, when they should attempt to cross the Somme.¹¹²

These rumors excited much discussion; some reasoned, that from the discord and deadly hatred between the French princes and the duke of Burgundy, the dread of his movements in their absence would keep the former near the capital; but others thought more congenially with their own feelings and with the manners of the times, that if any heart was in the French chivalry, their noble courage could not endure the stain of disgrace, which would indelibly attach to them, as dastardly degenerating from their ancient fame, if they could suffer the king of England to come into their country, take a town, and then, with an army so small, march triumphantly thro it, so far from his own home, and so hopeless of further succor.¹¹³ A speedy battle was therefore deemed inevitable: and, before the numbers became too unequal, was eagerly desired.

On the next day, Sunday, 13th October, traversing the Vimeu, they reached Abbeville, and hoped on

¹¹² On 7th October, sir William Bardolf wrote to the regent in England, 'By the answers of divers good friends, it is generally reported to me that, without doubt, the king our lord will be fought with by his adversaries within fifteen days from this time at the latest. And it is said that the duke of Lorraine, amongst others, has already assembled 50,000 men; and that when they all meet, there will not be less than 100,000 men or more.' Rym. v. 9. He sent 300 of his best men at arms from Calais to meet and join the king, but they were intercepted and routed. Des Ursins, 310. Labour. p. 1007.

¹¹³ Sloane MS. When the French council had resolved that the English should be attacked, three knights, famous for valor and for having long carried arms, were specially selected to charge the English archers, in order to break their ranks. Des Ursins, 312.

the following morning to pass the Somme, near that town, at Blanchetaque, the point where Edward III. had found and forced a passage before the battle of Cressy.¹¹⁴ Henry had now performed half of his journey in the first half of the time he had calculated; but he was here doomed to find, that what was easy to be done when nothing obstructed, became impracticable against resolute opposition. As his soldiers were indulging themselves in the belief, that they should penetrate to Calais as easily and as rapidly as they had reached Abbeville, it was suddenly announced by the spies and exploring horsemen who had been sent out, that the bridges and their piers were broken down, and that a great army of the French was arranged on the opposite bank, to dispute and prevent their passing the intervening river. This unwelcome news made any further direct march to Calais impossible; they could not cross the stream in the front of such a formidable resistance; with all their bravery and discipline, this was acknowledged to be impracticable, and yet as this stream ran from the interior of the country to the sea, they could never get to Calais unless they passed it, or began a toilsome and circuitous march, to reach and go round its sources. But to take this course, would be to plunge

¹¹⁴ Monst. 161. St. Remy laments the determination not to let Henry cross at Blanchetaque without obstruction, because he would then have gone quietly to Calais, and there would have been no battle of Agincourt. He mentions that a gentleman prevented it, whom his countrymen afterwards said was a devil, and not a man, for doing so. They accuse him of having falsely told the king that the passage was guarded by 6000 good fighting men, and that Henry from this report, after having deliberated with his council two hours upon it, determined to proceed higher up the Somme to find an easier ford. St. Remy, 86, 7. But the English authorities affirm, that his own scouts informed him of the French preparations to resist his passage; and it is not likely that on a point of such vital importance to him at that juncture, he should omit to make the most careful inspection of the difficulties interposed.

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themselves in the heart of France, and as it were to embosom themselves amid their exulting enemies, who would be multiplying around them at every step of their advance, while their own provisions would be exhausted, and their strength worn down by watchings, alarms, want and fatigue. Now the full desperateness of their too confident enterprise opened to their dismayed view; but they had no choice, except that of an immediate return to Harfleur, before they should be intercepted; a measure of dishonor, which none durst propose to Henry, whose mind was sternly fixed on death or success. It remained then for all to devote themselves to the visible perils and evils, which must attend an attempt to ascend to the head of the river, said to be about sixty miles off, and where they in a short time learnt, that, as soon as they looked that way, a large multitude of French troops had begun to assemble, to confront them with all their machines and artillery, and with intermediate ambushes at every suitable spot.

The king of France and his council were in fact exerting themselves adequately to the occasion. As soon as tidings of the surrender of Harfleur had reached Paris, summonses were issued for raising in every part of the kingdom the greatest possible force of men at arms; and to excite the national indignation, the terms of peace which Henry had refused, were carefully circulated.¹¹⁵ Earnest messengers were dispatched to the nobles in Picardy, the province nearest the English, commanding them to collect their

¹¹⁵ Monst. 152. At Paris, numerous processions were ordered, and a great number of solemn masses sung for the success of their forces. The clergy of Paris, in a body, with the university, and many prelates dressed in their pontifical habits, went from church to church, with tapers in their hands, to invoke the assistance of Heaven to their arms. Lab. p. 1007.

powers and join his son, the duke of Aquitain, whom he had appointed captain-general of his kingdom. The lords of Picardy received his sealed letters, but hesitated to obey, for the duke of Burgundy had enjoined them and all his subjects to attend to no orders but from him; a peremptory mandate, on 20th September,¹¹⁶ was therefore dispatched by Charles to his lieutenant at Amiens, reiterating his martial summons, threatening a confiscation of their property to all who should fail to come to his assistance sufficiently armed and mounted; requiring those who were disabled by illness or old age to send others, well accoutred, in their stead; and directing his officers to seize the lands, and to place foragers in the houses of those who should disobey. All the cannon and engines of war that could be spared from the principal towns were also directed to be moved to the army, and envoys were commissioned to the dukes of Burgundy and Orleans, to require each to send immediately 500 helmeted knights. Orleans not only marched this number, but soon followed with all his forces. Burgundy promised to attend with the whole chivalry of his dominions; he chose however to be absent himself, but the greater part of his subjects armed themselves, and joined the multitudes who now flocked to the French standard.¹¹⁷ History has never recorded a battle, in which more deliberate and powerful preparations were made to overwhelm an inferior invader. To fail in crossing the Somme, where Edward III. had triumphantly made a passage, was a severe mortification to Henry's emulating spirit. But regret was useless; the enemy had intersected the ford with lines of such strong palisades, and had placed such

¹¹⁶ Monst. 153-6.¹¹⁷ Ib. 157.

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numerous bodies of archers and men at arms to support them, that it was impossible to force the defence. Reluctantly yielding to his disappointment, he marched towards Arraines, burning and destroying the whole country from his vexation, in contradiction to his own orders, but making many prisoners and acquiring a great booty.¹¹⁸

He proceeded on the left side of the river to Bailleul, where he lodged, and thence crossing the country, sent a considerable detachment to gain the pass of the Pont de Remy; but this village was so ably defended, that he was compelled to retire from it, and to continue his march, and quarter his army at Hangest, on the Somme, and in the neighboring hamlets.¹¹⁹

At this time, D'Albreth the constable of France, the marshal Boucicaut, the grand master of the household, the admiral of France, with the duke d'Alençon, and the flower of the French knighthood, met in Abbeville. Learning Henry's new line of march, they left this town for Corbie and Peronne, and spread their forces with great judgment around, to guard all the fords of the river against the English sovereign.¹²⁰

Sad, from the certain accounts of the great numbers that were thronging to the French army to overwhelm them, and still more grieved from the obstructions to their passing the stream, which they nevertheless must pass before they could arrive at Calais, they approached it again at another point; but it was only to find the bridge destroyed, and to see the French on the other side, proudly arranging themselves into order of battle. Provoked by their defiance, Henry

¹¹⁸ Monst. 161.

¹¹⁹ Ib. 162.

¹²⁰ Ib.

looked around for some possibilities of reaching them; but the broad marshes that spread from each side of the banks prevented all approach to them; neither army could do any injury to the other from weapons; but the French inflicted their severest blow by detaining him where he was.¹²¹

The calculated eight days had now passed; but instead of being at Calais, the English found themselves, with their provisions consumed, encircled by hostile forces, who were employing themselves in laying waste the contiguous country, to cause the bold invaders to perish by famine. Worn down with fatigue, and weak from want of victuals, the stout English heart began at last to quail.¹²²

They passed in despondence to Ponthieu, seeking still to reach the head of the river by a protracted journey, and to turn it at its source. Leaving Amiens about a mile on their left, they advanced without hope towards Boves,¹²³ defended by waters, bridges and castles, but thro which their road lay, and which therefore they had to force: fortunately, for their immediate comfort, it belonged to the duke of Burgundy; and after a short negotiation with its commander, they were admitted to lodge there that night, and were supplied with wine and bread, to the great refreshment of all.¹²⁴

¹²¹ Sloane MS.

¹²² Sl. MS. At this part the author exclaims, 'I who write, and many others, then looked up mournfully to heaven to implore its clemency; and we earnestly solicited the mediation of the Virgin and of St. George, under whose protection the unconquered crown of England had hitherto so long flourished, that England might be preserved from the desolation that would follow the shedding of our blood.' MS. ib.

¹²³ Monst. 162. MS. ib. Pierre du Fenin, 379. 'Boves, a small village about four miles SE. of Amiens, by which a branch of the Somme passes.' Nic. 155.

¹²⁴ MS. ib.

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On Thursday, the 17th October, the king came to a plain, near the walled town of Corbie, on his left.¹²⁵ Here that part of the French army which had hastily reached this place, burst suddenly upon them; it was immediately engaged, and after a severe conflict, defeated and driven back;¹²⁶ but some prisoners were made, and from these Henry learnt that the French had conceived the plan of breaking the English line and archers by separate attacks of distinct bodies of cavalry, which were forming in squadrons for this purpose. To withstand these assailants, the king ordered every archer, without delay, to prepare for himself a strong palisade, either square or round, six feet long, and of a competent thickness, and to sharpen it at each end.

The direction was then given, that whenever the French armies drew near to fight, and should attempt to break their ranks by their masses of horse, every archer should fix his stake before him, and the rear ranks also behind, firmly planting one end in the ground, and inclining the other towards the enemy, about as high as a man's centre: so that either the

¹²⁵ Sloane MS. Monstrelet makes the stations after Boves to have been Herbonnières, Vauville and Bainviller; the French marching, as much as they could, in a parallel line with them on the opposite side of the Somme. p. 163.

¹²⁶ Hollingshed has thus noticed this hard struggle, from his contemporary authority. 'At Corby, lord Bouchier, chieftain of a wing to the king, received the enemy's charge when the force and slaughter grew great, both on one side and the other. By the French, in especial, it was at first right fiercely pursued, insomuch that with a hardy charge upon our men, they had both beaten down the standard and won it quite away, to their high encouragement, and to our incredible despite and dismay. Whereat, one John Bromley, a near kinsman unto the lord, was so pierced at heart that he could not contain him, but ran eagerly upon the French, and with his soldiers, whom wrath and teene had already inflamed, did so fiercely set upon them, that they were not only beaten back, but also forced to abandon the place. At this push the captain cutting thro the thickest, struck down the champion that bore the standard, and gloriously recovered it again.' For this exploit an annuity of 40*l.* was settled on him for life. Hollingsh. Nic. 156.

violent charge of their cavalry might be received on the stakes, or that, seeing them, the horses might be terrified, and confuse their riders by their disobedience and self-checked impetuosity.¹²⁷

Advancing onwards, the English lodged the next day in the districts near the fortified town of Dénésle; and the king demanded supplies from the farmers for the redemption of their lands from destruction. As they refused his request, from a confidence in their armed countrymen about, Henry ordered the vicinity to be set on fire on the following day.¹²⁸ With depressed spirits and melancholy forebodings, the English prepared to pass the night without either refreshment or hope; but suddenly, in the midst of their despondency, one of the villagers communicated to the king the invaluable information, that he was near a point where the Somme was fordable. Eager to ascertain the truth of a report on which the preservation of all depended, and dreading an artful deception that might be meant to decoy, he sent immediately some selected knights to make the experiment, and to sound the depth of the water and the strength of its current. They explored, and they found it passable; but to get to it the army had to pass over a marsh about a mile from its bank, through which ran a rivulet descending into the Somme. All the troops hastened thither, but soon found themselves shut up in an angle between two rivers, which put them completely at the mercy of the enemy.¹²⁹ But

¹²⁷ MS. ib. So St. Remy, p. 87. The old duke of York is said to have suggested this measure, which became so beneficial to the English in the subsequent battle.

¹²⁸ Sloane MS. 'Nesle, a town about 94 miles ESE. of Amiens, and nearly four miles W. from the nearest part of the Somme.' Nic. 161.

¹²⁹ Sloane MS. Titus Livius mentions that some prisoners shewed the passage, which was not much used. p. 54.

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for their good fortune, that enemy was ignorant at the moment, both of their discovery and perilous situation; the French knew that they were proceeding straight to the head of the river, and were directing their strength that way, to confront them when they turned it. They had no suspicion of their being able to find out an intermediate ford; and it happened that this was the only pass of the Somme which had been left unguarded.¹³⁰ The French government had ordered the town of St. Quentin to plant stakes in it;¹³¹ but the foreseeing command, probably from too much security, had not been effectually obeyed, so as to be made impassable.¹³²

Henry lost not a moment to profit by the unexpected advantage. Two parts of the river were found where the depth did not exceed the height of a horse's girth; two long narrow causeways led to them, but these had been broken in the middle, so that it was with difficulty that the horse could pass, even in single files, across the ruins.¹³³

Two battalions were first passed over, with their flags, lances and foot-archers, to take a fit station, to guard the rest of the army, in crossing, against the irruptions of the French. Beams of wood, faggots and straw were spread over the fractures, till a safe footing was made for three horsemen to ride over abreast.

¹³⁰ Titus Livius, 13. Elmh. 53. Monstrelet places this ford between Bethencourt and Voyenne, and dates the crossing the morrow of St. Luke, or the 19th October. p. 163.

¹³¹ Monst. 163. St. Remy mentions, that the people of St. Quentin had been ordered to destroy the passage. p. 87.

¹³² Livius and Elmhams mention that the English found stakes there. If so, the defence was not efficiently done, as the stakes did not impede the transit, nor is any difficulty from them noticed in the Sloane MS.

¹³³ Sloane MS. Pierre Fenin thus names the place of this important passage: 'King Henry passed the Somme at Esclusier, lodging at the tower of Miraumont.' p. 460.

The baggage of the army was conveyed over one ford, while the soldiers traversed the other. Henry took his station at the principal passage, and selected some determined commanders to superintend the next, that the crowded and hurrying troops might not, in their eagerness to pass, press down and suffocate each other.¹³⁴

Before one hundred of the English had passed, the French appeared from the farm-houses beyond. They had been dispatched to secure the passage, but they came too late; the English, who had reached the right side, darted vigorously upon them, and the numbers who successively got over perpetually multiplying, the French could not bring up sufficient forces in time to repel them. The passage was begun an hour after noon and was finished before night; the movement was as rapid as it was essential; it had saved them a circuit of eight days; it had done more, it was felt to have preserved the king and his army.¹³⁵ All now hoped that the French would follow and fight them;¹³⁶ a victory was still necessary for their safety, and the chance of a defeat was better than a longer suspension of the battle.

On the next day, Sunday, the 20th October, the camp of Henry was visited at Monchy la Gache, near

¹³⁴ Sloane MS.

¹³⁵ St. Remy thus describes this movement: 'The king and all his army dismounted from their horses and came to the river, and began to destroy houses, and to take ladders, doors and windows, to construct a bridge to cross; so that for eight hours, from the morning until near the close of day, the English never ceased to work in making the said bridge, and passed without horses. When a sufficient number had crossed, a standard was sent over; and when the advanced guard had all crossed on foot, the horses were taken across. Then the battalions and rear guard passed. It was night before they had all crossed. Altho it was night, the English marched on, and the king lodged not far from Athies, in the neighborhood of which was the French army.' p. 86, 87.

¹³⁶ Sloane MS.

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Hamme, by three heralds, who came from the dukes of Orleans and Bourbon, to announce to him that they meant to give him battle before he reached Calais, but appointed no day or place.¹³⁷ The French, on receiving the unexpected news that he had crossed the Somme, had fallen back to Bapaume and its vicinity, and from thence to St. Pol,¹³⁸ and in vexation at his escape from what seemed inevitable destruction, their leaders made this ostentatious declaration. He heard them with unaltered countenance and unruffled temper, and mildly answered, "Be the event then as it pleases God." The Frenchmen had the assurance to ask him, which would be his line of march; and the king, with an unfearing sincerity that in such a crisis has rarely been practised, replied, "Straight on to Calais. If our enemies attempt to obstruct us, they shall not do it without experiencing some mischief and danger. We shall not seek them, but neither will we make any movement to avoid them. We exhort them not to stop our way, if they wish to avoid the shedding of much Christian blood." He presented the heralds with a hundred crowns of gold coin, and dismissed them.¹³⁹

Reflecting on this martial defiance, the king expected to be attacked on the next day. He therefore harangued his army with an animation that kindled a consenting spirit in every bosom which heard him,

¹³⁷ Sloane MS.

¹³⁸ Monst. 163. P. Fenin.'

¹³⁹ Tit. Liv. p. 14. Elmh. 55. Des Ursins mentions, that on receiving this message, 'the king of England was much rejoiced, and gave the herald who brought him the intelligence 200 crowns and a robe.' p. 312. He adds: 'Our people and the English were near each other on the following Thursday, the 24th October, and the next day our's deliberated on the request of the English, who had been in want of provisions three days, to give them battle, provisions, or a passage.' It. St. Remy says that Henry sent two of his own officers of arms with his reply to the French lords. p. 87.

and on the following morning went forward, in as much battle-array as a line of march would allow; but his precautions only improved the discipline of his troops; he found no enemy.¹⁴⁰

Avoiding the fortified town of Peronne on his left, he marched towards Ancre, and quartered himself and his army at Forceville and Cheu.¹⁴¹ Cavalry advanced from Peronne as he moved near it, to draw him, by their skirmishes, within the reach of its artillery; but the English squadrons drove them to the town for shelter. He found the roads beyond Peronne cut up and worn, as if many thousands had just traversed them. This appearance of vast multitudes having preceded in order to encompass them at some disadvantageous position, spread some consternation among the less heroic of the distressed and wearied English.¹⁴²

They advanced on Wednesday, the 23d October, towards Lucheux, a walled town, and leaving it on their left, lodged themselves that night at Bouvieres l'Escaillon; here the want of due accommodations compelled them to a dangerous separation. The venerable duke of York, who commanded the van division, rested at Frenench, on the river Canche, called here the River of Swords, and the rest of the forces were scattered in seven or eight different villages.¹⁴³

¹⁴⁰ Sloane MS.

¹⁴¹ Monst. 167. Peronne is a town on the Somme, about 23 miles E. by N. of Amiens.

¹⁴² The clerical writer, on seeing the country so trampled, exclaims, 'We raised our eyes to heaven for its mercy and protection.' Sl. MS.

¹⁴³ Monst. 168. Sl. MS. St. Remy, who was there in the English army, gives a similar account. 'After Henry left Athes, he proceeded to Doing, near Peronne, and then lodged at Miraumont, where he received certain information that he was to be fought, and then went towards Encre, and took up his quarters at a village called Forche Ville,

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In this divided state a judicious night attack might have destroyed them; but the French, too eager for their grand final success to watch minutely for the intermediate advantages, were pressing on with their accustomed ardor to get before them to St. Pol, and to the river Aunun.

This movement gave the English a secure and refreshing night, and on the next day Henry marched in an imposing array to Blangy.¹⁴⁴

and his army lodged in the neighboring places. Next morning they marched to Luceu, and lodged at Bouvieres l'Escalon, and his advanced guard at Frenen.' St. Remy. Nicol. 184.

¹⁴⁴ Monst. 168. 'It so happened that on the day when the king of England left Bouvieres to proceed to Blangy, he approached a village which had been selected by his harbingers; but not having been informed of it, and not knowing the village in which he was to take up his quarters, he passed it at a bowshot's distance, and rode on; but when the circumstance was mentioned to him, he halted; and said, 'Now God would not be pleased, as I have on my coat of arms, if I should turn back.' So he passed beyond it, and took up his quarters where the advanced guard were to have lodged, and caused that to proceed further on.' St. Remy. Nic. 184.

C H A P. XI.

HENRY the Fifth's Reign continued.—THE BATTLE OF AGINCOURT.—Conquest of France.—His Death and Character.

WHILE the king was accomplishing these hazardous marches, the French government had assembled a military and state council, to settle the best plan for their operations against Henry.¹ The king of France, the king of Sicily, the dukes of Berry and Bretagne, and thirty-five of the most experienced warriors and statesmen, attended it. Thirty deciding for an immediate engagement, while five only advised delay, the substantial reasoning of the latter was disregarded, and the royal mandate was sent to the great constable, to give battle to the king of England.

Orders were at the same time speeded to all parts, that every nobleman who could bear arms should hasten night and day to the grand French army, wherever it might be. The urgent command was zealously obeyed, and every lord hurried with his powers to join the constable in overwhelming the too daring invaders.² The duke of Burgundy's heir apparent wished to partake the anticipated glory of their destruction, but his father enjoined his neutrality, and

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¹ Laboureur, in his History of Charles VI. states, that 'The king of France came to Rouen at the commencement of October with an army capable of conquering the best disciplined forces. He had more than 14,000 *men at arms* commanded by distinguished leaders, of whom many were of the blood royal. There were nearly all the bravest knights and the most devoted to the king, who ardently desired to revenge the injuries they had received from the English. The citizens of Paris offered besides 6000 men well armed.' p. 1006.

² Monst. 164, 5.

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confined him to a castle, to keep him from the conflict. The prince in vain expressed his anger and his emulation; he was not permitted to stir, and he withdrew to his chamber in tears,³ at a restraint which, in the midnight darkness of the impenetrable future, seemed to him to be an intolerable evil.

As Henry's army descended from Blangy across the valley, towards the river, which bore the name of the town, it was announced to the king by his reconnoitring parties, that the French were stationed, to the amount of many thousands, on the other side of the stream, about a mile to his right.⁴ As he was also informed, that if its bridge should be broken, it would be difficult to pass the stream, he directed immediately some noblemen and knights to take possession of it. This occasioned a sharp action, but the French were at length driven from it,⁵ and the whole English force passed over to the farther bank with all possible celerity, and took instantaneous possession of the contiguous heights. The duke of York, whom the king had appointed to the chief command, having sent out persons to explore all the neighboring places, ascended the summit of a hill to make his own survey. He was soon reached by a breathless messenger, who assured him that the

³ Monst. 166, 7.

⁴ Sloane MS. St. Remy says, 'Before the king of England passed the river Blangy, he caused the coats of arms of six noblemen of his advanced guard to be displayed, and made them pass beyond it, to ascertain if it was unguarded. They found it undefended. Then the English crossed it in great force; and when they had passed the village of Blangy, they learnt from their scouts as a certainty that the French had likewise assembled in great force.' St. Remy. Nic. 185.

⁵ Elmham mentions, that on the arrival of the English detachment at the bridge, they found some of the enemy busily employed in breaking it to pieces. These they attacked and routed, wounding some and making many prisoners, and thus preserved the bridge from destruction. p. 56. Tit. Livius calls it a severe conflict.

French, to an amount which he could not number, were advancing. This report being confirmed by others,⁶ was communicated to the king, who heard it with an undisturbed serenity, ordered the army to halt, and, spurring his horse, went himself to observe his enemies. He saw them from the mountain, marching in large bodies to get before him to Agincourt, and spreading over the country like several mighty forests. He returned to his own columns with the unshaken equanimity of a mind that, believing the issue to be in the disposal of heaven alone, calmly waited for its decision.⁷

The French concentrated themselves between Roussiauville and Agincourt, about half a mile from the English, filling a spacious plain, and seeming to the eye of their computing opponents like an innumerable multitude of locusts. A small valley separated the two armies.⁸ The constable of France soon arrived at the village of Agincourt, and his battalions were then encamped on the plain as one body, with every man arranged under his own banner, excepting those of the lower degrees, who lodged themselves as well as they could in the adjoining hamlets. Their leaders planted their flags, amid loud exclamations of anticipated triumph, around the royal standard of the constable, on the spot he had marked out, and over which the English would be compelled to pass, on the next day, in their march to Calais.⁹ They lighted great fires near every banner, to prevent a night

⁶ One of the reconnoitring officers was David Gam, a Welsh captain, whose report breathed the spirit of the English army: 'There are enough to be killed, enough to be taken prisoners, and enough to run away.' Powel, Hist. Wales.

⁷ Elmham, p. 59. Tit. Liv.

⁸ Sloane MS.

⁹ Monst. 169.

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surprise, and to shew to every one his central point of direction and exertion. Their numbers, according to an Englishman who was in the battle, were 100,000,¹⁰ but Monstrelet gives 150,000 as their full amount.¹¹

It was at the small hamlet of Maisoncelles that Henry collected his scanty but undaunted army, about three bow-shots distance from their antagonists.¹² He arranged it into the best divisions and order for an effective battle, and animated its courage by his unaffected intrepidity and fervid eloquence. His soldiers, of whom most expected death on the

¹⁰ This was Hardyng, who states the English to have 9000 and 'no more,' p. 375. Bardolph's letter, quoted in page 416, from Calais, on 7th October, mentions that the French were assembling their troops, and would amount to above 100,000 men. Rymer, v. 9. p. 314. The author of the Sloane MS. who was in the battle, makes the actual combatants to have been above 60,000 French, according to their own calculation, against 6000 English; 'Ex eis juxta propriam numerationem eorum plus quam lx millia educentium gladium, ubi nostra paucitas sex millia virorum pugnantium non excessit.' MS. ib. His distinction of those who actually fought against each other may account for his numerical difference with Hardyng. The proportion in both is the same; it was ten to one. Otterbourne makes the numbers 60,000 French against 7000 English. p. 277. Laboureur lessens the disproportion to that of four to one; and says they would have succeeded if they had not been a confused mass of canaille, bastards, exiles and villains, who enrolled themselves under the prince, less from a regard to the interest of their country, than with the view of pillaging it. p. 1009. But the better authorities shew that it was an army carefully, anxiously and zealously provided by the French government and by the patriotic zeal of the nation. It was one of the best which France could then assemble, or up to that time had ever got together.

¹¹ P. 170, English, and 163, French edition. Walsingham, in his printed History, states, with 'ut fertur,' the English at 8000 and the French at 140,000. p. 438. The extract from the corporation records of Salisbury, a contemporary document printed by Nicolas from the Lansdowne MS., gives the numbers as 100,000 and 10,000. Nic. p. 237. The modern French writers naturally wish to lessen the disproportion, and therefore Mezeray, like Laboureur, makes the French only four times more numerous, and Damel but three times. These are gratuitous suppositions. The oldest accounts of both nations, compared together, must be supposed to give the most authentic statements.

¹² Monst. 169. T. Livius says, that the French was scarcely 250 paces distant from the English camp.

morrow, endeavored to make their peace with heaven by confessions and compunction, and many took the sacrament as if at their last extremity.¹³ A solemn feeling that they were at the entrance of another world pervaded all, but it produced no cowardice and excited no despair; it only made resolution more resolute, and saddened natural heroism into an awful magnanimity.

A sublime enthusiasm was visibly actuating Henry's mind: the disproportion of the forces never lessened his confidence of victorious result; it rather increased his heroic exultation, that the deciding battle was approaching, and that it would be fought with such a perilous inequality. It is difficult to account for such feelings, either from reasoning or experience, for they could not subsist if they were connected with either. Danger, instead of daunting a great mind, seems to kindle in it an insuppressible and dazzling fire, of daring and hope, which allows not any discouraging considerations to approach it. Mysterious emotions arise, which love the very terrors that threaten to overwhelm, and swell the soul to a temporary and unnatural magnitude, which bears some proportion to the vastness of the difficulties that are endangering it. Gratified to see, and eager to wrestle with the crisis that had overtaken him, the king indulged in a lofty anticipation of the glory that would redound from his surmounting it, and in a self-flattering belief that heaven must be on his side. Hence, when sir Walter Hungerford expressed to him a wish that they could have but 10,000 of those archers in England, who at that moment would be desiring to be with them, he

¹³ Monst. 170. Sl. MS. There had been such a want of bread in the army, that many had used filberd nuts instead of it, and others roasted flesh. Wals.

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swore by the Majesty of heaven, in whom his unshaken hope of victory rested, that he would not, even if he possessed the power, add one single man to their number: "The people we have are what the Supreme has thought it fit, at this juncture, to be with us. Cannot the Omnipotent enable even our humble few to beat down the pride of our defying enemies? They trust to their multitudes and individual strength; and I place my confidence as absolutely in Him, by whom Judas Maccabeus so often triumphed over his foes."¹⁴

He contemplated awhile the position of the French, and to lessen the effect of their great superiority, drew his own force into the field on his left, beyond a wood that lay between him and his opponents; he reasoned, that they would either move round the wood to come that way upon him; or taking a larger circuit about the more distant copses, would easily, by their numbers, surround him on every side. He therefore placed his troops so as to keep the enemy in their opposite front, and to have the stress of the battle in that direction.¹⁵

A skirmish took place in effectuating this movement, but it was short; the king evaded the battle that night, and the French seeing this determination, when the sun began to set, retired to their stations,

¹⁴ Sloane MS. Tho Henry's views of policy and his ambition in this war are not reconcileable with moral or religious principle, yet he had persuaded himself to believe they were, and was manifestly actuated with a very earnest and at times lofty spirit of religious feeling throughout the arduous struggle. It was from this sentiment that he declined the aid of a gentleman with his twenty men, who, after becoming a monk, had, by dispensation from the Pope, returned to a worldly life. Harl. MS. No. 35. Nicol. 69. And before his embarkation he had observed 'numerous fasts, and made divers devout pilgrimages, prayers, alms deeds, and supplications of the clergy and commons.' Tit. Liv. Harl. MS. Nicol. p. 68.

¹⁵ Sloane MS.

and took their lodging amid the farms and orchards near their position. Both parties were now so close, that the English heard the French calling for their friends, and began to imitate the familiar vociferations; but Henry commanded instantaneous silence, on pain of every gentleman forfeiting his horse and harness if he disobeyed, and of others losing their right ears; a stillness immediately followed,¹⁶ and he then declined, without noise, to the village, where they found a few houses and some gardens, from which they got better food than they had tasted for several days: a little hut was the king's temporary shelter.¹⁷

The autumnal night was very dark, and heavy rain began to fall, and continued the greatest part of the night; the comforts of the army were but scanty.¹⁸ The taciturnity of the English camp led the French to believe that they were trembling with fear, and were meditating to escape; to prevent this, fires were made, and strong detachments placed over the fields and passages. They mistook the English character. Death was contemplated as possible, but no one thought of flight. The French were so certain of their prey, that their leaders cast dice with each other for the king and his nobles,¹⁹ of whose capture no one doubted.

¹⁶ Sloane MS. Monstrelet speaks of the English camp resounding with the national music, 170. This must have been before the king's order for them to be silent, as the writer of the MS. was in the camp, and expressly affirms this command.

¹⁷ Tit. Liv. 15. Elm. 56, 8. 'Before Henry went to his quarters at Maisoncelles, he allowed all the prisoners in his camp to depart, upon the promise that if he gained the victory, they would all return to him and their masters if they survived. But that if he lost the battle, they should be released from their engagements.' St. Remy.

¹⁸ 'Every lord sent his people or harbingers to the next villages for straw and litter to put under their feet; and to repose on in the place where they were. The night was very cold for the horses, and it rained nearly all the night with them.' Ibid.

¹⁹ Sl. MS.

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The night passed on amid these arrogant, and yet not unreasonable, anticipations on the one side; and with the other, in a state of stern and indignant anxiety. The exultations which the English heard, created resentment, not fear; and the hope of punishing some of the self-confident despisers, made even the death that might follow, a satisfying consolation to many. An honorable grave, a venerated memory, an example of undaunted courage, that future time for its own benefit must celebrate; the sympathy of all the brave, the tears of all the generous, the conscious possession of a firmness which even the obscure presence of impending death was not abating; the determination to exert all the heroic energies which resolute mind could create, or excited nature supply, and the hope that they could not fall till they should have made their enemies success too mournful to be vaunted, cheered the serious meditations of the English camp, amid all the weakness of disease and insufficient subsistence. The triumph of the Black Prince at Poitiers was a pleasing recollection; but as the French had lost that battle from bad conduct, and were now under able leaders, its experience would but instruct them to make their present dispositions more judicious and more effective. The prevailing feelings of the English, as the dreadful morn approached, settled in a devout trust in Providence, in earnest devotion,²⁰ in a solemn resignation to the unknown result, and in a personal conviction that both safety and success rested in the

²⁰ St. Remy emphatically notices this fact: 'There might be seen the English on their knees, with their clasped hands raised towards heaven, praying that God would take them into his protection. And it is true that *I was with them, and saw* that which I have related.' 'From them nothing was heard: for during that night all there confessed themselves, who could find a priest.' St. Remy.

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individual exertions of every arm, and in the immovable steadfastness of every heart. The hour of trial began at last to be craved with a desiring yet grave impatience. They beheld the French, some resting, some moving amid the blaze of their numerous fires in the fields, and at their tents, only two hundred and fifty yards off; both armies became fully revealed to each other as the stormy rain withdrawing allowed the moon to ascend to her unclouded zenith. The king took advantage of her sudden illuminations. He noted more precisely the positions of the French,²¹ and inferring from these the plan of their intended battle, he mused how to make his own more adapted to the difficulties and disadvantages, which, as he could not lessen, he must prepare to encounter.—No one slept.

At the dawn of the next day, Friday, the feast of St. Crispin and Crispinian, the French were perceived to be arranging themselves into their companies, battalions and grand divisions; and took their stations directly before the English in the field of Agincourt, across the road that must be passed in the way to Calais. They placed strong squadrons of horse at each side of their anterior divisions, to charge the English archers and to break up their ranks; their foremost divisions were all on foot, and were full of their noblest and most illustrious warriors. The innumerable spears and shining helmets that now caught and reflected the beams of the emerging sun, displayed themselves like an immense forest of light and danger, moved by animated numbers which seemed to the eye of the English thirty times greater

Battle of
Agincourt,
25th Oct.
1415.

²¹ Tit. Liv. 15, 16. Elm. 59. St. Remy says, 'that night they made many large fires close to the banner under which they were to fight.'

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than their own.²² All the chivalry of France was there; a nation habitually gallant; spirited to the dangerous degree of making courage its own destroyer; insensible in its terrible attacks to either doubt or fear; ever moving to its assaults; pressing them on with energies almost supernatural; and generally sure to overwhelm every adverse host who do not meet the shock with a rock-like patience, with persevering fortitude, and with the most vigorous prowess both of soul and body.

The constable formed his army into three great portions; he led the van division himself, with the princes of Orleans and Bourbon, and the chief nobility of France; 8000 knights and esquires, 4000 archers, and 1500 cross-bows accompanied him; the count of Vendome commanded at its left wing 1500 men at arms, who, while the front engaged, were to attack the right flank of the English, as the admiral of France from the other wing was to assail them with 800 chosen gentlemen of tried bravery. Another large force moved with these, which was specially directed to break the English archers; the main body of the French, not less numerous than the van, was entrusted to the duke of Alençon and other nobles: while the rest of the army was arranged as a rear guard to support and supply the others, and to co-operate as occasion should require.²³ The hinder divisions of the French are represented, by the clerical historian who saw them, to have consisted of cavalry.²⁴

²² So the author of the MS. mentions; having already expressed his own feelings in his epithet 'terrifica multitudo.'

²³ Monst. 172, 3. 'It was ordered among the French that each should shorten his lance, so that they might be stiffer when they came to action.' St. Remy.

²⁴ Sl. MS. St. Remy says, 'The French were full 50,000 men, with a great number of waggons and carts, guns and serpentines, and those other

There seems nothing to impeach in the constable's military distribution and direction of his troops; his dispositions display equal foresight, skill and courage; the whole array presented a grand and awful sight; so many thousands splendidly accoutred, effectively arranged, and personally eager for the most sanguinary destruction. To inflict death as extensively as possible on their fellow creatures, and to take the willing chance of receiving it from them, was the general purpose of both these defying armies; and yet every individual body contained a spirit that hoped to be immortal in some future region of peace, benevolence, wisdom and felicity, as if battle was as certainly the right road to the Christian's elysium, as it was anciently thought to be to the fierce Odin's valhalla: His heaven was, indeed, a conception more appropriate to such scenes than our own; its chief joy was placed in drinking from the skulls of slaughtered enemies; and it was a better taste to connect such happiness with the miseries and horrors of war, than that paradise of reason, knowledge, virtue and divine affection, which every heart in Europe now sighs for; and which the most enlightened intellects so often, amid life's chequered scenery, solace themselves with pourtraying.

At dawn, the king arrayed himself in a royal costume, heard his masses, mounted his steed, and called his army quietly into the field.²⁵ He stationed

warlike implements which were requisite on such occasions. They had few musical instruments to cheer them. On that night, in all their host, scarcely a horse was heard to neigh. This I knew from the pen of John, lord of Forestel; for he was in that army on the part of the French, *as I was in the other of the English.* St. Remy.

²⁵ St. Remy, describing what he saw, says, 'When the morning dawned, the king of England began to hear mass. He heard three, one after the other, armed in all his armor, except his head and his coat of arms. Then they brought him the armor for his head, which was a very hand-

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all the horses and baggage in the village, under such small guard as he could spare, having resolved to fight the battle on foot.²⁶ He sagaciously perceived that his only chance of victory rested in the superiority of the personal fortitude and activity of his countrymen; and to bring them face to face and arm to arm with their opponents, was the simple object of his tactical dispositions. He formed his troops from their small number into one great mass, in one line, with the men at arms in the center, and with the archers at their sides.²⁷ Here he stationed himself, and planted it to act against the main body of the French; he converted a part of this into an anterior right wing, which he committed to the duke of York to manœuvre; and another part for a left wing, rather backward, to act under the orders of lord Camoys. He interspersed every part with archers, and made them fix their stakes firmly in the earth before them, as he had previously arranged.²⁸ He so chose his ground, that the village protected his rear, and hedges and briers defended his flanks. Determined to shun no danger, but to be a conspicuous example to his troops on a day when no individual exertions could be spared, he kept on his brilliant helmet, a crown radiant with its jewels, and had over him a tunic adorned with the arms of France and England.²⁹ He rode along the line upon his little

some bacinet, a barriere, upon which he had a very rich crown of gold, circled like an imperial crown. After he was equipped at all points, and mounted upon a grey horse, a small one, without spurs, he ordered his army out of their quarters without sounding his trumpets.'

²⁶ 'Upon a fine plain of young corn he arranged his order of battle, and directed a gentleman, with 10 lances and 20 archers, to guard the baggage of himself, his people and his pages, who were noblemen, and many other of the sick who could not protect themselves.' St. Remy.

²⁷ St. Remy. 'There were full 900 men at arms and 10,000 archers.' *ib.*

²⁸ Sl. MS.

²⁹ Tit. Liv. 16. Elm. 60, 61.—The arms Elmham thus describes:

grey horse, and made an interesting address to his troops, exhorting them to act well,³⁰ and impressing these ideas: "We are, indeed, but few, compared with our enemy; but from this superiority, if God gives us the victory which we hope for, it will be from Him that we shall receive it. From Him, then, let us expect it. Should He for our sins deliver us to the swords of our foes, the less injury will happen to our country from our loss. Be brave and constant, and fight with all your strength. God, and the justice of our cause, will help us: He will deliver all this boasting multitude into our hands. And let every one who this day is conspicuous for his bodily armor, excel also his fellows in the superior fortitude and gallant daring of his mind."³¹

The French general, seeing Henry's available dispositions, thought it better to wait for his attack than to make one; he therefore kept his impatient troops aloof in their positions.³² The English did not move, and the French, seeing their tranquillity, seated themselves and took a repast; this refreshment was too beneficial to the troops not to be imitated by their opponents; but when both had recruited themselves, neither stirred. The English could not afford to throw away the smallest advantage, and the French commander felt that he had the game safe in his hands, and safer without a battle than with one. The

Three gold flowers planted in an azure field, and three gold leopards in a purple one. p. 61.

³⁰ St. Remy.

³¹ Tit. Liv. 17. Elm. 61, 62. 'He moreover reminded them, that the French had boasted that they would cut off three fingers from the right hand of every archer they should take, so that then they should never again kill man or horse.' St. Remy. The army answered by crying out loudly, 'Sir, we pray God to give you a good life and victory over your enemies.' Ib.

³² Sl. MS. St. Remy thus describes their position: 'The French had drawn up their lines between two small woods, the one close to Agincourt, the other to Tramecourt. The ground was narrow, and very advantageous for the English.'

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wisest of his chiefs knew enough of the English, to dread the collision of their despair.³³

Time glided on during this fearful pause for a long space—till the sun approached the tenth hour; and Henry was then compelled to reflect, that not to fight would be more ruinous to him than the worst that could happen from the conflict. He had no more provisions, and no force to detach to collect them; he must perish by famine, or surrender ignominiously, unless he fought and conquered. Every one was convinced of these truths, and every one felt that as the French would not move to attack, the English must immediately become, from necessity, not choice, the assailants upon them.

The king then prepared for this less advantageous movement; he had all that was moveable and incumbering taken to the rear of the army; and directed the priests and chaplains to take their station with it, in the farms and inclosures where he had lodged that night, and there to await the issue of the engagement.³⁴

That the constable could restrain the impetuosity of the impatient French, was an impressive proof of their improved discipline and of his influence; it was the obedience of reason against the impulses of natural vivacity and fervid hope; for their minds were so exalted, and the honor of taking prisoner a king of England seemed so certain, that many of their noblest princes came without their troops or banners, to partake of the undoubted glory.³⁵ But

³³ Monst. 174. St. Remy mentions, that at this juncture some overtures and conferences took place for an amicable arrangement; he adds, 'I knew not at whose request;' but neither party was satisfied with the terms offered by the other. Pierre de Fenin also mentions this fact.

³⁴ Sl. MS.

³⁵ Tit. Liv. 17. The French talked of giving quarter to none but to the king and his lords. Wals. Hist. 438.

they found that Henry had so wisely posted himself, that they could not bring up their whole force at once upon him. Hence, altho so numerous as to be able to draw up thirty deep, while the English could afford but four, and tho their banners alone seemed more numerous than all the English lances,³⁶ they would not commit themselves by an unadvisable advance. They remarked that the plain was wet and muddy from the rains, and they yielded to their commander's wish of seeing the English embarrassed by moving over it.³⁷ The soft state of the ground made the weight of their armor inconvenient to the French.³⁸ It must have embarrassed both of the contending parties.

But a thousand of their knights made skirmishing excursions around, and as these left the parts they covered, their lines appeared crowded with balistæ for the projection of stones on all sides on the English, when they should advance to the assault.

The king observed the preparations, and while he ordered 200 archers to sink quietly down to the rear of his army, and thence to move secretly to the village of Tramecourt, and there to post themselves, unseen, in a field near his enemies van, to use their

³⁶ Elm. 63. Tit. Livius states, that the French were more than thirty-one men deep in every line, while the depth of the English was only four. p. 27.

³⁷ Wals. Hist. 438. The state of the ground is thus described by St. Remy: 'The French had been all that night on horseback in the rain. Pages, valets and others, in walking their horses, had broken up the soft ground, and the horses sunk into it in such a manner, that it was with great difficulty they could get up again.' Remy.

³⁸ 'The French were so loaded with armor that they could not advance. They were in long coats of steel reaching to their knees, and very heavy. Below this was armor for their legs; and above, white harness and bacinets with camails. So heavily were they armed, that, together with the softness of the ground, it was with great difficulty that they could lift their weapons.' St. Remy. Nic. 191.

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bows at the most effective moment,³⁹ he sent a party in front to set fire to a farm house and buildings of a priory, at Hesdin, to alarm and perplex his motionless opponents. At the same time giving "Mary and St. George" as the words of battle, he began a movement of advance to challenge and attack those who seemed to shrink from the closer conflict. Sir Thomas Erpingham, one of his grey-headed leaders, threw up his truncheon as the signal to begin, and then dismounted as the king and others had done, and a loud shout of applause burst from the English at the sight, which startled the astonished French,⁴⁰ who could not comprehend the joy, and were provoked at its defiance. As the line moved, the English clergy saw the critical hour now at hand, and from their horses behind, with much affection for the king and their countrymen, but with an interest still more personal and urgent for themselves, poured their emphatic prayers to heaven for his success and their own safety, which the dark prospect before them made fervent, unceasing, and encouragingly audible.⁴¹

That such a handful of men should dare to advance so insultingly to attack them, and that they should be

³⁹ Monst. 175, Livius, 19, and Elmham, 62, mention the military engines which the French used in the battle, like our cannon, to hurl stones on the English line.

⁴⁰ Monst. 176. Hollingshed mentions, that the throwing up of the truncheon was a signal to the archers posted forward at Tramecourt to begin their operations. Nic. 197. St. Remy mentions the truncheon, and that sir Thomas then dismounted.

⁴¹ The writer of the MS. thus expresses his feelings at that moment: 'Then indeed, and as long as the battle lasted, I, who now write, was sitting on my horse amid the baggage at the back of the conflict, with the other priests there, and we humbled our souls before God, and we said from our hearts, 'O remember us, our Lord, our enemies are gathered together, and are vaunting in their strength! O break their power and disperse them, that they may know that there is none that gives the issue to the battle but Thyself!' He adds, 'In fear and trembling, from what our eyes were witnessing, we cried to Heaven to pity us, and to save the crown of England.' Sl. MS.

so dastardly as, under these circumstances, to wait for such an attack, became at last too much for the French pride to bear. The sight of the English moving was like a torch to their inflammable sensibilities, and no cautionary policy could keep them from action too. They sprung forward; as they advanced, Henry resumed his position, and the battle began. The constable charged at his flanks with the cavalry appointed for that purpose, but the English archers retiring within their pointed pales, saw the horses stake themselves on the impenetrable defence, and then with a deadly calmness and correct aim sent such showers of arrows on the various squadrons as they approached, that every attempt to break them ended in the slaughter and confusion of the discomfited assailants; they who did not fall, fled to the woods in irretrievable disorder.⁴² In vain the French artillery was discharged with all the vigor of those who served it; it injured few. The king had so well planted his small army, that woods not easily accessible secured both his flanks,⁴³ and thus compelled the constable to make his principal, and only feared attack, directly on the English line. What was not done against their front, was ineffectual elsewhere.

To overwhelm and destroy the English phalanx was now the business of the day: and for this grand movement the constable divided his advancing masses into three portions, and ordered their respective leaders to assault the opposing force at three distinct points, in close columns of simultaneous but separate

⁴² Sl. MS.

⁴³ From the expressions of the Sloane MS. '*nemoribus quo erant ad utrinque latus exercituum*,' it appears this advantage, so important to Henry, was enjoyed also by the French; as St. Remy notices: see in Note 32: but their great numbers had really no occasion for it. To the English it was an essential cause of their final success.

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attacks. The charge was made with all the intrepid fury of a French onset; and the weight and fierceness of the shock were so irresistible, that the English were forced backwards from their front the full length of a spear. This disastrous commencement renewed all the terrors of the supplicating chaplains, who beheld it with undissembled dismay, and loudly uttered anew in bitterness of spirit,⁴⁴ their more earnest petitions that Heaven would remember them and the crown of England, which was now trembling on the verge of its destruction.

The battle became at this juncture, in its horrors, sturdiness, and vicissitudes, tremendous. The English recovered from their first agitation, and struggled vehemently to recover the ground they had lost; the French to keep and increase their advantage. Mass shocked with mass; they forced each other back with alternate prevailing; the English at last regained their first station, but it was only to encounter more furious assaults, and to be roused to new exertions. Their archers, standing a little out from the sides, poured unintermittingly successive streams of arrows into the flanks of the assailants;⁴⁵ the French stooped to prevent the weapons from striking the vizors of their helmets,⁴⁶ but the archers persevered with that

⁴⁴ These are the expressions of the MS. in which the author fully expresses his natural feelings and reasonable solicitude. He says, 'Then we, who were classed with the clerical militia, and beheld this incident, fell upon our faces before the throne of grace, vociferating in bitterness of spirit,' &c. Sloane MS.

⁴⁵ MS. *ib.*

⁴⁶ Monst. 177. Des Ursins thus accounts for this position of their head, and notices its ill effects: 'It was eight in the morning, and our people had the sun in their eyes. To bear this better, and to avoid the arrows of the English, they bent their heads to the ground. From doing this, our people did not perceive the English as they came near, until just before they struck them with their hatchets; while the archers who were behind assailed them with arrows in the rear.' Des Ursins, p. 315.

peculiar strength of the English muscle and bow which no armor could resist; and when their quivers were exhausted, they grasped, in determined rage, their own axes and swords, snatched from the French what they were using, and seized the points of the broken spears that were lying about,⁴⁷ and even tore up their own stakes to stab and beat down their opponents. The slaughter swelled with the perseverance of the attack and the resolution of their resistance; streams of blood inundated the plain; the exertions of the English were wonderful, altho so affected by the disease which had pursued them from Harfleur, that many fought in jackets without their armor, whose weight they could not support; and many without their lower garments; some, also, bareheaded, and even without hats,⁴⁸ and all emaciated and weakened by long want of suitable food;⁴⁹ yet never had the oldest warriors present seen them fight more intrepidly, nor strike with more terrible effect. Their enemies felt their inconceivable power. The most valiant knights and the stoutest champions of the French chivalry were mowed down by their resistible weapons, till the bravest began to quail with an unaccountable panic, and to yield; and the cry for quarter became as general as the vaunting self-confidence had been over-weening and imprudent. The contest now became so close as to be face to face and foot to foot; and except, by shortening their pikes, none could use them. Most of those who had

⁴⁷ Sl. MS. and Walsingham.

⁴⁸ Monst. 177. St. Remy alludes to this: 'The archers were for the greater part without armor to their pourpoints; their hoses were loosened, carrying hatchets and axes, with long swords hanging at their girdles, and some with their feet naked. Some wore caps of boiled leather; or wicker-work, crossed over with iron.'

⁴⁹ Sl. MS.

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been assigned to cut up the English archers⁵⁰ had perished, and the horses of the surviving portion became so terrified and unmanageable, that they flew upon their own battalions and forced them into disorder; confusion excited panic, and panic multiplied confusion, till many fled, many were hurried backward by the breaking of the alarmed, and all the van division scattered in despair as the English, seeing the confusion, made a desperate and murderous charge with their swords, battle-axes, mallets and bill-hooks. This advance placed them with their heroic king, before the main body or second line of the French, which was now brought up to meet them, and on whose valor and fate the issue of the battle was wholly to depend.⁵¹

The dreadful contest was here renewed with the most sanguinary carnage; in this struggle, as in the former, the front ranks of the ardent and intrepid French columns fell before the English weapons; the eagerness and fury of their advance caused the next lines to stumble and fall upon their slaughtered brethren; before these could rise, they were covered with new rows of killed, on whom the violent pressure of the masses behind drove others to fall alive and unwounded: on these again the English arms prostrated fresh ranks of slain, till the mingled masses of the overthrown, living and dead, exceeded the height

⁵⁰ 'The constable had formed a body of 1000 or 1200 men at arms to have gone, half by Agincourt and half by Tramecourt, to break the wings of the English archers.' St. Remy.

⁵¹ Monst. 178. p. 9. 'The English archers perceiving this disorder of the advanced guard, quitted their stakes, threw their bows and arrows on the ground, and keeping their swords, axes and other weapons, sallied out upon them, and killed and disabled the French; cutting right and left, they made their way to the second line, which was in the rear of the advanced guard; and then pushed within it, with the king of England in person and his followers.' St. Remy.

of a human figure,⁵² and became a fleshly fortification to the English, who at first from behind it, and afterwards upon it, directed all their weapons of destruction, while no blows could effectually reach them. The very impetuosity of the French onset multiplied this cause of irremediable disaster; they fell like helpless sheep before their antagonists, who were so occupied with striking that they could take no prisoners. Many of the French nobles surrendered themselves ten times, and yet could not be secured.⁵³ Their captors had to fight and kill so many more, that they were obliged to leave all whom they did not slaughter to the chance of escape, or to the spontaneous inaction of personal honor. In all the points of attack, these masses of the intermixed, living and dead, were found, on which the English ascended as on so many advantageous hills. At this period of slaughter, a vigorous charge of cavalry, and with intimidating shouts that seemed to multiply their number from the woods on its rear,⁵⁴ hastened the defeat of this second line; and it was during the severer and most obstinate part of the conflict, the ambushed archers also rushed out, and by discharging their full quivers into the centre of the struggling French, from an unexpected and unguarded quarter, contributed to that diminution and shaking of their dense masses

⁵² The Sloane MS. supplies us with this frightful incident, and adds, that after the battle was decided, the English employed themselves in taking down these heaps, and in separating out of them the living from the dead. We cannot doubt that humanity was one motive, but the author also ascribes it to a desire to have profitable captives, who could redeem themselves by their wealth.

⁵³ Sl. MS.

⁵⁴ Des Ursins mentions this circumstance: 'The horsemen, whom the English had placed in the wood, rushed on them in crowds, and came from behind on our second line. They uttered such a great and frightful cry, that they terrified all our people; so that those of the second line took to flight.' p. 315.

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of attack, which gave the victory at last to the English resolution.⁵⁵

For so dreadful and decisive a battle, it was remarkably short; it was begun and ended in three hours; and the victory seems to have resulted to the English from several causes which we can enumerate; these were, the position chosen by Henry between two woods, which reduced the overpowering masses of the enemy to confine their attack to one space, on a front no larger than his own;⁵⁶—his condensation of his small force into one steady phalanx, which had thereby weight and stability enough to resist the solid columns of the assailing French, in a line not exceeding his own front;—the repulse and destruction of the French cavalry by his stakes and skilful archers, and their inability, from his position, to turn his rear, or to act effectively on his flanks;—the disaster of the French advancing lines falling on each other from the denseness of their column, and from the impetuosity of their attack; the successful irruption of the ambushed archers; and the constable and chief leaders of the French perishing or becoming prisoners in the main fury of the contest, thus leaving their army a great mangled body without a head. These peculiar local and temporary causes, added to the superior muscular force, the Roman constancy of mind, the intelligent activity, the desperate coolness, and the continuing energy of the English soldiers,

⁵⁵ ‘Then an immense number of the French were killed, who but slightly defended themselves, because, in consequence of the horsemen, the French line was broken. Then the English charged the French with greater force, overthrowing the two first lines, and in many places cruelly destroying and slaying without mercy.’ St. Remy.

⁵⁶ Des Ursins thus mentions his position: ‘The English were posted in a fine place between two woods; and a little distance from them was another wood, on the side of which they planted large ambuscades of their mounted men at arms.’ p. 314.

may account, under the permitting will or assisting agency of Heaven, for a victory which, to its rarely equalled extent and consequential importance, could not have been expected, even by the king's enthusiasm. But the greatest error of the French in this battle seems to have been, that, notwithstanding the vast superiority of their army, their attacks were confined to one position; and altho they assaulted this in three points, yet it does not appear that they deployed upon it altogether a larger front than Henry presented to them. They opposed a more solid line to his than he could present to theirs; they assailed his four deep with their thirty deep, but they could bring no more into simultaneous action against him than he had in full activity against them. Their density interfered with their activity;⁵⁷ they lost all the advantages of their superior numbers. At the pressing and only dangerous instant of the destructive collision, they had no more really engaged against him than he had against them; all their remaining forces were embattled ready, and were urging on to come into action; but according to their plan of battle they could never come in simultaneous action, and could therefore never overpower. On the contrary, the dense and animated hinder ranks, by forcing on the foremost, only contributed to the defeat and their own destruction, as soon as the dead became incumbrances in their path, over whom, from their onward eagerness, they stumbled. A denser line can only hope to master a weaker one of equal front, by being superior to its soldiers in personal skill, firmness, activity and strength, so as to kill quicker and more

⁵⁷ 'When they had nearly met, *they were so pressed by each other*, that they could not lift their arms to attack their enemies, excepting some who were in the front.' St. Remy.

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numerously than they fall themselves ; or by being, at least, so equal in these respects, that equal numbers falling on both sides, the surviving superiority must in the end prevail ; or if inferior, by fighting and perishing so magnanimously, that the fewer line becomes at last wearied with killing, and must, from nature's inability to strike, be finally overpowered : but no army has yet been known to endure destruction so long as it would be necessary in order to obtain this discreditable triumph. The courage of the hinder part of every column always fails before its destroying adversaries become exhausted ; hence the English, as bodily soldiers, being superior in the power and art of warlike killing to the individual French, front after front of the attacking masses of the latter perished in the heaps that we have described, till consternation seized all who had to follow, and they fled from the death which none of their preceding ranks had escaped. No panegyric can eulogize the military judgment of Henry more than the simple statement, that he had so placed his little army that his flanks were secure, and his vast enemies could only attack him with a front equal to his own.⁵⁸ We may indeed ask, why the constable, who could have marched away to any point two thirds of his host, and yet have enough for the battle he fought, did not dispatch a strong division to take a large circle round all the woods in which Henry was embosomed, and by which he was saved, and attack him in the rear ? The answer probably would have been, that it was not deemed necessary ; the destruction of the English.

⁵⁸ No position could have been better chosen by the most consummate commander. 'The French had sufficient archers and arblestiers, but these were unable to use their bows *from the narrowness of the place, which did not afford room* for more than the men at arms.' St. Remy.

seemed certain without; especially on the constable's plan, of making the king leave his position and bury himself in theirs. The ardent courage and sudden vivacity of the French troops defeating this idea, by moving towards Henry as soon as he was seen moving on them; the king had only to fall back on his advantageous ground, and this deprived the French of all the advantages of their great superiority, by making them fight him with a front no wider than his own. The immediate conflict was so fierce and short, that the battle was over before any large movement that required time could be effectually made, and as the constable fell in the first attacking mass, there was no one to order a measure so important. When the two great divisions of the French had been thus annihilated or dispersed, their third body, if it had been brave and firm, might have still wrested the laurel from the English warriors, now becoming fatigued by their great exertions; but this, as the king advanced upon it, immediately gave way; in the contagious panic abandoning all their baggage, provisions, artillery and munitions of battle,⁵⁹ and the English had only to kill and take prisoners, and to plunder what they pleased.⁶⁰

The king was every where the foremost, daring

⁵⁹ Sloane MS. So St. Remy. 'Then all the rear guard, being still mounted, seeing the fate of the two first lines, took to flight, excepting some of the commanders and leaders.' This defeat is an illustration of Major C. H. Smith's remark:—'Battles are decided, not by troops upon the muster-rolls, *nor even by those present*, but by those alone who are simultaneously engaged. Numerical superiority of troops, not engaged, so far from being useful, only increases the disorder.'—Ed. Ency. Supp. Art. War.

⁶⁰ The author's feelings here do him credit: 'We beheld and gazed upon the masses of the slain; but not unaccompanied with the grief and tears of many, that so many illustrious and gallant warriors had thus sought their own destruction, and so uselessly annihilated their own glory and honors.' Sloane MS.

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danger.

every peril, and exhibiting a prowess that electrified and surprised his friends. At one moment he was in imminent danger. Eighteen French gentlemen agreed together to single him out, and to kill him, or perish. They got so near him, that one of them struck him so furiously upon his crest, that the blow made him fall upon his knees.⁶¹ But the little confederated band was all destroyed. It was, perhaps, in this part of the contest that the Welsh commander, David Gam, and his two officers, fell, whom the king knighted for their bravery as they lay expiring upon the ground.⁶² Henry was repeatedly struck upon his helmet and armor. In one desperate struggle, his brother, the duke of Gloucester, was felled senseless at his feet; the king immediately stood over him, repelled a long and furious attack to take him, and had the gratification to preserve his life.⁶³

The duke d'Alençon distinguished himself by equal valor. He penetrated thro the English force by his impetuous charge, till he reached the king. He struck down the duke of York. The king stooped down to raise him; and in that posture d'Alençon discharged a blow with his battle-axe on Henry's crown, which struck off a part of it. The brave duke was soon surrounded, and his retreat cut off. Perceiving his situation, he stretched out his hand to the

⁶¹ Lefevre, who was engaged in the battle, mentions this circumstance. St. Remy, who was also there, thus alludes to it: 'Eighteen esquires of the French army, led by Bremalet and Garnot, bound themselves by oath, that when the two armies met, they would, by their united strength, force themselves sufficiently near to the king of England as to strike the crown from off his head, or that all would die. They succeeded in getting so near the king, that one of them, with an axe, gave him a blow so violent on his helmet, that it struck off one of the points of his crown: but every one of these gentlemen was killed and cut to pieces.' St. Remy. Nicol. 186.

⁶² Powell's History of Wales.

⁶³ Tit. Liv. Elmh.

king, and exclaimed, "I am the duke of Alençon; I yield myself to you." But as the king was about to receive his submission, he was killed by those who had rushed forwards against him.⁶⁴ The marshal of France was coming up into the battle, when, seeing the many wounded, the masses flying in all directions, and that all the great lords were killed or taken, and finding it impossible to make any effectual rally, he retreated to the king of France at Rouen.⁶⁵ The victory was now complete, but it was saddened by a cruelty which was rather caused by a presumed necessity than by any deliberate or revengeful inhumanity. In the first heat and greatest danger of the action, when some prisoners were made, but while the final event was in suspense, tidings were brought to the king, that a French squadron was attacking his rear, and had taken his baggage. Henry, alarmed at the information, ordered the prisoners taken to be put to the sword, lest they should co-operate to his destruction. This lamentable catastrophe took place before it was ascertained that the attack had been chiefly made by a body of plundering peasantry.⁶⁶ The French historians candidly admit that this mistake, and not intentional cruelty, was the cause of this unhappy slaughter. It is perhaps some impeachment

The pri-
soners
slain.

⁶⁴ Monst. 193.

⁶⁵ Ib. 194. He gives a very copious list of the princes and lords who perished, or were taken prisoners in the battle, 185-192.

⁶⁶ Monst. 180, 1. Tit. Liv. Elmh. The author of the Sloane MS. mentions, that French plunderers prowled about on all sides, and as soon as they saw the armies seriously engaged, attacked the tail of Henry's force. He speaks of the 'desidia clientium regalium,' as to the baggage; and adds, that the king's treasure, sword of state, crown, and other jewels, were carried off by the depredators. MS. ib. St. Remy mentions three men at arms who, with others, accompanied by 600 peasants, went and attacked the baggage. Rymer's printed document enumerates the plate and jewels that were lost on this occasion. See his *Fœd.* v. 9. p. 356. and Nicol. 202.

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of that admirable self-possession which Henry had so nobly displayed ; but the physical exhaustion of his mind and body, from the exertions in such a conflict, may be admitted as his apology for a precipitate act of inhumanity into which the general excitation and alarm of his wearied, tho conquering countrymen, combined to urge him. Before he left the field of battle, he returned thanks to Heaven for the wonderful victory. He called together the French and English heralds ; he told them, he should not have had such a great success, if the sins of the French had not occasioned their disaster ; and he inquired the name of the castle which he saw close to him ; they told him “ Agincourt.” He remarked, that all battles ought to bear the name of the nearest fortress, and that this should be called the Battle of Agincourt. He found that, except the veteran duke of York⁶⁷ and the young earl of Suffolk, he had lost, to the general wonder, only a few soldiers ; a proof that the battle was rather killing than fighting, and that the French must have been in a very disadvantageous situation. The English attempted no pursuit ; but when the field of battle was cleared from all their opponents, the king returned, with their wounded, to the village of Maisoncelles, and slept where he had rested the preceding night. The French wounded crawled as well as they were able to the neighboring woods and villages. Such as were found next morning alive on the field, were either

⁶⁷ This nobleman was the eldest son of Isabella, the princess of Castile, and of her husband, the earl of Cambridge, the brother of the Black Prince and of John of Gaunt. He had been created earl of Rutland and duke of Albemarle. He had been accused of assisting in the murder of the duke of Gloucester, and in 1402 became duke of York by his father's death. Leaving no issue, this ducal title descended to his nephew, the father of Edward IV.

taken prisoners or killed ;⁶⁸ and Henry, with his remaining force, of which only three-fourths were on foot, immediately proceeded to Calais.⁶⁹ The duke of Gloucester, Henry's brother, was found to be severely wounded, but he recovered after resting in this town.⁷⁰

⁶⁸ St. Remy adds, 'The king of England halted on the ground to view the dead; and it was a melancholy thing to see there the nobility, who had lost their lives for their sovereign lord, the king of France, already as naked as they were born.' Nic. 220.

⁶⁹ Monst. 184. He says, that the French heralds, and others, who went to inter the dead, reckoned 10,000 French to have fallen. Sixteen hundred of these were 'varletz,' all the rest were 'gentilzhommes.' Among these, 120 banners were found. In the number of the killed were the constable of France, the admiral, the commanders of the king's household and bowmen; the princely dukes of Brabant, Berry and Alençon, and their brothers, and a long list of nobility, which fill a chapter of Monstrelet. Among the prisoners, he enumerates the duke of Orleans, the duke of Bourbon, the marshal of France; the counts d'Eu, Vendosme, and Rocheumont, and several seigneurs. He considers that about 1500 knights and esquires were taken. On the English loss his words are, 'about 1600 men of all conditions were found dead upon the place,' and the duke of York. p. 182. So St. Remy. The Sloane MS. mentions, that among the slain, above 90 counts and barons, and those having banners, were recorded; and more than 1500 knights, according to the computation of the officers, and between 4 and 5000 other nobles; an amount nearly equal to the whole nobility of England. He adds, that only nine or ten persons of rank fell among the English. MS. ib. Titus Livius gives the slain as 10,000 French and 100 English. p. 21. Otterburne makes the loss of the latter 132, and that 7000 gentlemen were taken. p. 277. The poem attributed to Lydgate expresses the slain to be 10,000. Nic. p. 261. The Cleopatra MS. c. 4. puts the number as 10,000. ib. 236. As Monstrelet so expressly declares that he had his account from those who visited the field of battle, I think it unnecessary to notice other estimations, except to mention that the small number of the English is stated by other Frenchmen. Pierre du Fenin makes it but 400 or 500. p. 384. Gaguin, who died in 1501, states 400 in his History of France, p. 197. Paulus Emilius, a native of Verona, who wrote the French history, and died 1529, makes the English loss only 200. p. 323. Thus every part of the affair was extraordinary—a battle of three hours, and the defeat of an immense army, by one sixth or one tenth of their number, with the loss, at the highest, of only 1600 men!! Henry might well have the 'Non nobis Domine!' chanted. It was indeed a victory given to him by a power far greater than his own—and so he felt it.

⁷⁰ Laboureur talks unjustly of the English troops, in his patriotic effusions. 'O eternal reproach! O ever deplorable disaster! It is usual to console oneself under similar losses, when one is conquered by equal forces; nor is it an extreme misfortune to acknowledge valiant warriors or gentlemen victorious; but it is a twofold disgrace, and that which over-

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tions on
the battle.

This remarkable battle was unlike those of Cressy and Poitiers, in the peculiar circumstance, that they were fought from necessity, and as the only means of escape; but the battle of Agincourt was deliberately dared, and rather industriously sought by the king of England. He had taken Harfleur, and thus secured a point of entrance into Normandy when he pleased. Perceiving his army afflicted and thinned by disease, he had his choice, of remaining there till reinforcements arrived from England, or of garrisoning it as he did, and of sailing back to England, to renew the next spring his invasion, with the advantage of commencing it from this important fortress. He chose to send away his fleet, under his brother the duke of Clarence, to England, and to march by land thro the territory of his enemies in open daring, without any attempt by manœuvres to elude, or by forced marches to outstrip them, and without any other object in view than to embark for England at Calais, by a land march thro Normandy, instead of a direct and short voyage from Harfleur. He made this determination with the full prospect of the whole force of the French nation bearing down upon him to intercept him; he expected it, and declared he should take no measures to avoid it. He set off with scanty supplies for his army, with a debilitating disease pervading it, and with its daily reduction certain, from its malady and privations. His march was therefore a challenge to all France, to come and

powers a generous spirit, to see oneself beaten *by bad troops*; to yield in valor to people collected from all parts; and to acknowledge *armed valets* for conquerors, and masters of one's life and liberty.'—He thus explains the defeat: 'The check of the advanced guard frightened the two lines which remained; and as they had no chief or lord of consequence to conduct them, they thought more of cowardly flying than of aiding and assisting their companions.' p. 1010.

fight him and his sick, small, and suffering army. No fabled hero of romance ever tempted destruction more wilfully, or achieved a more extraordinary adventure. It was a march of the most calm, deliberate, determined, and self-devoted heroism that history has recorded. The battle was fought in the same spirit, and as miraculously won. They fought, beat, killed, captured or dispersed from 60,000 to 100,000 men, supplied with every personal comfort, and with every means of annoyance. For the issue, we have endeavored to account by the description of the conflict. But for Henry's motives thus to become an Amadis de Gaul or an Oroondates, we can give no other explanation than that mysterious impulse and confidence of mind which distinguish sublime genius; that aspiration for heroic fame, at every risk, which the feats of former days excite in such an intellect; and a fixed resolution to redeem the good opinion, and to compel the applause of mankind, which youthful errors had begun to forfeit. The insult of the tennis balls being evidence that his personal depreciation had been extended to France, may have made him dread, lest his sudden retreat should have increased it; and therefore he preferred the chance of death, with the reputation of at least attempting an enterprise of uncommon daring, to the certainty of the derision and contempt of those who had already taunted him, whom he came to conquer, but from whom he would have seemed to have fled. His audacious, but gallant march and battle, are therefore rather subjects for our romantic admiration, than for our sober praise or for any human imitation. The laurels of Cressy and Poitiers were those of valiant fortitude, exerting surprising prowess as the only

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means of safety. The laurel of Agincourt was the prize of temerity without necessity; of a chivalric defiance of danger, too much like ostentatious confidence to be safely commended; and was won, not only against calculation, but against all reasonable hope.⁷¹ But what reasoning can justify wars and enterprises that produce such a quantity of human slaughter and suffering, which even the soldiers who inflicted it could not look at without lamenting?⁷² Such sympathy and yet such actions display the anomalous medley which so often deforms the Divine principle of man's intellectual nature. Compassionate, yet cruel; tender-hearted, yet pitiless; benevolent at one moment, unfeeling at another; kind even to animals, and yet ruthless against his human fellow creatures. We see an angel form of being, darkened by features which resemble those other existences, whom we most dread, dislike and reprobate.⁷³

Henry proceeded to Calais with the richest part of

⁷¹ The intelligent French reviewer of the military works, in Ferussac's *Bull. Univ.* makes these remarks on this celebrated victory: 'It was wrong to engage the English on a field of battle so unfavorable for the action of the cavalry, on which the great hope of success was founded, and where the centre, commanded by the comte d'Alençon, could not deploy. The French army was defeated for want of unity in the command.' May 1829. p. 319.

⁷² The author of the Sloane MS. exhibits creditably to himself his feelings on this occasion: 'When we returned victorious thro the heaps and piles of the slain, many could not refrain from grief and tears, that so many soldiers of such distinction and power, should in such manner, entirely against our will, have sought their own deaths, destroying and spoiling the glory and honor of their own population to no purpose. I firmly believe there is not a heart, but if it had contemplated the dreadful destruction and bitter wounds of so many Christians, would have dissolved and melted into tears from grief.' Sloane MS. Nic. 226.

⁷³ The contradiction of character which Dr. Walsh remarks of the Turks, is applicable to most of us, tho we may display it on different subjects and in a different manner: 'I often wished to shoot an alcedo; but the Turks have such a tender and conscientious regard for the life of every animal, *but man*, that no person is permitted to kill any bird upon the Bosphorus, without incurring their displeasure.' Dr. Walsh's *Narrative*.

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HENRY V.Henry
returns to
England.

the plunder only,⁷⁴ and soon afterwards landed at Dover, where he was received with such general enthusiasm, that the people waded thro the sea to his ship, and took him in their arms, and carried him to land.⁷⁵ In London, at his entrance, the citizens displayed their proudest costume. The tapestry in which the valiant feats of his predecessors were woven, was every where displayed, because none had transcended this victory. The aqueducts ran with wine. In the public streets, towers were erected, adorned with the richest cloths, in which boys with pleasing voices were placed, singing his praise. The king ordered this part of the pageantry to cease. He referred his success to God alone ; and would not even suffer the battered crown on his helmet to be publicly exhibited.⁷⁶

⁷⁴ Monstrelet mentions, that his army selected the gold, silver, rich dresses, helmets and most portable valuables, but left the armor and clothes of the slain untouched, with the heavy baggage. The peasants, however, flocked from the neighboring villages, and stripped the field, till nothing but the naked bodies remained. p. 195.

⁷⁵ Tit. Liv. 22. Elmh. 71.

⁷⁶ Tit. Liv. 22. Elmh. 72. The Sloane MS. gives a detail of the king's reception in the metropolis, on his return from this great victory. Hearing that he had arrived from Canterbury at his mansion at Eltham, and meant to enter London on the following Sunday, the citizens prepared to receive him as its 'amantissimus et desideratissimus princeps.' On that day, the lord mayor and 28 aldermen, in their scarlet gowns, and 20,000 of the citizens on horseback in red, with hoods of red and white, went to Blackheath. Each company had the most striking and ingenious devices of its trade or profession which it could invent, to distinguish it from the others. About ten o'clock the king appeared with but a small train of his own friends ; he was received with their hearty congratulations, and then all proceeded to the city. When they reached the tower that stood at the entrance of the bridge, a gigantic statue was seen of vast magnitude, made to resemble the king in its countenance, having a great battle-axe in its right hand, and the keys of the city in its left, hanging from a staff, as if it had been the porter of the city gates. At its side stood a female image, little less in size, in a purple robe, and womanly ornaments, as the wife of the preceding. The battlements shone with royal armor, and trumpets, horns and clarions filled the air with noisy melody. In front of the erection appeared the strange inscription, 'The city of the king of righteousness !' Proceeding to the bridge, two tall columns of wood, elegantly shaped and carved, covered with

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There can be no warrantable doubt that Henry was earnest and sincere in his religious feelings; but his stern insensibility to the human sufferings produced by his warlike projects and operations—most unrelentingly and peculiarly manifested in the subsequent siege of Rouen—is a sad testimony that the divinest principle of human nature may, in the same individual, be restricted by a more favorite passion to a very partial and contradictory operation. It is the ever-absurd, and yet very general attempt to unite the good which we venerate, with the self-gratifying evil that we will not relinquish. Henry may plead that he did no more than mankind usually do, who wish to cultivate religion, and yet desire and determine not to give up the incompatible indulgence which most pleases them. He may not have been worse than other persons in this inconsistent conduct; but he lived to find that the incongruity could

linen, and painted so as to resemble fine white marble and green jasper, were seen: on one an antelope had a shield, blazing with the royal arms, fastened to his neck, clasping the sceptre in his right foot; on the top of the other stood a lion holding a spear, with the king's banner floating from it. A tower appeared beyond them with an armed figure of St. George, thought to be very beautiful; his head wreathed with a laurel crown, sparkling with what seemed like diamonds and precious gems; a triumphal helmet hung on one side, and a large shield, with heraldic arms, was on the other, while his right hand grasped the handle of the sword that was in his belt. The more appropriate device here was, 'To God alone, the honor and the glory.' Beyond were various fabrications and figures representing the angelic hierarchy; the dresses white, the faces shining, their wings radiant with gold, and their hair abounding with tinsel and resplendent stones. These, as the king approached, hailed him, from organs and other instruments, with an English chant. At the aqueduct on Cornhill, was a tower covered with purple cloth, with arms, images and devices. In Cheapside, another highly adorned erection was made, as showy and complimentary as a taste for pageantry could invent. As he proceeded, new fancies appeared, and he was hailed with 'Welcome Henry the Fishe, kynge of Englonde and of Fraunce.' Angels again were called in to assist the gratulation, and a Te Deum was chanted from among them. So immense was the jubilant crowd, that the horses could scarcely get along. The windows and roofs were full of ladies, nobility and gentry, and the whole city was in an uproar of joy, acclamation and happiness. Sloane MS. 1776.

have no happy result; and that the martial ambition which he would not abandon, became a spell of evil to himself and to his immediate descendants. Henry was no hypocrite; but he is an instance how separable a fervent faith is from a consequential practice; and therefore his example confirms the wisdom of those, who strenuously inculcate the moral duties of Christianity, in addition to the sincere and justifying belief. Neither of these necessarily, or even habitually produce the other. They are distinct acts of the mind, altho they ought never to be disjoined.

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C H A P. XII.

Continuation of the War with France.—HENRY'S Illness and Death.—His Persecutions of the Lollards.—His Embassy to the Council of Constance.

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—

IT might have been expected that this great victory would have induced Henry to have sailed to France with the first breeze of the ensuing spring, and to have struggled again for the throne he had claimed. But, as if to shew that personal honor had been his leading object, he remained at home nearly two years afterwards, without any military movement.¹ The factions in France continuing, the duke of Burgundy sought to excite him to espouse his interests. This turbulent prince, disappointed in his hopes of possessing the French regency, if not the crown, at last, stimulated by revenge, entered into a treaty with Henry, in which he acknowledged him to be the real king of France, and did him homage accordingly.²

This seductive plan of additional greatness, inflamed Henry's mind with the ambition to secure it. He tried to interest the noble French prisoners still in England

¹ In 1416, the emperor of Germany, Sigismund, came from Paris into England. He affected to act as mediator between the two countries. He was made knight of the garter, and continued here during the summer. Wals. 441. He signed a treaty of alliance with Henry, and promised to assist him against France.

² On the subsequent transactions of Henry with France, the 9th and 10th volumes of Rymer's *Fœdera* contain official papers which furnish the authentic detail. Rapin published a very satisfactory *Abrégé Historique* of this work, to which I would refer the reader; and I take this opportunity of acknowledging that it has frequently assisted me as a valuable critical and historical index to the documents in Rymer. On this reign, it presents them to us interwoven with a connected narrative that will both instruct and please the historical student.

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Henry
invades
France
again.

to support him ; and the duke of Burgundy having published a strong manifesto against the royal administration at Paris, which had made itself unpopular, and having marched an army towards Paris, Henry embraced the opportunity of landing himself, at the end of July 1417, with 25,000 men in Normandy. The French government, occupied with opposing Burgundy, could not repress Henry's invasion. He took Caen, Bayeux, Mantes, Alençon, and Falaise. His siege of Rouen produced a similar destruction of human life and comfort.* A conference for peace having ended fruitlessly, Henry continued his campaign in Normandy during the winter. The Pope interfered, to pacify the two countries ; but the constable of France, who governed it, defeated his mediation. The party of Burgundy afterwards becoming masters of Paris, massacred the constable, and above 2000 of those attached to him ; the duke then seized the government. Complicated negotiations, sometimes avowed, sometimes secret, ensued between him and Henry, and between the dauphin of France and Henry, and between the dauphin and Burgundy, each too much striving to overreach the other. The

* Henry marched in June to besiege it, with his brothers and best troops. He had also several bodies of Irish, of whom the greater part had one leg and foot quite naked. The arms of these were targets, short javelins, and a strange kind of knives. They were of little use as soldiers, but they desolated and plundered the hostile country. The besieged defended themselves with a resolution that afflicted them with the greatest miseries which the human vice of war can bring on human life. From the beginning of October they had been driven to live on horses, dogs, cats, mice and rats ; and yet, to make their provisions last, they had expelled from the town 12,000 poor people, men, women and children, the greater part of whom perished wretchedly in the ditches. Upwards of 50,000 of the inhabitants died of hunger before it surrendered ; and on the 19th January 1420, Henry entered with a triumphant pomp which every feeling of humanity, after inflicting such suffering, ought to have restrained. Monst 5. p. 40-71. This author enumerates thirty-five towns and castles which were yielded to Henry, from the impression produced by the loss of Rouen. 74.

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dauphin and Burgundy becoming more alarmed at England than at each other, surprised the world with intelligence of their reconciliation. Henry, indignant at their deceptions, attacked and took Pointoise, and published a declaration, stating his grievances; reminding the nation, that he had now got, in the capture of Pontoise, the key of Paris, and renewing the demand of their compliance with his former offers, with the addition of the surrender of this city.⁴

The political state of France only became more stormy by the assassination of Burgundy by the dauphin. This crime, as foolish as abominable, threw the young duke of Burgundy into a close alliance with Henry, and revolted the best part of the nation against the dauphin. A treaty of peace with the English king now became inevitable, and it was concluded at Troyes the 1st April 1420. By this treaty, Henry was to marry Catherine, the daughter of the French king; to be regent of France while Charles remained alive; and to succeed him to the crown on his demise.⁵ Henry published an order to strike a coin with his new title, "*Henricus Francorum Rex*;"⁶ was betrothed to Catherine at Troyes the 21st May, and was wedded to her the 2d of June. The English and French courts, united, went and laid siege to Sens; a sentence was issued against the murderers of the duke of Burgundy, in

1420.
Treaty of
Troyes.

Henry
named the
successor
to the
French
crown.

⁴ The archbishop of Canterbury issued orders for prayers to be offered for Henry's success in this expedition, and for his *preservation* 'from the superstitious operations of the necromancers; especially of those who are reported to be contriving for the destruction of his person.' Wilk. Concilia, vol. 3. p. 393.

⁵ See this treaty in Rymer, vol. 9. p. 896; and in Rapin's History of England. I would refer the reader to Rapin's History, for the minute detail and diplomatic transactions of this reign.

⁶ Rymer, p. 888.

which Henry is called heir and regent of France;⁷ and the king, returning to England, celebrated the coronation of his queen in the ensuing Lent.⁸ His parliament eagerly confirmed the treaty of Troyes, so glorious to England; and in the following year, as the dauphin had found Frenchmen enough to support him, from their aversion to a foreign sovereign, to keep Paris in a sort of blockade, Henry went to France in June with his queen. His arrival freed its metropolis from all danger. In August, he marched against the dauphin, and took Dreux. A dysentery in his army suspended awhile his operations. In October, he renewed them, obtained possession of Meaux, and began treating with the emperor for the purchase of the duchy of Luxemburg.⁹ The dauphin

⁷ Rymer, vol. 10. p. 33. The dauphin endeavored to excuse himself for this, by alleging his youth, and denying his consent. Mem. de Pierre Fenin, p. 435.

⁸ On the 24th February, she was crowned in Westminster Abbey, and was afterwards present at a sumptuous dinner in the Hall. This was composed almost entirely of fish, varied into three courses: The first course contained 'brawn, with mustard; ded eels in burneur; frument, with balien; pike, in herbage; lamprey powdered; trout; codling; plaice, fried; marling, fried; crabs; leech lumbard flourished; tarts; and ending with the 'sotilte' of a pelican sitting on her nest, with her birds. The second contained jelly, colored with colombine flowers; white pottage, or cream of almonds; bream of the sea; conger; soles; cheven; barbel, with rache; fresh salmon; halybut; gurnard; rochet, broiled; smelts, fried; crevys, or lobster; leech damaske; lamprey fresh, baked; flampeyne; with a royal scutcheon having three crowns of gold, with fleur-de-lys, wrought of confections, and the sotilte of a panther. The third course presented dates, in compost; cream motle; carpe deore; turbot; tench; perch, with goion; porperus, roasted; fresh sturgeon, with welkes; mennes, fried; crevis de eau douce; prawns; eels, roasted with lamprey; a white leech, flourished with hawthorn leaves and red hawes; a march pain, garnished with figures of angels; the sotilte was a tiger looking in a mirror, with an armed man on horseback holding in his arms a tiger's whelp. Each had the image of St. Catherine, in compliment to the queen's name, with written devices allusive to her, and to the issue of the war.' Fabian, 401-3.

⁹ Henry was at this period at Paris, where, says Pierre Fenin, 'he strongly attached the inhabitants to him, because he caused justice to be strictly observed, and rendered fairly to every one; which caused the poor people to love him greatly above every other.' p. 496.

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He had greatly pitied the sufferer, and endeavored at the stake to persuade him to adopt the required belief; but when he found that the conscience of the poor creature was not to be subdued by the torturing flame, instead of pronouncing his pardon for his heroism, he left him to his fate. His accession to the crown, and the avowed determination of the church to enforce under his authority an unremitted persecution, produced an insurrection of those who favored the new opinions.

Sir John
Oldcastle's
fate.

Various tracts of the Wickliffites were burnt in St. Paul's churchyard.¹³ One book of the same sort, which had belonged to sir John Oldcastle, a brave and noble knight, was read to the king in his private room at Kensington; and he deigned to declare its opinions to be the worst against the faith and church which he ever heard. He asked sir John if he did

And sufficient liveleode eke shuld he have,
Unto that day he cladde were in his grave.

Also this noble prince and worthy knyght,
God quyte hym his charitable labour,
Or ony stikke kyndeled were, or light,
The sacrament, our blessed Saviour,
With reverence grete and hye honour,
He lete sette, this wrecche to converte,
And make our faith to synken in his herte.

But all for nought. Wold it not betide,
He held forth his oppynyon dampnable:
And caste our holy cristen faith aside;
As he that was to the fende acceptable.
By ony outward token resonable,
Yf he inward hade any repentance,
That wote He, that of no thyng hath dotaunce.

Lete the divines of hym spoke and muse,
Where his soule is become or whider gone,
Myne unkunnyng of that me shall excuse,
Of which mater, knowyng have I none.
But wold God, tho cristen foes ech one,
That as he held, were yservid so;

For I am sure there ben many mo.—Occlev. MS. 17 D 6.

¹³ 3 Wilk. Conc. 351.

not think so? a respectful assent was the answer; and when the king inquired why he should have such a book, the knight replied, that he had not read beyond two leaves.¹⁴

But the clergy charged him with receiving chaplains in his house, who taught these doctrines, and with sending them to diffuse the same opinions elsewhere. The king stopped their further process against him by declaring, that he would try by mildness to persuade him to abandon his errors. The royal efforts to convert his faithful soldier failed; and the king then becoming angry, severely upbraided him. Oldcastle retired to his castle at Cowling, in Kent; and Henry, sending for the archbishop, ordered him to proceed against the knight with all celerity. A bitter persecution now began;¹⁵ and no alternative was left to the conscientious and enlightened, but death or hypocrisy. Oldcastle made a guarded confession, which, if conciliation had been at all in contemplation of the assailants, might have satisfied their wishes;¹⁶ but as they had determined on striking deadly blows for the purpose of extermination, they pursued him with questions which left no choice between falsehood and condemnation. His virtue was superior to the former; and he was therefore declared to be a heretic, was excommunicated, and consigned to the fatal flame.¹⁷ He had been committed to the Tower, from which he escaped.

A mysterious transaction now occurred, in which,

¹⁴ The record of this conversation is printed in Wilkins' Conc. vol. 3. p. 352.

¹⁵ 3 Willk. Conc. 353.

¹⁶ His own words will be given in our chapter on Prose Literature.

¹⁷ Refer to these in the above-mentioned chapter.—His examination, at considerable length, is published in the State Trials, and will be found very interesting.

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as in all great party collisions, the truth is difficult to be elicited. Reports were spread, that the Lollards were plotting to destroy the king and his brothers at Eltham. Informed of the design, the king went to his palace at Westminster, to be safer, from its publicity. He was then told, that they were assembling from all quarters into a field near St. Giles, to act under their leader, Oldcastle, on a fixed day and hour. The king at night ordered his friends to arm, and then *first* mentioned what he resolved to do. He was urged to wait till daylight, that he might discern who were willing to act with him or against him; and was advised by others to wait till he got an army together, if a formidable body was to be met. He listened to neither, because he *had heard* that the Lollards intended to burn Westminster Abbey, St. Paul's, St. Alban's, and all the friaries in London. He went therefore to St. Giles in the middle of the night, anticipating the projected movements of the ensuing day. He found only a few persons there, who, being asked what they wanted, said, "The lord of Cobham." They were seized and imprisoned. They were surprised to find that *no one* came from London to join them. The king had ordered all the city gates to be shut and guarded; and if he had not taken this precaution, there *would have come* "prout fertur," *as it was reported*, 50,000 servants and apprentices against the king. Many were elsewhere taken, who were said (*qui dicebantur*) to have conspired generally against the king.¹⁸ On this account, we may remark, that it is a series of supposition, rumor, private information, apprehension and anticipation. That the

¹⁸ I have preferred to state this account from Walsingham, because, as the bitterest enemy of the reformers, he states it most favorably to the king and his party. p. 431.

king was acted upon by some secret agents, is clear; that the plots asserted, were really formed, there is no evidence. The probability is, that Henry's generous and lofty mind was found to start at the violences which the bigotry of the papal clergy had resolved upon; and that artful measures were taken to alarm it into anger and cruelty, by charges of treason, rebellion, and meditated assassination. This effect took place. Oldcastle was taken, and a few years afterwards was burnt; a vindictive statute was passed against the Lollards;¹⁹ and the persecution was sternly maintained.

The splendid victory of Agincourt, the acquisition of the crown of France, and the shortness of his reign, preserved Henry from any ill consequences from abetting such a system. But they appeared in a destructive shape after the succession of his son. The verbal avowal of the new opinions was repressed, but their secret diffusion was multiplied; and the reforming mind gazed eagerly about, to see how it could be revenged upon the clergy, without incurring the penalties of law. It struck boldly at their wealth, the real source of their power. An address from the

¹⁹ See it in Wilkins' Concil. vol. 3. pp. 358–360. It shews its origin, and the use made of the alleged plots above noticed, in its recital, which begins, 'As great rumors, congregations and insurrections, have been made in England by divers subjects of the king, as well as by those who were of the sect of heresy called Lollards, as by others of their confederacy, excitation and abetment, to annul and subvert the Christian faith, and the law of God in the kingdom, *and* to destroy our sovereign lord the king, and *all manner of estates* of this realm, both spiritual and temporal, and also all manner of policy and the laws finally out of this land,' &c. p. 358. The commonest discernment will perceive the gross and wilful falsehood of the latter part of this recital; and must infer the arts and delusive statements by which the parliament must have been acted upon to pass this statute. The archbishop of Canterbury (Arundel,) who was so active in obtaining it, could not have believed what he asserted. We may add, that this 'Tower of the English Church,' as he is called by Walsingham, p. 432, very shortly survived these iniquitous transactions, for he died the same year. Wals. ib.

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commons to the king, to seize the revenues of the ecclesiastical body, compelled them to soothe him by giving up one hundred and ten alien priories.²⁰ The conflict only assumed a more portentous shape, from the determined violence of the church. That violence made the absolute downfall of one party or of the other, sooner or later, inevitable ; and the kingdom continued to be convulsed till this event occurred.²¹ Henry sent ambassadors to the council of Constance, which was assembled to preserve the unity, and to consider of the reformation of the church.²²

²⁰ Rymer Act. Fœd. vol. 9. p. 280.—I think it probable that lord Cambridge's conspiracy had reference to these transactions ; and that Henry V. would have had a reign as stormy as his son's, if it had not been for his French triumphs.

²¹ The person of Henry is thus described ; Rather above the middle stature ; a pleasing countenance ; long neck ; thin body and limbs ; strong and active. He excelled in leaping ; and was so swift in running, that he could hunt deer on foot. Tit. Liv. p. 6. Elmham.

²² Rymer has inserted several letters and documents on this subject, in his collection, vol. 9. The substance of one written to Henry, from Constance, Feb. 2. 1417–1418, is not uninteresting. It is translated and prefixed to L'Enfant's Council of Constance :—

‘ My sovereign liege lord, and most dread Christian prince upon earth—I recommend myself to your high, royal and imperial majesty, with all manner of honor, worship, grace and obedience.

‘ My most glorious lord—May it please you to know, that on Wednesday, being the 27th day of January, at or about three o'clock in the afternoon, the gracious prince, your brother, king of the Romans, entered the city of Constance, with your livery of the collar about his neck (a joyful sight to all your liege people !) with a solemn procession of all the states, both in their cardinals, and of the several nations, and your noblemen in their richest habits, with your whole nation ; and he received your lords graciously and cheerfully ; and tho the crowd was so great, yet he gave his hand to none but the worshipful men of your nation.

‘ And then my lord of Salisbury hastened to the place of general council (where that august monarch was to rest) and took possession of the pulpit, in which the cardinal of Cambray, chief of the nation of France, and your special enemy, had purposed to have made the first oration to the king, in honor of the French nation. But my lord of Salisbury, having the honor of you and your nation at heart, kept possession, and made a fine discourse, with which the king was very much pleased ; and as the king had not yet dined, nobody cared to give him any more fatigue for that day.

‘ But next day, my liege lord, may it please you to know, that at the nine o'clock bell, all your ambassadors, with all your nation, in their best array, went to worship him in his palace, where he gave them a glad and

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gracious audience; and there my lord of Chester, the president of your nation, made such a speech to him, as redounded to his own honor, and that of your whole nation: soon after which they took leave of him.

‘Next morning, at ten o’clock, he sent for them again, and took them again, every man by the hand; after which he made a speech, wherein he thanked our nation in particular, for their loving, true, and trusty carriage to his nation, in his absence; rehearsed after what manner the brotherly love commenced betwixt him and my lord your father, and how it is now renewed and cemented with you and your successors, by the grace of God, for ever; and finally he expatiated so much in the high praises of your royal person, of all your lords, your brothers, of the government of holy church, of the divine service, ornaments, and all the honors therein observed, as if it were a paradise in comparison with any place he ever came to before; insomuch that, from the highest to the lowest, he commended your glorious and gracious person, your realm, and your good government.

‘And then my lord of Chester, our president, in the name of all our nation (as to his office appertained) made a compendious and elegant recital of all that the emperor had said; and returned him an answer in every point so pertinent and rational, in so short a space of time, that your nation is for ever bound to thank him.

‘Moreover, sovereign liege lord, as far as I can understand, my lords of Salisbury and Chester are heartily disposed, with the consent of all your other ambassadors, to pursue the reformation of the church, both in the head and members, tho with the loss of their benefices; and I make no doubt, but those two lords will always strenuously abide by the good advice and resolution of your brother the king of the Romans,’ &c.

CHAP. XIII.

REIGN OF HENRY THE SIXTH.

1422.

*Accession of HENRY VI.—Settlement of the Government.*BOOK
II.
}

THE sudden illness of Henry V. so rapidly ending in his death, in the full bloom of manhood,¹ when his ambition was reaping its rich harvest, changed the destinies of France; and began a new train of agitating events both to England and Europe. If he had lived but two months longer, he would have been crowned King of France, with the immediate and applauding submission of above half that country, and with the apparent certainty, from his previous successes, his military talents, and his great popularity among the warlike spirits of both nations, of soon becoming the sovereign of the whole.

On his death-bed he had discovered one of those secret idols, which the heart cherishes in the fond dreams of its vanity. He declared that he had meant, as soon as he had secured himself on the throne of France, to have undertaken an expedition to Palestine; and to have rescued Jerusalem from the Turks.²

¹ He was but 36 years old when he expired. By the treaty of peace, signed 21 May 1420, he was declared 'Heritier de France,' 'Heres Franciæ,' and appointed to succeed Charles VI. 1 Monst. 207; Johnes Monst. 5, p. 185; tho I consult the original, I shall quote Johnes' translation of Monstrelet, as most familiar to my countrymen.

² As already noticed, he mentioned, quite loud, 'that as surely as he

As he had equalled, by his victory at Agincourt, the exploits of the Black Prince at Poitiers; and had conquered more of France than any former English king, he was surpassed by none of his royal predecessors, except the romantic Cœur de Lion, whose chivalrous, yet useless, feats in the Holy Land, remained still unrivalled. These feats were however so highly fascinating to the imagination, as to invest the name of Richard with a mysterious wonder, which raised him above the ordinary course of humanity.

Henry V. had a love of heroic grandeur and a passion for its fame, together with that intrepid activity of mind which has so often realized its most difficult wishes.

To achieve exploits like those of Richard I. or to outdo them, became the latent hope of his ardent egotism, which his successes seemed to warrant, and which self flattery as easily mistook for disinterested philanthropy as for religious impulse.³

expected to die, he had intended, after he had established peace in France, to go and conquer Jerusalem, if it had been the good pleasure of his Creator to have let him live his due time.' Monst. 59. 371.

³ He had borrowed from the countess of Westmoreland the 'Cronikels de Jerusalem, et le Viage de Godfray Boylion,' Rym. Fœd. 10. p. 317. The intention of Henry V. to invade Palestine is implied by the MS. introduced by Mr. Granville Penn to the notice of the Royal Literary Society. It is the report of Guillebert de Lanney, chevalier, 'sur plusieurs visitations de villes, pors et rivières par moy visitees, tant as pas d'Egypte, coïne de Surie, l'an de grace 1422, par le comāndement' of Henry V. The places he notices are, 'Alexandrie, Rosette, Kaire, Babillone, Damiette, Tenes, Jaffe, Rames, Jerusalem, Acre, Tyre, Sayette, Barut, Damask and Gallipoli.' One of the chapters is on 'la condicion et nature des Soudans de Babillone, de leurs amiraux et esclaves, et des Sarrasins d'Egypte; de la nature des pays d'Egypte et de Surie.' Another chapter is on 'la difference du pays d'Egypte et de Surie.'

That Henry should have sent a knight to make a survey of these places, is good evidence that he seriously meditated the expedition which he mentioned on his death bed. This MS. then in his possession, Mr. Penn states to have been discovered at Lille, in 1819. He has since observed a copy, of the same penmanship, and ornamented in the same manner, among the Hatton MSS. of the Bodleian Library; and justly infers 'that Henry was in actual expectation of Lannoi's return from this service, when he made his dying declaration.'

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The great determination of his character; his energies and warlike skill; his general ability; his severity towards all who opposed him;⁴ the love of foreign enterprize which he had excited among his countrymen; the migratory and battling spirit of the age; the numbers of unemployed and necessitous persons of gentle birth that then abounded in England and Europe; the interest which the great churchmen had to employ a martial nobility, and a king of so much vigor and discernment, in difficult and distant undertakings, that their affluence and preponderance might continue untouched; and the support and favor which he would have received from those parts of Italy and Greece which the Ottomans were now seriously endangering, make it probable that Henry would have headed the most formidable crusade, that had yet assailed the Mahometan crescent, and might have saved Cyprus,⁵ and prevented the fall of Constantinople and the establishment of Islamism in Europe. A new Christian kingdom might have arisen from his enterprise on the sea coast of Palestine, which, by occupying, would have kept the Turkish arms from penetrating so deeply and so dangerously into Europe, as they were soon found able to effect, when no enemy existed in their rear, to arrest their westward progress.⁶

⁴ Monstrelet, his contemporary, says that he was so feared and dreaded by his princes and captains, that none, however near to him, dared to disobey his orders; especially his English subjects. p. 376.

⁵ Cyprus was taken in July 1426. The great Amarat succeeded in the year that Henry died, and would have been his opponent.

⁶ The haughty aspirations of the Mussulmen, after the conquest of Cyprus, are indicated in the Sultan's letter, as inserted by Monstrelet in his History. It reminds us of the encomiastic metaphors of the ancient Scandinavian poetry: 'Commander of the temples; crusher of helmets; splitter of shields; piercer of hauberkes; breaker of armor; lancer of spears; overturner of war-horses; destroyer of castles; flower of chivalry; a wild boar for courage; an eagle for liberality; the dread of his

But the premature death of Henry V. a few weeks before the king whom he was to have succeeded, not only prevented the fulfilment of this great purpose, and its vast consequences; but soon made the English sovereignty of France a disputed honor, maintainable only by the power of a less-effective sword, and fluctuating with all the accidents of war, until in a few years it was unexpectedly, but irrecoverably broken. The union of the two nations under one sceptre, and the preponderance of such a combined power in Europe, have never become probable again; and perhaps each nation has diverged into greater improvements from their political separation.

It would indeed have been a novelty in human history, if the English government of France had remained unshaken, during those ambitious struggles, for political authority, honors, and a participation and appropriation of the public revenues and royal demesnes, which always arise among the great,⁷ in every country, during the minority or incapacity of the crown. These contests, from the latter cause, afflicted France under Charles VI.; and from the former, long divided and enfeebled England at the critical period when the crown of France was, according to the treaty of Troyes, and from the power of victory, about to be united with its own.

France had begun to recover from its domestic evils, when the assassination of the duke of Burgundy, in the presence and with the sanction of the dauphin

enemies; the hope of his friends; the raiser up of the discomfited; the standard of Mahommed; lord of all the world.' 6. p. 215.

⁷ Hence, when the two contending parties had assembled their forces in 1410, the king's ministers recommended 'that all the princes should retire to their principalities, and not interfere more with the king's government, nor receive any more pensions or profits, but live on their own revenues.' 2 Mons. 194.

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by his Armagnac partisans,⁸ created that implacable hatred between the friends of the house of Burgundy and the supporters of the murderers, which led Henry V. to the actual possession of Normandy and other places; to the hand of the interesting Catherine; and to the covenanted assurance of succeeding Charles the Sixth.⁹ But it was not merely the personal passions of his allies, that continued to Henry this ascendancy. His victories had shaken the ancient state of things in France; and opened the avenues to new changes; and excited the mind to think of the removal of old grievances. A collision began between those new interests, feelings, speculations, and improvements which increased population and altered circumstances were suggesting in all parts of Europe; and which were now urging the active, the well meaning and the restless in France, against many of the old privileges, powers and advantages of the existing authorities.

Among the French nation, the old establishments were chiefly identified with the party called, from the leading counsellor, tho not the noblest chief, the Armagnacs;¹⁰ and the reformers of abuses allied with those who supported the duke of Burgundy.¹¹ The Parisians were peculiarly clamorous for relief

⁸ On 10 Sept. 1419. See the detailed narrative of it in Monstrelet, v. 5. p. 113-125. Twelve years before, the present sufferer had caused the duke of Orleans, his great political rival, to be killed in a similar manner.

⁹ The son and successor of the duke of Burgundy, immediately after his father's murder, entered into a close alliance with Henry, in order to exclude the dauphin from the throne. See Monstrelet.

¹⁰ The princes were not pleased if not called by this name. 2 Monst. 206.

¹¹ See Burgundy's petition of complaint in 1405. Monst. v. 1. p. 141.; the grand assembly, held by Burgundy's desire, to reform the abuses of government in 1412, vol. 3. p. 98-124; and the king's edicts for reformation of abuses, ib. p. 166; and Burgundy's remonstrance in 1413, p. 265. See the queen's letter, 4. p. 362; and the complainings of the commonalty, 5. p. 352.

from their grievances and for reformation.¹² And altho the citizens of a metropolis which assumes to itself the superiority of a preceptor in civilization and knowlege to the rest of their nation, they distinguished themselves for the cruelty of their vindictive conduct. Some of the worst actions, that disgraced the Jacobin revolutionists, at the close of the eighteenth century, were perpetrated by the populace of the French capital at this tumultuous period ;¹³ and were not unsanctioned by their high-born leaders. But wisdom is attainable only by education and time ; and therefore, few possessing it when the sudden demand for it arises, the passionate and uninstructed multitude hasten, like Alexander, to cut thro their difficulties by violence and destruction.¹⁴

It was the continued competition of these rival

¹² See Monst. v. 3. p. 152. 349. 160.—v. 4. p. 205. 219. Friar Thomas was also distinguished in France for attacking the vices of the clergy and the times. v. 6. p. 239-244.

¹³ Having adopted the white hood as their ensign (Monst. 3. p. 152,) they rose in insurrection in 1413, and seized in the royal and other hotels, the nobles, clergy, knights and ladies, whom they accused, imprisoned, then daily drowned some of both sexes in the Seine, or put them to death without law (152-166,) and beheaded some, and fixed their heads on spears (175).

On 4 June 1418, a mob of 60,000 again rose, broke into the prisons, and massacred 1600 persons there, including nobles, bishops, women, and officers of the royal household. v. 5. p. 21. Soon afterwards they rose again, burst into the prisons as before, and destroyed 300 nobles, knights, churchmen and other prisoners, who were there imprisoned ; (p. 81.) they then divided, and parading the streets, entered the houses of many who had been Armagnacs, plundering and murdering all without mercy. p. 49. An epidemic at this time took off 80,000 Parisians. p. 46.

¹⁴ The great had their reforms in view, as well as the inferior classes in France. Hence, in 1441, 'The ministers reported to the king, that the meetings of the nobles were not for his welfare. That the nobles were endeavoring to gain to their party the barons of his realm, the churchmen and the common people, to make great reforms, and to place the government of the kingdom in the three estates ; and if they succeeded in their plans, he would possess no other authority than the three estates should be pleased to allow him.' The king declared, that if he were assured they intended to bring forward such measures, to his prejudice, he would lay all other matters aside, and instantly attack them with his forces. Monstr. v. 8. p. 332.

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interests, which caused every treaty of peace between the two French parties to be broken, nearly as soon as the festivities for its occurrence had ceased.¹⁵ The deaths of the hostile chieftains, from the same cause, made no difference as to the duration of the feuds. Tho the conflicting individuals passed away,¹⁶ the irreconcilable hostility of the new and old state and tendencies of things, perpetuated the struggle. Hence the contests continued, under varying shapes, until the desolations of war, and the stern necessities which followed them, produced the internal alterations which were most needed; and disposed both sides to concessions and coalitions, that ended the civil conflict and expelled the invading enemy. But France had to endure several years of warfare before this desired end was attained.

Upon Henry's death, his brother the duke of Bedford met the duke of Burgundy in council at Paris, to deliberate on the future government of France. It was then settled that the articles of the peace at Troyes should continue to be its basis.¹⁷

Preparations were made to convey the embalmed body of Henry from Rouen to England. It was

¹⁵ Thus the agreement in 1415, was the fifth peace made between the factions since the commencement of the struggle in 1405. Monst. 4. p. 64.

¹⁶ Orleans, the first great cause of these evils, was killed in 1407, 1 Monst. 191; their chief Armagnac minister was killed in 1409, 2. p. 130; the duke of Berry died in 1412, 3. p. 95; the chancellor and constable D'Armagnac were killed; the duke of Bourbon died; the duke of Burgundy was assassinated, and the other chiefs successively disappeared.

¹⁷ Monst. 5. p. 373. The will of Henry V. published by Mr. Nicholles, amid the Royal and Noble Wills, p. 236, cannot have been his last will, tho taken from the Chapter House at Westminster: this is dated 21 July 1417; but his will, mentioned in the Rolls of Parliament, as produced by his executors, is dated at Dover, 10 June 1421; the king ends the codicil to it thus: 'I have made this will be myself and written hit in part with myn-owen bande thus enterlynet and blotted as hit is, the 9th day of Jun 1421.' Parl. Roll, 4. p. 299.

placed within a car, on which reclined his figure, made of boiled leather, elegantly painted. A rich crown of gold was on its head. The right hand held a sceptre, and the left a golden ball. The face seemed to contemplate the heavens. A canopy of vermillion silk, interwoven with beaten gold, was suspended over it. Persons dressed in white, carrying lighted torches, walked by its side all the way. The queen and a numerous train of princes, nobles, knights and clergy, attended it. Wherever it rested, rows of priests on each side the coffin day and night chanted requiems without ceasing, and masses were said daily for his soul, from break of day to noon, in all the churches of the towns it passed thro. At Calais it was embarked for Dover, and the funeral pomp, an unavailing tribute of human regret and affection, was closed at Westminster Abbey. Monstrelet remarks, that even when he wrote, as much honor and reverence was daily paid to his tomb as if it were certain that he was a saint in Paradise.¹⁸ A reign of distinguished virtues might, not inexcusably, excite men's sympathies; but a great warrior's fame is combined with such a destruction of life and comfort, that it can seldom be reasonably connected with celestial felicities.

On the 22d October, Charles VI. the king of France, expired, with the enviable epithet of "the Well-beloved," after a reign full of those relapses of disease which had led the great nobility to contest so fiercely for the command of the government.¹⁹ He

¹⁸ Monst. 376. On the anniversary of his death, 24 poor men were appointed to hold as many burning torches in the abbey all day and night, each weighing 26 pounds, and three masses were to be said every day for his soul. Parl. Rolls, 5. p. 220.

¹⁹ 6 Monst. 1. He had reigned 43 years. c. 7.

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was also buried with a parade²⁰ which, to correct taste and feeling, seems incongruous with the individual destitution of the senseless corpse; and as the last service ended in the church of St. Denis, the officers of his crown turned their maces downwards to his grave, and broke their staves, in token that their functions had ceased. The loud voice of a herald was then heard, sounding aloud thro the funeral vault, "Long life to Henry, king of France and England, our sovereign lord," which the shouts of others repeated.²¹ The duke of Bedford, who had attended the scene, now became regent of France, while the dauphin was crowned king, as Charles VII. by the nobles of his party, in the town of Poitiers.²²

Thus France became pledged to a calamitous warfare between the supporters of Henry VI. and those of Charles VII. No state in Europe was at this time particularly prominent: but several, imperceptibly to themselves, were preparing to become so; tho they were rather pressed into notoriety by the impulse of subsequent incidents, than by their own contriving policy. Man often obeys the event that he seems to be commanding.

Henry the Sixth was at his accession a babe, but nine months and fourteen days old.²³ The parliament ordered a new royal title, King of France and England and Lord of Ireland,²⁴ appointed his father's

²⁰ 'Over the coffin was an image of the king, bearing a rich crown of gold and diamonds, holding two shields, one of gold, the other of silver; the hands had white gloves, and the fingers very precious rings; the image was dressed in cloth of gold on a vermillion ground, with a close sleeve and mantle of the same lined with ermine; the stockings were black, and the shoes of blue velvet.' 6 Monst. 4.

²¹ Monst. 6. p. 6.

²² Ib. p. 11.

²³ Hist. Croyl. contin. p. 514.

²⁴ Parl. Rolls, v. 4. p. 170. The bishop of Durham was made Chancellor; W. Kynwolmersh, a clergyman, treasurer; and Mr. John Stafford, privy seal. Ib.

eldest brother, the duke of Bedford, to be the protector and defender and chief counsellor of the kingdom, and of the English church, when he returned to England; and during his absence invested the duke of Gloucester, the younger brother, with these powers.²⁵ Five prelates, a duke, five earls, and five other gentlemen, were named counsellors assisting in the government.²⁶ Two years afterwards, some others were added, among whom we find the son or grandson of our poet Chaucer.²⁷ Certain articles were enacted, limiting and directing the power of the protector. The principal of these were, that the high officers of state, justices of the peace, sheriffs, collectors of the customs and controllers, should be named by the advice of the council; that wards and lunatics should be under its control; that six or four of the members should be always present, and on great subjects of deliberation, all.²⁸

When the royal infant was two years old, he was removed with his mother from Windsor to London. The queen sitting in her chair with the young majesty on her lap, passed in great triumph thro the city to Westminster, where he was placed on the throne, and the parliament was held in his presence. He was taken back that night to Staines, and on the next day "with glad semblaunce and merie cheere" to Kingston.²⁹ In this parliament, new articles were made to restrict the protector's power. He was

²⁵ Parl. Rolls, v. 4. p. 174. The Parliament granted a subsidy on wool, and tonnage and poundage, 173.

²⁶ Ib. 175.

²⁷ Ib. 201. This Chaucer had enjoyed a grant of the office of chief botiller d'Engleterre for life, from Henry IV.; it was now confirmed to him. p. 178.

²⁸ Parl. Rolls, 176.

²⁹ Fabian Chron. 410.

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forbidden of himself to grant any favor or applications for right, office or benefice. All petitions were to be read on Wednesdays, and answered on Fridays. The majority of the council was to govern its decisions. No individual of the council was to write any letters to foreign parts. On all matters affecting the king's prerogative, the judges were to be called in to assist with their advice. Two very humane articles were added, which do credit to the generous feelings of the legislature at that period. The poorest man's bills were to be first read; and the king's serjeant was to be sworn "trewly and plainly to give the pore man assistance and trewe counsail without any gratuity."³⁰ These limitations of the protectorial authority seem to have been wise cautions against its abuse. They tended to preserve the royal minority from the dangers of its appointed guardian becoming its competitor, but they implied mistrust, and excited the dissatisfaction of the person they controlled.

1424.
April 28.

When the king was three years old and could walk, he was exhibited in more effective majesty. He was brought by the queen again from Windsor to London, and when he came to the west door of St. Paul's, the protector took him out of his chair, and with the duke of Exeter led him on his feet to the steps. He was borne thence to the high altar, where he knelt down. He rose, and went to the crucifix at the north door, and made his offerings. He was carried afterwards into the churchyard and placed upon a horse, on which he was conveyed thro Cheapside and the City to St. George's bar towards Southwark, and continued his ride to Kingston.³¹ He was considered to be "the very image, lively portraiture and lovely

³⁰ Parl. Rolls, 4. p. 201.³¹ Feb. 412.

countenance of his noble parent." This may have been the fact as far as such an early infancy could exhibit a resemblance to manly features; but that he inherited his father's "morall vertues, martial policies and princely feates,"³² we know to have become a satirical adulation. He may have been a better man than Henry the Fifth, whose cruelties in his French sieges leave the virtues of his heart uncertain. But as a warrior and a king, Henry the Sixth lived to be the foil, not the heir, of his father.

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³² Hall Chron. 127.

C H A P. XIV.

State of the War in France, before the Siege of Orleans.

BOOK

II.

1424.

THE attack of Henry V. on France was an action of which its nobility could not complain, because both of the contending parties had solicited him and his father to send or lead an English army, to assist their vengeance against their antagonists. But no voluntary transaction could have been more unjust as to its morality, nor more calamitous to himself, his family and his country. It was an act of ambitious self-will on his part, not needed by any national exigency,¹ and of interested selfishness in those who supported it, which sought only personal gratification, at a profuse expense of human life and comfort; and which ultimately brought down all the horrors of the most destructive civil war on both countries, as well as on themselves and their descendants. But selfishness never heeds the consequences of its conduct to others, and rarely considers the remote ones to itself. The circle of its immediate vision is usually the deceiving boundary of its calculations and prospects.

England never had before enjoyed such a flattering prospect of adding the kingdom of France to its

English
possession-
sions in
France.

¹ And yet, according to a French chronicler of that period, he could say to the legate, who interfered for France, 'the blessed Deity has inspired me with the wish to come into the country to chastise its subjects, and to acquire its sovereignty, as its true king. All the causes for which a kingdom ought to be transferred to another hand or person, prevail there, and compel this change. It is the Divine pleasure that this translation should be made in my person, and that I should possess the throne to which I have a right.' Juvenal des Ursin's Hist. ch. 6. 1 Charm. Jean d'Arc, 53. On the applications to Henry IV. see 3 Monst. 140.

ancient insular sovereignty. The tide of conquest had gone steadily forwards to this point, from the battle of Agincourt in 1415. At the accession of Henry VI. or soon afterwards, the English had reduced into complete subjection, the isle of France, with Paris, a part of Maine and Anjou, nearly all Champagne, the whole of Picardy and Normandy, with few exceptions, and Guienne in the south, including Gascony. Their alliance with Philip the duke of Burgundy, gave them the feudal honors and military use of Upper and Lower Burgundy, Flanders and Artois; and the temporary attachment of the duke of Bretagne added the forces of that province to the English power.

To Charles VII. the successor of his father, a youth then not nineteen, there remained only Languedoc, Dauphiné, Auvergne, Bourbonnois, Berri, Poitou, Saintonge, Touraine, Orleannois, and a portion of Maine and Anjou. This part of France stood now exposed to the assault of the English, aided by the rest of the kingdom, under the command of the ablest warriors in Europe, who had been formed in the campaigns of Henry V. Few wars have been more calamitous to a country than this was to France.²

The duke of Bedford possessed much of the am-

² We may take the description from an old English writer. 'The rich men were spoiled of their goods; the spiritual persons were taxed, and brought low; the common people were slain, murdered, and trodden under foot; women defiled; towns destroyed and wasted; town-dwellers and citizens robbed and exiled, and beautiful buildings cruelly burnt. Nothing was spared which might be destroyed.' The result was natural. 'In all things necessary to man's living, penury shewed herself. The corn fields lay untilled; the meadows were overtrodden; the woods were spoiled; men went to harness, and no man to the plough; the churches were seldom used for devotion, but many times spoiled for desire of gain.' Hall's Chron. 174. For contemporary Frenchmen's more distressing descriptions of the sufferings of their country, see Charm. Jean d'Arc, 1. p. 62-6 & 77. Of these I will select only one trait: At Paris, 'Wolves wandered at night thro its deserted streets.' p. 77.

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1424.

dition and military talents, tho not the general mind, of his deceased brother ; nor had he Henry's power of commanding or obtaining the ample forces that were necessary to conquer the dauphin's part of France.

The English regents, from wise policy as well as cautious jealousy, sent sparing supplies. Bedford was therefore obliged to husband the troops he possessed, and to be contented with gradual and occasional progress. He placed strong garrisons in Normandy, and endeavored to conciliate its nobility to the English government. He spread his troops, with those of Burgundy, over the conquered provinces, to keep them submissive; and having obtained the alliance of the duke of Savoy and the prince of Orange, he sent the latter to act on Languedoc and Dauphiné; while the earl of Warwick co-operated with them from Guienne. Stationing himself usually at Paris, he appointed the earl of Salisbury, then highly celebrated for his prowess,³ to be the governor of Champagne, while Normandy, Anjou and Maine were committed to sir John Falstoffs. He met the dukes of Burgundy and Bretagne at Amiens, and formed a triple alliance of mutual friendship, and to drive all other bands out of the kingdom.⁴ He married the sister of the duke of Burgundy,⁵ and caused several towns to be besieged and taken.⁶

Battle of
Crevant.

July 1423.

The attempt of the partisans of Charles to take Crevant, brought on the first important battle. Salisbury collected at Auxerre 4000 English and Burgundians, to relieve it. They suffered much on their

³ 'A knight very expert and of great renown in arms.' 6 Monst. 228.

⁴ 6 Ibid. 32.

⁵ 6 Ibid. 35.

⁶ As Meulan, Pont sur Seine, and Cressy, and the castles Mont Agnion, and Champagne, Orsay near Paris, and Noelle. See Monst. 6. 19-42.

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HENRY VI.

march, from the weight of their armor and the heat of the weather. All were ordered to dismount as they reached the place of battle, on pain of death; every archer was to provide himself with a stake to plant before him, and none were to make prisoners, till the victory was decided. The French, whom the earl Buchan, the constable of Scotland, commanded, descended with their Scottish allies from the hill where they were posted, in front of the town, and began the battle. A resolute contest ended in the triumph of the English. Three thousand Scots, who formed the first ranks of the French army, were killed or taken. Their commander, and 400 gentlemen, were made prisoners.⁷

No greater effects followed from this success, which destroyed the only army that Charles could then assemble, than the capture of some castles and a few towns, and the recovery of others which some spirited Frenchmen had taken by scalado.⁸

But in the next year Charles was enabled, with the aid of a Scottish army, to assemble a force of 18,000 men, which fought the greatest battle⁹ that had occurred between the two nations since the conflict at Agincourt.¹⁰ Bedford marched with 1800 men at arms and 8000 archers to Ivry, and receiving the surrender of that town, advanced against the French, who had taken Vernueil. Finding them drawn up in one grand division on foot, without any

Battle of
Vernueil.16 August
1424.

⁷ See Monst. 46-8.

⁸ 6 Monst. 52-77. It was about this time of Charles's difficulties that his son Louis XI. was born. 65.

⁹ 6 Monst. 90-7. The French left on the field of battle from 4 to 5000 men, many of the Scotch troops; the duke d'Alençon was among the prisoners; 1600 English perished.

¹⁰ It was declared in parliament to have been 'the grettest dede doon by Englishmen in our dayes, save the battaile of Agyncourte.' Parl. Rol. v. 4. p. 423.

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vanguard, he formed in the same manner. His archers were posted in front, each fixing a sharp-pointed stake, inclining outwards, before him, while the stoutest of these were placed at the two ends of the battalion, by way of wings. Behind the men at arms were the pages, the horses, and such as were unfit for the combat. The French ordered their Lombards to remain on horseback, to break the English ranks on their flanks and rear. Many new knights were created on both sides; and at three o'clock in the afternoon, the English advancing as usual with a general shout, which startled their opponents, the furious conflict began, which both sides maintained with unusual determination. The Lombards attempted to attack the English rear; but, unable to make any impression on a guard of 2000 archers, which Bedford's foresight had placed to protect the baggage, they contented themselves with taking what they could snatch, and fled away; leaving the archers at liberty to join their yet struggling army, and by their freshness and unexpected attack to decide the important and bloody victory. Eleven thousand of the French army fell, including most of the Scotch.¹¹ That the calamitous results of war have not yet persuaded reason and self-interest to avoid it, is an evidence how little human conduct is governed by its better feelings, its real welfare, or its palpable moral duties.

Tho many places in Anjou and Maine, surrendered to the English and their allies after this decisive

¹¹ The MS. which I have before quoted as Walsingham's, and which has never yet been published, nor even noticed in English history, puts the number of the French and Scotch who fell, as 11,000. It represents the Scottish leaders as having fled from Scotland from the fear of its new king. It adds this reason for the fall of so many of their countrymen: 'Scarcely any of them could escape, by reason of the inhuman slaughter of the duke of Clarence.' British Museum MS. Sloane, 1776.

battle, yet it had really no other effect on the great object contended for, than if so many automati- cal puppets had been employed to fell each other down. Its evil consequences to Charles were immediately arrested by the division and diversion of the Burgundian forces, which the conduct of the duke of Gloucester occasioned. No event could be more propitious to Charles, than the intemperate behaviour of the English prince at this critical moment. The French king, after the battle of Verneuil, had no prospect of shaking the power of his competitor. He was compelled to remain inactive at Bourges, and he had so little power beyond it, that the English called him in derision, "the king of that city."¹²

It was the Burgundian alliance which had given the English this decisive predominance in France. This fine country was even then too populous, and its inhabitants were too active and able, and a native king, was too obviously the most beneficial to all their classes, to have allowed England to have kept it long in subjection, if fierce resentments and a portion of its own population had not assisted the English to subdue it. To maintain their predominance, it was the interest of England to have perpetuated the most cordial amity with the duke of Burgundy; yet Gloucester, one of its regents, by affronting him, began the emancipation of that country, which they had shed so much blood and expended so much treasure to obtain.

The daughter of the earl of Hainault, at her father's death, became possessed of the sovereignty of Hol-

¹² Marshal de Paris, Vigiles du Cha. 7; Du Haillan, (Etat des Aff. l. 2.) represents Charles as amusing himself with gardening, and making fine parterres.

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land, Zealand, Friezland and Hainault. She had been married to the elder brother of the French king, but he dying, she was betrothed to the duke of Brabant, who was the cousin german of the duke of Burgundy. Quarrelling with her second husband, she eloped from him, and resided for some time in England,¹³ where by her person and splendid inheritance she interested the passions of the duke of Gloucester.

Gloucester
marries
Jacqueline
of Hain-
ault.

To the astonishment of those who could reflect on its consequences, the English regent, having obtained from the Antipope her divorce from the duke of Brabant, became her third husband.¹⁴ Her person Brabant might have surrendered without repugnance, as their hearts were sundered; but her territorial possessions gave him a rank and an affluence which the habits of that period made the most coveted felicity of life, and he refused to relinquish these, when Gloucester claimed them by marital right. Each called himself lord of her dominions, and the territorial nobility taking different sides,¹⁵ the country became the seat of an angry war. Gloucester landed at Calais 5000 men from England, to support his pretensions.¹⁶ Brabant complained to his kinsman of Burgundy, who met the duke of Bedford first at Amiens, and afterwards at Paris, to reconcile the contending husbands.¹⁷ The rejected duke agreed to their terms. The favored one refused, and entered Hainault with his English forces.¹⁸ Burgundy indignantly, and to the great relief of Charles, collected

¹³ Monst. 6. p. 25.

¹⁴ The petition in 1423, to make her a denizen, is in the Parl. Rolls, v. 4. p. 242.

¹⁵ Monst. p. 63.

¹⁷ Ibid. p. 63. 109.

¹⁶ Ibid. p. 108.

¹⁸ Ibid. 110-3.

CHAP.
XIV.

REIGN OF
HENRY VI.
Duke of
Burgundy
challenges
Gloucester.

an army to support his kinsman, and a war ruinous to the inoffending population commenced in Hainault.¹⁹ The disputes became personal between Gloucester and Burgundy. The latter answered the regent's censuring letter by a challenge to single combat, which Gloucester accepted; the next Saint George's day, in 1425, was fixed for its decision.²⁰ All warfare was ordered to cease till this duel was determined;²¹ and Gloucester leaving his lady with her mother, after an affectionate parting with many tears and lamentations, went to England to prepare for his battle,²² while Burgundy, to become more efficient in the struggle, had new armor forged, exercised himself frequently, and lived very abstemiously to strengthen his breath.²³ Modern times have at least this superiority over the ancient, that they are not obliged to waste the prime of youth and manhood in acquiring the brawny muscle of an athlete, the dexterity of a prize fighter, or the wind of a pugilist. They may now, safely and uncensured, cultivate intellect, taste, the gentle virtues, elegant accomplishments, and unreprieving, if not useful pleasures.

Bedford, who felt his government in France shaken by this discord, was indignant against his brother; and the council of regency in England, adopting his feelings, received Gloucester with a strong reprimand and a refusal of all succor.²⁴ No one profited by

¹⁹ Monst. 115-7.

²⁰ See the letters in Monst. 117-36.

²¹ Ibid. p. 140.

²² Ibid. 142. Her intercepted letter to her English husband, is written in a tone of great kindness towards him. Ibid. 149-152.

²³ Ibid. 162.

²⁴ Ibid. 158. The duke d'Alençon, our prisoner, was earnestly solicited by Bedford to take the oath of allegiance to Henry. His liberty, lands, and lordships were to be restored to him on that condition; but to these temptations his high-souled reply was, That he was firmly resolved never to take any oath contrary to his loyalty to Charles, his true and legal lord. Ib. 157.

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the dispute but Charles, whose ruin it averted. The fair cause of the strife, afraid of being delivered to Brabant or imprisoned, escaped from Ghent in male clothes, while her guards were at supper, and mounting a provided horse took refuge in Holland.²⁵ This drew the forces of Burgundy into that country. Its nobles defended her, and a small English force was sent to help. This was defeated; and the Hollanders, attacked by the duke's well-experienced men at arms, and by his archers, to whose mode of fighting they had not been accustomed, were soon beaten and subdued.²⁶

The anxious Bedford had summoned a court of honor at Paris, who, after several days discussion and deliberation, determined that there was no cause for a combat between Gloucester and Burgundy, and that it should not take place;²⁷ the English parliament also interfered.²⁸ He again met Burgundy at Lisle to effect a pacification, but in vain; and the dispute now began to assume a formidable shape; for Salisbury and other English leaders in France, actuated by patriotic sympathies, declared their resolution to support their countryman, and prepared to join the army which Gloucester was now levying.²⁹ The alarmed Bedford again interfered. He procured a short suspension of these measures; when the Pope's bull, declaring the English marriage void, arrived,³⁰ and terminated the dangerous question. Gloucester had found the rich dowry of Jacqueline

²⁵ Monst. 167.

²⁶ Ibid. 177.

²⁷ Ibid. 169.

²⁸ 'It ordered the chancellor to issue letters under the great seal, to empower the two queen dowagers of Henry IV. and V. and the duke of Bedford to take the debate into the king's hand, and to make express defence and inhibition to the said parties.' Parl. Roll. 4. p. 277.

²⁹ Monst. 180.

³⁰ Ibid. 197.

wrenched from his grasp, and from so much opposition placed beyond his attaining, and he had become satiated with her person. One of her attendants, Eleanor Cobham, had affected his variable fancy; and tho her character had not been spotless before, and she had surrendered her honor to his own importunities, yet he suddenly married her, exciting again the wonder of the world by his conduct, as in that proud day every nobleman felt that he was acting incongruously with the blood he had sprung from.³¹ His first wedlock was impolitic, and this unpopular;³² and both were hasty and self-willed, and destructive of all reputation for that dignified prudence, which his elevation to the regency of the most reflective and enlightened nation in Europe, demanded for its example and its welfare. This injudicious conduct announced too much imperfection of intellect, not to give every advantage to his political rival the bishop of Winchester, his uncle, who was now struggling for the command of the royal mind, and for the predominance in the English government. He and the duke of Exeter were the illegitimate brothers of Henry the Fourth, and had been first intrusted with the king's education.³³ The internal state of the country, as to its religious feelings and interest, contributed to increase the differences which now arose between the prelate and his nephew; who is described by a contemporary, as sullyng his cultivated under-

³¹ Monst. 197, 8. The duke of Brabant soon after died, Monst. 203; and Burgundy, in 1428, was declared heir to Jacqueline's possessions. Monst. 226.

³² She was the daughter of Rainhald Cobham de Stereburgh. His contemporary, Walsingham, says it was deemed a gross dedecus by all the kingdom; and that more shame and inconveniences followed from it than he can express. MS. Sloane, 1776.

³³ Monstrelet mentions that Henry V. had left his son in the bishop's wardship. p. 170. Hall, 115.

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standing and good qualities, by an ungoverned and diseasing love of unbecoming pleasures.³⁴ It is strange, that in so old a world of the same continuing system, always repeating the same lesson, any one should be ignorant that the dissolute vices are the destroyers of personal health, comfort, character and permanent influence.³⁵

³⁴ Walsingham's character of him is, 'he excelled in knowlege, and in personal beauty and gracefulness; but he was passionate, effeminate and devoted to pleasure, which seemed to rob him of his many other virtues.' Sloane MS. 1776.

³⁵ The curious description of the duke's state of health, by his physician Gilbert Kymer, which Hearne has printed at the end of W. Wyr. p. 550-9, implies how much he had injured himself by the want of self-government. It describes him in his 45th year, as having a rheumatic affection in his chest, with a daily morning cough. It mentions that his nerves had become debilitated by the vehemence of his laborious exercises, and from an immoderate frequency of pleasurable indulgences. It advises him to avoid north winds after a warm sun, sleep after dinner, exercise after society, frequent bathings, strong wine, much fruit, the flesh of swine, and the weakening gratification to which he was addicted. The work is 'Dietarium de Sanitatis Custodia,' and contains 26 chapters of medical advice. The last, 'De Deo semper colendo, ut sanitatem melius tueatur,' is worthy the recollection of us all.

C H A P. XV.

Events in England before the Siege of Orleans.

THE two principal chiefs of the council of regency, the bishop of Winchester, the most opulent and powerful prelate of the ecclesiastical establishment; and the duke of Gloucester, the protector, soon appeared to the public eye in a state of decided hostility. Their first dispute was for the government of the young king.¹ The citizens of London favored Gloucester.² Winchester caused many of these to be impeached of treason, and greatly harassed; and also several burgesses of Leicester, Canterbury, Northampton, and other towns.³

Differences between Gloucester and Winchester.

But in the autumn of 1426, the proceedings of the bishop assumed a more warlike aspect. In October, the mayor was sent for by the protector, who bade him see that the city was surely watched that night. The darkness passed in quiet, but the next morning the retinue of the prelate appeared at the bridge gate, and demanded admittance. Being refused, from their number, they collected a larger force of archers and men at arms, and assaulted the gate with shot and missile weapons. The citizens shut up their shops, armed themselves, and hastened to the endangered post. A great effusion of blood became probable, when the archbishop of Canterbury, the prince of Portugal, and others, interfered to reconcile

Oct.
1426.

¹ Monst. 6. p. 170.

² Walsing. MS.

³ Fabian, v. 2. p. 413.

BOOK
II.REIGN OF
HENRY VI.
1426.The Bi-
shop's let-
ter to
Bedford.

the protector and the bishop. Eight times they rode from one to the other, before any terms of accommodation could be arranged. At last, the two adversaries coincided in suspending their animosities till the duke of Bedford should arrive.⁴

To him the prelate addressed this angry note: "I recommend me unto you with all my heart; and as you desire the welfare of the king our sovereign lord, and of his realms of England and France, and your own health, and ours also, so haste you hither; for, by my troth, if you tarry, *we shall* put this land in adventure, with a field; such a brother you have here. God make him a good man. For your wisdom knoweth, that the profit of France standeth in the welfare of England. Written in great haste on Allhallow even, by your true servant to my lives end. Hen. Winton."⁵

Bedford came to England, to investigate and adjust the unseasonable difference. The corporation of the metropolis presented him, on his entrance there, with a peace-offering; a pair of silver basins, gilt, containing a thousand marcs of gold. He did not refuse the acceptable civility; but Winchester had so incensed him against the city, that its historian remarks, the citizens received but small thanks for all their labor and cost.⁶

A parliament was assembled at St. Albans, which adjourned to Northampton; but as the disputes could not be appeased, another was summoned to meet at Leicester; and that no angry conflict might take place, its members were ordered to leave their swords

⁴ Fab. 414.

⁵ Harl. MS. No. 787, p. 10. Hall has inserted it in his Chronicle.

⁶ Fab.

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and weapons at their inns. To evade this injunction, their followers attended with great batts and staves on their necks, which occasioned the meeting to be nicknamed the Parliament of Batts. These being also prohibited, their mutual animosity and distrust was so determined that they provided themselves with stones and plummets of lead, and trussed them secretly in their sleeves and bosoms.⁷

When the parliament met, the protector exhibited six articles of accusation against his priestly competitor. The first charged him with causing the keeper of the Tower of London to fortify it, and to refuse Gloucester admission within it. The second, with contriving to seize the young king's person at Eltham, and to convey him to Windsor, to be placed under persons of the cardinal's selection. The third, that finding Gloucester prepared to frustrate this attempt, he had planted armed men at the end of London bridge, and in the windows and cellars of the houses of Southwark, with bows and arrows, to kill the protector if he should pass that way. The fourth and fifth, that Henry V. had told his brother, that a man had been detected in his chamber behind the hangings, who stated, that he had been employed by Winchester to assassinate him, and that afterwards the cardinal had advised him to dethrone his father. The sixth, that his letter to the duke of Bedford announced an intention of exciting a rebellion, and beginning a civil war.⁸

Gloucester's
charges
against
him.

The bishop repelled the fourth and fifth articles as calumnious, which the subsequent employment and confidence of the late king sufficiently refuted.

Bishop's
answer.

⁷ Fab. 415.

⁸ Hall has inserted the charge in his Chronicle, p. 131-133.

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II.REIGN OF
HENRY VI.

1426.

On the first charge, he avowed his advice to have been, that before the protector was admitted into the Tower, he ought, as the refusal was grounded upon an order of the council, to have provided himself with a warrant from the regency, permitting his entrance. He denied any intention to meddle with the king, without the advice of the council. He admitted the fact, of placing his armed friends, as alleged, but he contended, that they were merely for his own defence, as he had been informed that the lord duke had gathered a company of citizens to attack him. The last he explained to apply to seditious assemblies of certain mechanics, who were dissatisfied with a late statute upon wages, and whom the protector had not suppressed.⁹

From these answers we may infer, that four of the charges had some foundation; but that on the subject of the first and second, he had acted with the concurrence of the council.

The result.

Both parties were prevailed upon to refer the matter to the arbitration of four prelates and four lay lords, who awarded, That Gloucester should be “good lord to the bishop, and have him in affection and love;” and that the prelate should preserve to the protector “trewe and sad love and affection, and be ready to do him such service as pertaineth of honesty to my lord of Winchester, and to his estate, to do.” Each was directed to befriend the adherents, counsellors, and favorers of the other; and the bishop was to make an apologetic address.¹⁰

⁹ Hall's Chron. 132, 3.

¹⁰ P. Rolls, 4. p. 297. The bishop was ordered to say, ‘My Lord of Gloucester! I have conceived to my great heaviness, that ye should have received, by divers reports, that I should have purposed and imagined against your person, honor and estate, in divers manners, for the which ye have taken against me great displeasaunce. Sir! I take God to

They shook hands in public, in token of their reconciliation, and a royal feast of great magnificence was given on the occasion. But it is evident from the award, that the result was unfavorable to the prelate. He was removed from the chancellorship. Bedford went the next winter to France, and soon afterwards met Winchester at Calais, where the bishop was consoled for his humiliation in the English parliament, by the messenger who brought to him the dignity of cardinal from the Pope. The duke, by placing the coveted red hat upon his head, gratified his ecclesiastical ambition.¹¹ This promotion gave him new influence over the clergy, and new claims to the respect of the English people. Worldly honors, tho but names, have a magical influence in society. The superiority which we claim for ourselves is always disputed ; but that which others give us is respected and assented to.

CHAP.
XV.

REIGN OF
HENRY VI.

March
1426.

In this year, Gloucester found himself so thwarted by his coadjutors in the regency, that he applied to parliament to have his power more distinctly specified ; and declared he would not enter the house of lords, until he knew precisely the authority he was to possess. As he annexed to his application, an assertion of his right to the governance of the land, the peers reminded him, that he had been appointed with no title that implied power, as tutor, governor or regent, but simply to be protector and defender, which

Gloucester
desires
further
powers.
1427.

witness, that what reports soever have been made unto you of me, peradventure by such as have not had great affection unto me, I never imagined nor purposed any thing that might be hindering or prejudice to your person, honor or estate ; and for so much, I pray you, that ye would be unto me, good lord, from this time forth ; for by my will, I gave you never other occasion nor purpose not to do hereafter, thro God's grace.' 1b. p. 298, 9. He resigned the seals on 13 March 1426.

¹¹ 27 Monst. 1427. W. Wyr. 454. Fa b. 416.

BOOK
II.REIGN OF
HENRY VI.
1427.The Bishop
intends a
crusade in
Bohemia.

imported duties, not rights; and after intimating to him, that the king was far grown in person, wit and understanding, they advised him to be content, to desire no larger authority, and to come to parliament as usual.¹²

The danger of the church, from the new opinions that were spreading, made the events in Bohemia peculiarly alarming to its dignified chiefs. The destruction of John Huss, by the emperor, and council of Constance, notwithstanding the safe-conduct that had been granted him, and the subsequent violences that were attempted, had led the reformers in Bohemia to take up arms for their own protection. A war, not unfavorable to them, was raging in that country in 1429; and the martial reputation of Englishmen was then so high, that it was desirable for the church to have their efforts exerted against those formidable heretics. Winchester appeared eager to undertake such a crusade; and the Pope had raised him to the dignity of a cardinal, and to that of his legate à latere in England, for the express purpose of his proceeding to Bohemia to extirpate the heretical infidelity.¹³

The self-delusion of the human mind is as great as its pervertibility. Winchester believed or represented his ambition to be his conscience; and persuaded himself that it was right to murder the Bohemians for thinking as John Huss did, tho he would have found no language impassioned enough to brand any one, that should have aimed at punishing him for believing, what the Pope enjoined.

¹² P. Rolls, 326, 7. In 1429, the lords of the council made, with the sanction of parliament, some new regulations of the exercise of the regent power, which tended to keep Gloucester from any exclusive authority. See their Parl. Rolls, 4. p. 343.

¹³ 'Ad hunc finem,' says Wals. in his MS. History. Harl. 1776.

But his conduct soon shewed, that with all his even martial zeal, his conscience was, as it is with most, not the master, but the servant: too ready to obey the interest or the feeling; and as mutable as human inclination. From his own knights, and those whom he could influence, he proposed to raise 5,500 soldiers.¹⁴ He enlisted as many as he was allowed to take;¹⁵ appointed them a captain,¹⁶ and marched with them to Calais. But in France he met its English regent; and after a banquet and a colloquy, the world were astonished to hear, that instead of passing on to his Bohemian crusade, his levies were ordered to join the English forces in France, to aid in completing the conquest of that country.¹⁷

This alteration of purpose, on an engagement then deemed so sacred, was fortunate for humanity, but surprises us by the rapidity of its occurrence. It was on 18th June 1429, that he petitioned for licence to go on his crusade;¹⁸ and within a fortnight after, before the 1st July, he had agreed to unite himself with the duke of Bedford.¹⁹ The new Pope marked his dissatisfaction of the change, by annulling absolutely his legantine appointment.²⁰

His sudden
change of
purpose.

The cardinal attended Bedford to Paris; and the

¹⁴ He petitioned the king, that his quantity of people might stretch to 500 spears and 5000 archers, with such captains to lead them as he might treat with; and that he might publish in all places of this land, 'the cruciat which is committed to me of our holy father.' 10 Rym. Foed. 419.

¹⁵ The council granted leave for only 250 spears and 2000 bows; and ordered the money he should gather to be applied to no other use. Ib. 424.

¹⁶ His cousin, sir Edmund Beaufort. Rym. 421.

¹⁷ Wals. MS. Fab. 418.

¹⁸ Rym. Foed. p. 419.

¹⁹ The king's letter of this date recites the cardinal's petition of the 19th June,—states that nevertheless grievous adventures and failures of war had happened *since* in France, that the service of the men was wanted there; that the cardinal *had agreed* to go and lead them to join Bedford, for the half year which they had indented with him. Rym. p. 424, 5. Fourteen days seem a very small space for all these incidents.

²⁰ 'De legationis officio est penitus absolutus.' Wals. MS.

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Warwick
made the
king's
tutor.

king, now six years old, was placed under the tutelage of the earl of Warwick, a favorite of Henry V. under whom he had served in France; a zealous defender of the old church opinions and establishment, and a true pattern of the knightly spirit, taste, accomplishments and adventures of that yet chivalric period.²¹

²¹ The appointment of Warwick to teach the king, is dated 1 June 1428. It directs him to cause Henry to be instructed in 'bonis moribus literaturæ, idiomate vario, nutritura, et facetia, ac aliis scitu digna; et super omnia, ad amorem et timorem Creatori debitos, virtutum amplexus et odiâ vitiorum.' Rym. Fœd. 10. p. 399. Also Parl. Rolls, 5. p. 411.

The valuable Cotton. MSS. Jul. E. 4. contains Rous's Life of this nobleman, with those curious drawings to illustrate the events narrated, which Strutt has published in his Hord. Angl. The earl was born 28 Jan. 1381. After fighting at Shrewsbury, for Henry IV. he went to the Holy Land, by way of Paris and Venice, and visited Jerusalem. He then proceeded to the north of Europe, thro Westphalia to Prussia, Poland and Russia, repeatedly signaling himself at tournaments and in battle. He was one of the ambassadors at Constance; and being challenged by a duke, he fought and slew him. His knightly display at Calais, may be read as a picture of the gentlemanly amusements of that day:

'He cast in his mind to do *some new* point of chivalry; whereupon he let paint three pavises, and in every pavise a lady.

'The 1st harping at the end of a bedstead, with a grate of gold on her left sleeve, and her knight, called the 'green knight,' with a black quarter; he should be ready to just with any knight of France; 12 courses, and 2 shields should be provided; and that knight's letter was sealed with his arms; the field, silver.

'The 2^d pavise had a lady sitting at a covered board, working pearls; and on her sleeve was attached a glove of plate; and her knight was called 'chevalier vert,' and his letter was sealed with the arms; the field silver, and two bars of gules; and he must just 15 courses, and there should be two saddles of choyes.

'The 3rd pavise, a lady sitting in a garden, making a chaplet; and on her sleeve a poleyn, with a rivet. Her knight was called 'chevalier attendant;' and he and his fellow must run and course with sharp spears, and without shields. His letter was sealed with gold, and gules quarter; a border of verd.

'These letters were sent to the king and court of France; and among others, three French knights received them, and granted their fellows to meet at the day and place assigned. These three knights assembled on Twelfth-day, in a lawn called the Park-hedge of Guynes.

'The earl came to the field; his face covered; a bush of ostrich feathers on his head. His horse trapped with the arms of one of his ancestors; and at the third course, he cast to the ground at his spear point, behind the horse tail, the knight called the 'chevalier rouge.'

'The earl then, with closed vizor, returned unknown to his pavilion, and forthwith sent to the said knight a fair courser.

'The second day he went to the field; his vizor close, a chaplet on

From a preceptor whose actions and tastes so closely resembled those of the fabled knights of the round table, then the favorites of the reading and noble mind, it might have been expected that his pupil would have emerged another Edward III.; and yet under a nobleman, himself half a Palmerin, and who had the direction of the education of the king till he was sixteen years of age,²² one of the most unwarlike, least romantic, and most humble spirited, tho virtuous and religious characters was formed, not only that has appeared on the English throne, but in any other rank of life.

Henry the Sixth was in every respect the most absolute contrast to every thing that was considered to distinguish the gentleman of his day; and most dissimilar to all that his noble tutor had been. Yet the earl had not to complain of any want of power. The articles which he delivered to the council of regency, concerning the discharge of his trust, and to which they assented, gave him even the power of

He requires power to chastise the king.

his basnet, and a tuft of ostrich feathers aloft. His horse trapped with his arms of silver, and two bars of gules. Then met with him the blanc knight, and they ran together, and the earl smote upon his vizor thrice, and broke his harness. So with the victory, and himself unknown, he rode to his pavilion again, and sent to this blanc knight, sir Hugh Lawney, a good courser.

‘Next day he came, with face open; his basnet as the day before, save the chaplet was rich of pearles and precious stones; and he said, that like as he had in his own person performed the two days before, so he would the third. Then came he to the chevalier, now sir Colard Fynes, and every stroke he bare him backward to his horse’s back; and then the Frenchman said, he was bound to the saddle; wherefore he alighted from his horse, and forthwith stepped into his saddle again; and so with worship he rode to his pavilion, and sent sir Colard a good courser, and feasted all the people, giving the said knight great rewards, and rode to Calais with great worship.’ Rous. Earl War.

²² In 1427, the earl was acting with the English troops in France. Monst. 6. p. 199. 208. 221. Rep. Warw. These articles bear date 1423; so that it was when Henry VI. was ten years old that he began to enforce these.

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1427.

chastising his sovereign ;²³ and this point is urged with an earnestness that asserts his determination to execute it ; and the lords are requested to tell the king, that this was resolved upon. Whether this discipline was executed too rigorously ; whether the awe which Warwick, in the eighth article, expresses that he intended to create, was unduly raised to a servile destruction of the king's youthful spirit, and to the despotic enfeebling of his mind, it may not be just to the earl's memory now to decide. But it is possible, that in his eagerness to keep the king from the defects of a Richard II. or from the early failings of his father, he may have broken, instead of cherishing

²³ The articles he desired were,

' 1. Power to remove and name all persons about the king's person. - - Granted, with certain exceptions.

' 2. To suspend others from exercise and occupation in the king's service, till he should speak with the council. - - Granted.

' 3. Be excused in sickness. - - Granted.

' 4. As the king is grown in years, in stature of his person, and in conceit and knowlege of his high authority, and from day to day as he groweth, shall cause him more and more to *gruge with chastising*, and to *lothe it*, so that it may reasonably be doubted least he should conceive of the said earl, or any other that will take upon him *to chastise* him for his defaults, displeasure and indignation ; that Gloucester and the council promise, that they shall firmly and truly assist him in chastising of him for his defaults, and support the said earl therein. - - Granted.

' 5. May remove the king at divers times into sundry places, as he shall think necessary for the health of his body, and surety of his person. - - Granted.

' 6. That all the estates, officers and servants of the king's house be obedient to the earl. - - Granted.

' 7. That as the king, by the speech of others private, has been stirred by some from his learning, and spoken to of divers matters not behoveful ; that in all speech to be had with the king, he, or one of the four knights, or some persons appointed by him, be *present* or *privy* to it. - - Granted, except such persons as for nearness of blood or estate ought to be suffered to speak with the king.

' 8. That it may be known to the king, that it is with Gloucester's assent and of the council, that the king be *chastised for his defaults* or trespasses, and that for *awe* thereof he forbear the more to do amiss, and entend the more busily to vertue and to learning ; they should come to the king and declare it.

' 9. That the earl be informed of any complaint against him.' 5 Parl. Rolls, 433. 3 Fenn, 7-12.

and governing, the activity of his intellect; and have precluded instead of moderating the healthful, if well-instructed, independence and energy of his soul. But between that discipline which teaches due self-government, and that severity which unnerves and intimidates, there is a nice balance of good and evil to be maintained, on this most delicate and difficult of all subjects of agency—the susceptible mind—which every tutor is not qualified to preserve, but at which no one should forget to aim. A father's feeling was perhaps wanted to temper that well-meant, but sometimes exceeding vigilance and sternness, which insensibly becoming persecution and tyranny, produce only listlessness, depression, aversion, weakness and stupidity.

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XV.REIGN OF
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CHAP. XVI.

The SIEGE of ORLEANS.

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IF the attempt of Gloucester to secure the inheritances of Jacqueline had succeeded, Holland, and part of the country now called generally Flanders, would have become united to the English nation; an event that would have greatly altered that course of things which afterwards ensued in Europe, and which has occasioned much of its present political state. But the duke being compelled to abandon this splendid prize, it had the effect of rescuing the king of France from the ruin that was impending over his affairs when it began; and of procuring for him, nearly four important years of safety, in which the spirits and strength of his supporters were recruited; and to which he was greatly indebted for the acquisition of the whole sovereignty of France, and the expulsion of the English for ever from its possession.

By such circuitous and unexpected agencies, whose results are as unforeseen as they are uncontrollable by man, are the changes of human fortunes produced.

When the reconciliation with Burgundy, and the termination of his brother's feuds with Winchester, permitted Bedford to direct his whole attention to his warfare against Charles, for the unsubdued parts of France, which extended from the Loire to Aquitaine; he began his campaign with a well-appointed force of 20,000 men.

So much had been accomplished by his brother

and himself, when the French means of resistance had been the greatest, that it seemed rather a certainty than an expectation, that the provinces beyond the Loire, in the present enfeebled state and credit of Charles, must fall before a renewed and resolute attack.

But human calculations of military triumphs, have been often nearest to their discomfiture, when it has seemed mere captiousness to doubt them. The victory at Borodino, and occupation of Moscow, which alarmed Europe with the despair of final subjugation to Napoleon, were the preparing causes of his immediately-advancing ruin. The formation of projects, and the combinations of the means that promise to be most effective, are in our power; but the issue is so notoriously beyond our control, that the wisest ancients believed that they depended far less upon human skill, than upon a power, which they named fortune; which is sometimes called chance; which others term destiny; but which the most observing minds believe to be, the awarding will of an intelligent and overruling government, conducting all things to the fittest ends, by plans, peculiarly its own; and by instruments and thro channels, often so inconsiderable and so unobvious to human judgment, that only such a director could give them pertinency and success.

On the earl of Salisbury's arrival, with a reinforcement of 6000 men, Bedford held many councils at Paris, to settle the wisest plan for prosecuting the war.¹ The English had felt the importance of Orleans, in a defeat they had suffered by an attack from it,

1428.
Regent
orders the
siege of
Orleans.

¹ 6 Monst. 229. Salisbury's indenture with the king was to have always with him 600 men at arms, 6 chevaliers bannerets, 34 chevaliers

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two years before;² and from the position of this city, it was obvious, that its capture would subject the provinces of Blesois and Touraine, and at no long interval Poitou, to the authority of its conquerors.³ It was reasonable to presume, that after such a triumph, the rest of the kingdom would, from the natural hopelessness of despair, as well as from a want of the due means of resistance, submit quietly to the dominion of Henry; and that the reign of a French dynasty would cease in France. Charles himself thought, that if Orleans was taken by the English, it would be the final blow both to himself and his kingdom.⁴ The immediate siege of Orleans was therefore resolved upon; and Salisbury, the ablest general of the English, was appointed to conduct it. On the issue of this attack, the independence of the French nation, and all those results to Europe which have since flowed from its power, principally, if not wholly, depended.

The fortunes of a great nation have seldom rested so entirely on the fate of a single and secondary town.

The military importance of this place being fully perceived by both parties, nothing was omitted for its attack or defence, that prudence and valor could supply. Charles sent thither his most expert and faithful officers.⁵ The citizens emulously prepared for

bachelers, and 1700 archers. His wages were 6*s.* 8*d.* a day for himself, 4*s.* for each banneret, 2*s.* for each bachelor, 12*d.* for each man at arms, and 6*d.* for each archer. 16 Rym. 392.

² 6 Monst. 200; and the ancient *Chronique sans titre*, printed by Godefray in his *Recueil des Histories de Charles VII.* The earls of Warwick and Suffolk retreated from Montargis, which they were besieging, having lost from 1000 to 1500 men (Monst. 202,) and leaving several mortars, cannons and provisions. Chron.

³ Villaret Hist. de France.

⁴ Monst. 6. p. 238.

⁵ Three of these were, the celebrated LA-HIRE, who had driven Warwick from Montargis; the Chevalier PÔTON DE SAINTRAILLES; and DUNOIS, the natural son of the duke of Orleans, whom Burgundy had

a persevering resistance. They destroyed a fine suburb over the Loire, on the south of the city, that would have favored the approaches of the assailants. They taxed themselves to provide the supplies they needed; and other French towns sent them money and provisions.⁶ Salisbury advanced with steady judgment. He made himself master of all the contiguous places that could assist his operations; and on the 12th October 1428, pitched his camp on the south of the city, cutting off thereby its communications with Charles. It was not however for some time so surrounded but that the besieged could obtain both provisions and stores.⁷

The French had worked night and day to construct a strong bulwark, called the Tournelles. It stood upon the bridge, and was connected with the land by an arch of stone, and a drawbridge. The arrival of the English interrupting its completion, the garrison set on fire what remained of the suburb, and its church. The flames preventing the English from advancing, the French, protected by the burning ruins, finished the work of defence. It was formed of faggots strongly bound together, and supported by great stakes driven deep into the ground, the intervals being stuffed with earth and ruins.⁸

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HENRY VI

Orleans
besieged,
12 Octob.
1428.

murdered, (Monst. 116,) and who in his childhood had sworn to avenge his father. These three heroic men were the great bulwarks of France in that day of chivalry and battle.

⁶ Le Maire, Hist. et Antiq. d'Orleans.

⁷ Monst. 238.

⁸ Journal du Siege. M. Le Brun des Charmettes, in his *Histoire de Jeanne d'Arc*, 4 vol. 8°, has collected with care and judgment, the principal facts of this celebrated siege from ancient documents. Of these the two chief authorities are the 'Journal du Siege,' a parchment MS. written at the time, found in the archives of the city, and printed in 1576, and Godefroy's *Chronique sans titre*. I am indebted to him for my references to these valuable contemporary documents. His authorities for the conduct and actions of his heroine, are her own examinations,

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In less than a week, the English artillery cannonaded the city, and a young woman was the first person killed. The French sallies were vigorous and frequent. Salisbury, to gain the Tournelles, proceeded to undermine it, but at the same time attempted an assault. As the English advanced with their ladders and machines, the chief warriors hastened to the endangered point. Massy stones were hurled on the assailants; showers of lime and burning ashes; boiling oil and water, that penetrated beneath their armor, and hoops of red hot iron, were used, in addition to the sword and lance, to resist the resolute attack. The women of the city in every part carried, amid the arrows and missiles that were flying around, fruit, wine and drink, to their toiling countrymen, or hastened to dress their wounds; while others heated the liquids and iron, and brought the stones that were projected. Some had even the strength and courage to handle spears, and were seen on the rampart, pushing the ascending English into the ditch below.⁹

Four hours the destructive conflict lasted, when Salisbury sounded a retreat, and urged on his miners. These men worked night and day, till the defence was hollowed, and the combustibles prepared. The French, perceiving they must lose it, applied flames themselves, and abandoned it. They cut off an arch of the bridge behind it, and raised another rampart in the middle of the river, nearer to the city, from which they cannonaded the English camp.¹⁰

The inhabitants were cheered after the loss of the Tournelles, by the arrival of Dunois and La-Hire,

and the numerous depositions of the witnesses who knew or acted with her. These make his work far superior to all others on this subject.

⁹ Chronique sans titre. Journal du Siege. Monst. 235.

¹⁰ Chronique sans titre

with several brave captains, and a reinforcement of 800 archers, cross-bowmen, and Italian infantry; and Salisbury perceiving, from the bravery of the resistance, that this new force would prolong the defence into the winter, resolved to surround the city with a chain of forts, and to reduce it by famine. He had given the command of the ruins of the Tournelles to Glasdale,¹¹ one of his most determined officers, who repaired it; and he now visited himself this spot, to survey the surrounding locality, and to fix the most effectual stations. He placed himself at a window on the second floor; and while Glasdale was directing him to the position where he could command the completest view, with the flattering expression, "Look from this place, my lord, on your city!" a stone ball, shot from some part of the defences, struck the side of the window, within which, on hearing the report, Salisbury had withdrawn his head. Tho he threw himself back, it reached him, carried away his eye and half his face, and extended him senseless on the body of a gentleman behind him. He was borne off bleeding, but not dead; and on his recovering recollection, full only of his military project, tho in that melancholy state, he exhorted his officers not to abandon the siege.¹² The calamity was concealed from the army for two days, but no skill could benefit him; and he soon after expired, with the general lamentation of his army. He died,

¹¹ The French Chronique calls him Glaucidas, and describes him as a man 'de hault couraige, mais de toute tyrannie et orgueil.' Walsingham gives us his real name 'William Glasdale.' MS. Sloane 1776. The Chronique states him to have declared, that when he should enter the city 'he would put every one to death, women as well as men, without sparing any.' If such were his intentions, he had not the dismal gratification he expected, as he perished himself before the siege was decided.

¹² Journal. Chronique. Monst. 236.

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with the praise from his enemies of being the bravest and hardiest knight in England, and who had done the greatest damage to the king of France.¹³

The duke of Suffolk, who had also been trained under Henry V. was now appointed to conduct the siege. He was inferior to Salisbury in talent and in success, but he wisely pursued the plans of his predecessor, passed some troops over the Loire, who took the bridges and towns of Meung and Jargeau; and was joined by lord Talbot, a celebrated English warrior, with a large supply of English and Burgundian troops, and artillery.¹⁴

The defenders of Orleans, perceiving the intention of the English to extend the siege to the east, north, and west of the city, set fire to several churches in those directions, that the assailants might not convert them to lodgments of annoyance. The English built many forts around, and bombarded the town with unceasing perseverance. The inhabitants had little rest. In the midst of the night, the dismal sound of their great bell was perpetually calling them to some part of their endangered walls; and both parties strove to excel in the size of their cannonaded projectiles. The solemnities and festivities of Christmas gave a short interval of repose.¹⁵ The English lords requested of the French commanders, that they might have a night of minstrelsy, with trumpets and clarions. This was granted; and the horrors of war

¹³ So Alain Chartier expresses himself in his *Chron. de Charles VII.* The *Journal d'un bourgeois de Paris*, living at the time, intimates that while Salisbury lived, the duke of Bedford might enjoy his leisure. Monstrelet says, that Salisbury was much feared and beloved by his army, and considered as the most subtle, expert and fortunate in arms of all the English captains. 237. The official letter of Gloucester, and the English council, strongly lament his loss. See des Charmettes, 135.

¹⁴ *Journal du Siege.*

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

were suspended by melodies, that were felt to be delightful. The truce of rejoicing ended, the cannons recommenced their fury. Fierce conflicts ensued, as the English endeavored to plant themselves at different stations ; and individuals signalized themselves by defiances and personal combats.¹⁶

The year 1429 began with new attacks, and their repulses. Defeated in a sally on the first of January; during the next night, while the garrison were recruiting themselves by sleep from the labors of the day, in a midnight of total darkness, amid torrents of rain, the French sentinels suddenly heard the English planting their ladders at one of their gates. Instantly the alarm-cry was raised, the belfry sounded a furious peal, and all who waked hurried to the assaulted post, till the English, who had hoped to surprise, were at length driven off. This animating success was followed by the arrival of a supply of provisions, of which the town began to feel the need. But in the middle of the following night, loud trumpets, that announced an instant peril, roused them from repose. The besiegers were again assaulting; the besieged were again on the walls. The artillery was fired at random in the utter darkness, or was directed only by the moving sounds of the battle. After vigorous exertions, the English again retired.¹⁷

1429.

Sallies, arrival of provisions, and assaults, succeeded each other during this wintry month. Both nations continued to feel, that the sceptre of the whole kingdom was contended for on the walls of Orleans. The garrison had now defended it for four months, but as their means diminished, some of their

¹⁶ Journal.¹⁷ Ibid.

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greatest captains went to urge their French king to make efforts to relieve them, and a force was collected of French and Scots for this purpose.¹⁸

While this expedition was preparing, its commanders were informed, that sir John Falstoff, with a large supply for the English army, was advancing from Paris to the entrenchments: they resolved to intercept it, and marched to his line of progress. The English were proceeding in file, careless and unsuspecting, when the first French division that arrived, perceived them, and was desirous to make an immediate attack before they could be formed. The caution of the count de Clermont, opposed in vain by the valiant and experienced La-Hire, declined this bold but sagacious advice.¹⁹ Falstoff had but 600 Englishmen with him, tho other forces, composed of men of several nations, increased it to 1700 men. He halted at Roucroy, and formed them into a square with their carts and carriages, leaving but two openings. In this square they inclosed themselves, putting their archers at the entrances, and the men at arms supporting them.

Battle of
Herrings,
12 Feb.

The French commanders, whose army was from 3000 to 4000 men, disputed with each other as to the mode of attacking it. The Scots were for fighting on foot; the others on horseback. The Scots dismounted, and attacked as they preferred. Their leaders soon perished with unavailing bravery.²⁰

The fierce attacks were repulsed at every point, and a splendid victory at this battle of Herrings, as it was called, from the kind of provisions of which the convoy chiefly consisted, gave a new lustre to the

¹⁸ Journal.¹⁹ Ibid.²⁰ Monst. 230-2.

English reputation; and seemed to ensure the fall of Orleans.²¹

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Some of the survivors of the conflict, mostly wounded, escaped into the city. Its defenders were afflicted, but not disheartened. The unfortunate count de Clermont, left it with La-Hire and his partizans; but Dunois, then in the full bloom of youthful manhood, St. Severe, and Saintrailles, continued with the garrison. It was now near the end of February, and the hope of deliverance every day declined; the besiegers had increased to 23,000 men. Their works and fortifications called bastiles, had multiplied round the city. The king, who had little else than the name of royalty, had no further resources for their assistance.

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Dunois felt it to be impossible to defend the place much longer. He therefore assented to the wish of the besieged, to propose to put the city in a sort of neutral pledge into the possession of the duke of Burgundy, till it became decided whether Charles VII. or Henry VI. would acquire the permanent sovereignty of France.²²

During the absence of Saintrailles, and others, deputed to make Burgundy this offer, new combats about the walls took place; but the mind is gratified by reading the noble courtesies that passed between the contending chiefs. Suffolk, Talbot and Scales, sent one day by a herald, a dish of figs, raisins and dates, to Dunois, who returned by the same herald, to Suffolk, some black plush, that he desired, to line his dress with in that rigorous season.²³

²¹ Journal. Chronique. Charmettes, 169-181.

²² The feudal lord of the city was the duke of Orleans, who had been taken prisoner at Agincourt, and was still detained in England. Journal. Conditional surrenders were frequent in this war.

²³ Journal.

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A great swelling of the river, at the end of February, excited in Orleans a temporary hope, that the waves would ruin three of the English fortifications which commanded the river, and severely cannonaded the town. The waters rose with a violent torrent to the height of the embrasures; but the solidity of the work endured the shock; and the exertions of the English repelled the danger, and repaired the damage. Even during their struggle with the threatening element, they thundered their usual discharges on the city.

Suffolk ordered a trench to be dug, to make a shorter and a covered communication between his besieging points. The French attempted a bold sally on the workmen, in which they killed lord Grey, a knight of admired prowess, and nephew of Salisbury. This success encouraged them to try a similar effort, with larger numbers; and they were carrying off a cannon, that had projected many heavy stones, and had secured other booty, when the English, rushing from their contiguous lines, drove them to the ramparts. A fierce combat ensued at the very walls, till all the French who could not get thro the narrow sally-port into the place, were killed or taken. Some leapt into the ditch, to escape the English swords, and were there overwhelmed with stones from their own countrymen above, who, in the confusion and alarm, mistook them for their enemies.²⁴

The Marechal de Sainte Severe, quitting Orleans with his troops, diminished the spirits and safety of its defenders; and to increase their despondence, Suffolk directed a terrible cannonade from all his batteries on the city, which beat down many of its

²⁴ Journal Siege.

buildings, and spread general consternation. The garrison made another resolute sally, which was repelled; repeated, and repelled again. Rumors, that some meant to deliver up the place, compelled the bravest citizens to pass the nights under arms, on the walls, or in the forts. Fresh sallies and repulses again ensued. Thus destructively employed, March passed, and April began.²⁵

A new scene now gave a short variety to the military drama. The French and English pages, who followed their respective lords, caught the full fever of the national animosity of their masters, and defied each other to a separate combat. They were permitted to engage, according to a settled convention. Each party floated their standard, and chose their captain. Aymar de Puiseux, whom La-Hire had called Golden Head, from his yellow hair, commanded the French pages. The young English leader is not named. Their defensive armor was but a slight shield of osier. A mutual discharge of stones from hands and slings began the battle, and a close combat followed. The first day the French prevailed; but on the second the English carried off the standard, and dispersed their antagonists.²⁶

Combat of
the pages.

In the middle of April, the deputies returned with the disappointing news, that the regent, without consulting Burgundy, had rejected the conditional proposal. The duke, whom it had gratified, was offended at the mode of the refusal, and sent a herald to order all his troops to leave the camp of the besiegers.²⁷ This was obeyed; but the English were numerous enough to continue the siege.

Apprised that their surrender, if made, must be to

²⁵ Journal Siege.

²⁶ Ibid.

²⁷ Ibid.

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the English, the people of Orleans were inflamed with a new spirit, and swore to defend themselves to their last breath ; and expressed their determination on the following night, in a furious attack on their besiegers lines. It was at first successful ; the English were surprised in their sleep, and were slaughtered without mercy ; but the booty which the French collected and staid to carry off, detained them till the alarm roused the camp, and then, as the dawn spread, English cavalry intercepted their return. The loss was great on both sides, but the equality of its numerical amount was to the disadvantage of the city, whose defenders were becoming insufficient for their various duties.²⁶

Sixty English bastiles or forts, guarded their lines and beleaguered the place.

Despair of
Charles.

The French king was now in despair. His hereditary throne seemed to vanish from him. He saw no further hope. He was meditating to retire into Spain or Scotland.²⁷ His council opposed this step ; but recommended him to withdraw from Chinon into Dauphiny, or to the mountains of Auvergne, as soon as Orleans should fall. The beautiful Agnes Sorrel is stated to have interposed, and to have saved France by her heroism, or her superstitions. She told the king, that when she was a girl, an astrologer had assured her, that she should be loved and served by one of the bravest kings of Christendom. That when he first honored her with his affection, she had applied the prediction to him ; but if this should prove

²⁶ Journal Siege.

²⁷ So N. Sala mentions, in his *exemples de hardisse de plusieurs reys*. MS. Fr. Bibl. du Roi, 4° 180. He had this fact from a seigneur, who, in his youth, had been so much esteemed by Charles, that the king would suffer none but him to sleep in his bed. Charmettes, p. 216.

untrue, and the king of England, whose arms were so successful, should be the sovereign, "I will go and find him out," she is said to have added, "for he must be the person whom the astrologer described to me."³⁰ This pretty story must be a fable, if the fact be true that Agnes did not attract the king's favor, till three years later; yet Francis the First, who lived within fifty years afterwards, believed the tradition, and wrote a quatrain below her portrait, in her praise.³¹

But it is acknowledged, that the fate of the French monarchy seemed now to be decided; and that the future fortune of France, perhaps of the world, was about to change, if, amid this dreary scene, "Providence had not suddenly raised up one of those beings, astonishing by their genius, and wonderful in their destiny, who at various periods are called forth to be the instrument of those unexpected revolutions, which confound the pride of human conquerors, mock all the calculations of human wisdom; and lead the minds of kings and people to the recollection of the only throne that is never shaken; the only power that never ceases."³²

³⁰ So Brantome, in his *Dames Gallantes*, relates the story.

³¹ The royal verse is,

Gentille Agnes ! plus d'honneur tu merite,
La cause estant de France recouvrer :
Que ce que peut dedans un cloistre ouvrer
Clause nonain, ou bien devot hermite.

Charm. 218. I can neither support nor impugn the story. That Francis should believe it, looks like a family tradition on the subject. It is not very easy to fix, with chronological accuracy, the time when a lady interests a king's partiality. Such incidents are not creditable enough to be exposed to an immediate publicity.

³² With this sentiment, M. de Charmettes closes his introduction to his history of this celebrated woman. His work is particularly valuable, not only for its general style of composition and ability, but still more so for the original documents which it contains, and from which he draws his leading facts. These documents are the depositions of the witnesses on the process against her, and her own answers to the questions

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of her judges ; and the evidence given on three informations, and four inquests of revision. The first information was in 1449, when seven witnesses were examined. The second with five witnesses, and the third with 17, were in 1452. The inquests were taken, in 1445, at Toul, where 34 witnesses deposed ; at Orleans, in 1455, on the oaths of 41 evidences ; and at Paris and Rouen, in the same year, when 39 other persons were sworn. These witnesses were her parents, relations, friends, and neighbors, and most of those of the highest as well as lower ranks, who had any transactions or acquaintance with her. The whole number of deposing witnesses were 144. Charmettes, 1. p. 236.

On no historical character that has appeared, has such an abundance of authentic and satisfactory evidence been preserved, as now accompanies her memory. The first examinations were taken by her enemies ; the latter by her friends. The following summary of her history is composed from the actual documents printed or referred to by M. de Charmettes, quoting the pages in which they are noticed or transcribed in his work. There has been no authentic history of this extraordinary woman published before ; every other account is full of untruths. Perhaps M. Charmettes leans a little too much to the marvellous possibilities of his subject ; but his real documents are so copious, that the reader can always judge for himself. I am indebted for my possession of the work, to a valuable friend, who may rank its heroine among the greatest of those well selected ' Curiosities of Literature,' which do so much credit to his love of research, intelligence and taste.

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The Rise of JOAN OF ARC.

THE Maid of Orleans was the unexpected person, 1429.
 who, when all other means were failing, and despair
 was debilitating the opposing French mind, suddenly
 rescued France from its approaching subjection to
 the English crown. The accomplishment of such
 an event, by one of the poorest and meanest of the
 people, of the feeblest sex, and of an age so youthful
 (for she was but nineteen when taken prisoner,) has
 enveloped her appearance with a cloud of wonder,
 that has prevented its natural causes from being dis-
 tinctly contemplated. It is yet a doubt, with many,
 whether she was not a supernatural agent; and there-
 fore it becomes a reasonable application of our cu-
 riosity, to trace the circumstances which combined
 to produce a moral phenomenon so extraordinary,
 and results so momentous.

She was born, about ten years before Henry V. Her birth.
 died, at Domremy, a small hamlet attached to the
 village of Greux, which contained the principal
 church;¹ and situated between Neufchateau and
 Vaucouleurs in Champagne. The district abounded
 in woods, rivers and pasturage; and being near the
 borders of Burgundy, was frequently disturbed by
 the raging warfare; a circumstance which accounts

¹ Her own answer. Charm. v. p. 269. De Charmettes has inserted
 in his book, v. 1. pp. 237. 262, views of the house and chamber in which
 she was born.

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for the minds of its inhabitants, tho chiefly shepherds, laborers, and fishermen, being more agitated than remoter parts of the country, with the patriotic question, whether Charles or Henry should be the sovereign of France.

Her parents, Jacques d'Arc and Isabel,² lived for some time at Domremy. They were little farmers, but poor; subsisting by the cultivation of a small portion of land, and the produce of a few cattle. Their neighbors deposed them to be pious, simple, honest, and hospitable persons, and much respected. They had three sons and two daughters, of whom one was the celebrated Joan of Arc.³

Their habitation was a small cottage, which had been the property of her mother.⁴ Her birth was in 1411 or 1412, and she was baptized at the church of Domremy, by the curé of her hamlet.⁵

Her education.

Her education was homely. She could never either read or write. In her day of celebrity, she traced a cross at the beginning of the letters she dictated.⁶ She learnt from her mother to repeat the Lord's Prayer, the Creed, and the Ave Maria; and also what she knew of religion.⁷ She confessed

² Her own answer. Char. v. 1.

³ Various Depos. 241-3.

⁴ Dep. Conrad. ib. 244.

⁵ Jean's Ans. v. 3. 269, 270. The date of her birth cannot be exactly stated; she said, on 21 February 1431, that she thought she was then almost nineteen; p. 271. This would place her birth in 1412. On the next day she stated, that she first heard the supernatural voice at the age of thirteen, or thereabouts, p. 287, and 310. A few days afterwards, in February 1431, she said that they had guided her for seven years; 327. A comparison of these expressions gives 1411 or 1412 as the year of her birth, but does not decide which. The old style began the year in March, but I have put the figures according to our custom of commencing it in January.

⁶ Charm. v. 1. p. 249.

⁷ So she told her interrogating bishop. 'I have learnt nothing but from her, as to my belief.' Ans. v. 3. p. 271.

herself to her parochial minister, and learnt to sew and spin with great dexterity.⁸

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When the character of her youth was afterwards strictly inquired into, numerous witnesses described it to have been simple, chaste, modest, prudent, mild, temperate, and industrious. She performed her religious duties; was charitable as far as her means extended, and assisted the sick poor. Her manners were pleasing, her conversation inoffensive. She was dutiful to her parents, never used oaths; and preferred the conversation of the most reputable of her sex.⁹

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Her leisure hours were stated by her neighbors, not to have been wasted in the public street. She was frequently seen kneeling in a corner of the church, in humble, but fervent prayer. She was so bashful as to be disconcerted if suddenly addressed; and so kind-hearted, that she not only gave away whatever she had to the distressed, but frequently lodged the poor travellers in her own bed, while she slept on the hearth. One peasant, who had been ill from his infancy, spoke strongly to the good-natured and affectionate attentions which he had received from her in his protracted malady.¹⁰

Her habits.

At the age of thirteen, it was proved, that she showed no taste for either dancing or singing, with which French villagers are usually delighted. While her neighbors thus amused themselves, she often withdrew, tho censured by them, to the church. She loved to speak of the Deity and the Virgin, for whom she cherished a tender regard, and on whom she was

⁸ Ans. v. 1. p. 268. 288. 'I feared no woman of Rouen, in sewing and spinning.' 285.

⁹ Charm. v. 1. p. 251-3.

¹⁰ Depositions of various persons, collected by Charm. Ib. 253, 254.

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continually meditating. Her reputation was unblemished; no fault was recollected of her, but that some thought her too devout. The curé of her parish had said before her death, that there was no one like her under his superintendence. Other witnesses stated, that a better girl did not exist, either at Greux or Domremy; and the commissary, sent by the English to her native place to inquire into her early conduct, declared that he could hear of nothing but what he should desire to find in his own sister.¹¹

Her piety.

Her religious habits were detailed by many testimonies. She frequented the church, not only to hear mass, but at vespers and complines. When the church of her own hamlet was burnt, she went every festival to attend mass at Greux. She confessed often, took the sacrament at Easter; and was sometimes found alone in the church, bending before the cross, her hands joined, and her eyes fixed in a tender and respectful contemplation of the image of our Saviour, or of his earthly mother.¹²

These feelings accompanied her in her rustic employments and recreations. She often sat apart from her companions, and was sometimes overheard uttering the simple prayers of a child. If at the sound of the bell for worship, she could not leave her sheep to attend it, she fell on her knees in the meadows, and breathed her devotions in the midst of her flock. She was so anxious to be exact in this duty, that the beadle of her hamlet mentioned her displeasure at his sometimes omitting to ring the bell for complines; and her promise to him of a little present, if he would be more punctual in future.¹³ These

¹¹ Var. Dep. Ib. 255, 6.¹² Ib. 259, 260.¹³ Ib. 257, 8.

circumstances account for her patriotic enthusiasm combining itself with religious impressions.

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Near Domremy was a little chapel consecrated to the Virgin, called the Hermitage of Saint Mary. The girls and boys of the village went every year to perform some ceremony at it. Joan walked to it every Saturday afternoon, usually with her sister, and occasionally with others. Her custom was, to place a lighted candle before the Virgin, and to pray to her fervently. Sometimes in the course of the week she would suddenly quit her labors in the fields, and visit this favorite place, while her parents thought her at her rustic work.¹⁴ As affectionate piety is the sublimest emotion of the soul to the sublimest of all Beings, it tends to produce in the individual the highest character of grandeur, and the deepest sensibility, of which he is susceptible. History has frequently displayed its power of forming a heroism of mind so superior to the possessor's natural condition, as to resemble inspiration. To its elevating effects on Joan may be ascribed the largest portion of her success.

All this appears to have been done naturally and unaffectedly, from her earliest youth, and with no particular purpose floating in her mind. In other respects she was a common, active, industrious peasant girl. She went with her father and brothers to their work; pulled up the weeds, broke the clods of earth in the fields, assisted to make hay, watched her father's sheep, led his cattle and horses to their pasturage; and at home spun the hemp and wool, and discharged the ordinary duties of the family.¹⁵

¹⁴ Dep. Var. Charm. v. 1. p. 259-261.

¹⁵ Dep. ib. 261, 262. She thus described her life at that time, in her
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tree.

The gentleness of her disposition is emphatically expressed by the circumstance, that as she tended her flock in the meadows, the birds would come at her call, and eat bread from her hands.¹⁶ She sometimes went into the field to sport or walk with other girls of her own age.¹⁷

It is desirable, in such a person, to trace, if possible, all her superstitions, that we may be better able to estimate her real character. About half a league from Domremy was an ancient wood of oaks, which was visible from her cottage. Below this forest, on the high road to Neufchateau, stood a majestic beech tree of some antiquity. It seems to have been an object of traditional veneration, for it was called the Beauty of May, the Tree of the Ladies, and the Fairy Tree. Near it bubbled a flowing spring, whose waters were drank by those who had been debilitated by a fever, and who, when able to walk, used to take their exercise under its favorite shade. It was the general opinion of the country, that formerly fairies visited both the tree and the spring; and moved round the revered beech, with songs and mysterious dances.¹⁸ A knight was traditionally recorded to have been seen under its boughs, conversing with one of these beings. The villagers believed that it was on account of their sins that the fairies had ceased to be visible. Ever since, the priests, in their

answers to her judge. 'When I was in my father's house, I was employed in the family affairs. As I grew up, and reached the age of discretion, I did not usually watch the cattle, but I assisted to conduct them to the meadows, and to castles near, for fear of the soldiers; but I do not recollect whether I took care of the sheep or not in my childhood.' Charm. v. 3. p. 286. 313.

¹⁶ So the bourgeois of Paris mentions, from the relations of her friends, in his journal; but, with a Burgundian feeling, adds his doubt of the fact.

¹⁷ Her answers, Charm. p. 310.

¹⁸ Depos. Ibid. v. 1. p. 284, 5.

Whitsuntide perambulation, had been accustomed to stop under this mystic foliage, chant some prayers, and read the gospel of St. John; but one good housewife declared to Joan, that she had seen fairies in that place. The tree was so interesting, from its figure and extensive shade, that it was often visited by the gentry of the place, whose servants, in the spring, occasionally brought baskets of bread and wine, with which they amused themselves under it, with the village children, in a rural feast.

In the month of May, all the youths of the district usually assembled together, made the figure of a man of herbs and leaves, and sang and danced with it under this tree; here they ate the cakes which their mothers had provided for the occasion; and then singing with the natural joy of the young heart, strolled to the fountain, drank its waters, and sported around it; they gathered the flowers that adorned the grass, twined them into crowns and garlands, and hung them on the branches of the tree. As the shades of night came on, they took them down, and carried them in festive triumph to their humble habitations. These things operated to excite early the fancy, and to give it a taste for the supernatural.

Joan of Arc, in her childhood, accompanied the village groupe in those harmless festivities. Seated under the tree, she also made her floral crowns and garlands to suspend upon it, or to place them on her favorite image of the Virgin. She sang and danced there with the rest; but was remembered to have sung oftener than she danced. It was the report of her village, that on digging near this fairy spot, a root might be found which would bring riches to its possessor.

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Politics of
her village.

But Joan's mind was so free from the stain of the love of money, that she did not believe the tale.¹⁹

As she grew up, she became more occupied in the household work at home; and only went into the fields with the cattle. She passed her evenings sometimes with her spinning wheel, at her young neighbors; and one girl, who had often played with her, spoke of her good nature with affectionate recollection.²⁰

As all France was then divided into the two parties; Burgundians favoring the English claims; and Armagnacs, who supported Charles the Seventh, and the independence of the nation; the districts, where our heroine lived, partook of the distraction. Her own hamlet, with the exception of one individual, was for Charles. The next village of Marcey, between Domremy and Vaucouleurs, for the Burgundian faction. This diversity of sentiment engaged the inhabitants of each in perpetual altercation; and

¹⁹ Various Dep. Charm. v. 1. p. 266-273; vol. 3. p. 168. They who wish to trace the natural causes of the phenomenon of Joan's enterprise, will desire to read her own account of this tree, which probably had greater effect on her young associations than she was aware of. Being asked what a certain wonderful tree near her village was, she answered, 'There is, near Domremy, a tree called the Ladies Tree, and which others name the Fairy Tree; it is near a spring. I have heard say, that people ill with a fever drink its water, and go there to recover their health. I have witnessed this myself. I have been told that sick persons walked there when they could. I went sometimes to make nosegays and garlands under it. I have often heard old people, but not of my family, say that fairies frequented the place; my godmother said she had seen them, but I do not know that this was true. I never saw any there, that I know of; and I do not know whether I have seen them any where else or not. From the time I knew that I ought to go to the king, I took as little share as I could in those diversions. I do not think I danced there after I reached the years of discretion.' She added, 'There is a wood near it, called the Bois Chesnu, which is seen from my father's house; I neither knew nor have heard that fairies frequented that. My brother has been told, that it was said in my country, that I had 'pris mon fait,' under the fairy tree, but this is not true; it is quite the contrary.' Ch. v. 3. p. 314, 315.

²⁰ Dep. Ch. v. 1. p. 274-277.

these discussions, in which their children participated,²¹ added to Joan's religious fervor, an enthusiastic attachment to her sovereign, and to the liberties of her country, which, without this exciting competition, might not have occurred.

This political dissension was not confined to words. The youths of Domremy, after their day's labor, frequently went and challenged those of Marcey; and Joan avowed, that she had often seen them return from these battles wounded and bleeding. She did not remember that she had ever been one of the combatants.²² But she shewed the warmth of her party feelings, by confessing, that she had wished that the only resident at Domremy, who was a Burgundian in his heart, might lose his head if it should please God.²³ Yet even towards him, she seems not to have conducted herself with any personal bitterness; for she had stood with him as a godmother to an infant that was baptized, and he spoke of her with esteem and interest, long after she was dead.²⁴ Thus the predominant feelings in the soul of Joan d'Arc, from her infancy to her advanced youth, were those which arise from an impassioned combination of religion and patriotism, with a romantic and excited imagination. That Charles was a young man about her own age, naturally added a fondness of loyalty

²¹ Her own account, *Charm.* v. 3. p. 310–312. She was asked if, in her childhood, she had not a great design to injure the Burgundians. She answered, 'I had a great interest and desire that my king should have his kingdom.' v. 3. p. 313.

²² Her answer. v. 3. p. 312.

²³ Her answer. v. 3. p. 310.

²⁴ *Dep. de Conrauldin*, v. 1. p. 281. Her aversion to, or dread of the Burgundians, was such, that at one time, to avoid them, she said she went from her father's house to a female friend at Neufchateau, and stayed there fifteen days. v. 3. p. 285. Other witnesses made these only five days.

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that blended the emotions of her heart with the determination of her reason and the visions of her fancy. The incidents of the time, and of her own life and situation, tended to make her what she became; altho these would have agitated her in vain, unless a genius capable of responding to their call, had animated her visible frame.

We now approach the period when her enthusiasm became decidedly tinged with a wild superstition, which resembled delirium in its mildest and earliest shape; and the time of its occurrence was remarkable. Henry V. had died in August 1422, and Charles VI. in the following October; and as their deaths produced immediate discussions, whether France should have a French king in the dauphin, the son of her deceased sovereign, or an English one in Henry VI. then a babe but nine months old, the energies of French sensibility were at no epoch more likely to be excited than at this conjuncture. At no time could the imagination of the friends of Charles VII. and of the independence of their country, be in a state of greater susceptibility than at this crisis.

Her peculiar imagination.

It was in the following May, according to Joan's own account, that those peculiar impressions began, which made her, at last, to occupy such an important space in the rolls of European history. We can know these only from her own descriptions, as they were internal sensations or suppositions, perceivable by none but herself. She delivered the account to her hostile judges, in answer to their questions, upon her trial. Her narration was consistent with all her previous assertions; and there seems no reason to doubt that she described, as she had uniformly acted upon them, with the full sincerity of her own

undoubting belief. There was nothing about her brief and brilliant day of public exertion, which looked like wilful imposture in herself; we must therefore either suppose that she was practised upon by others, or that her young and enthusiastic imagination, and the organs on which it depends, had been affected by emotions, which produced those continuing hallucinations, that, being indulged with fond delight, became at last a minor degree of permanent, tho partial, derangement. In this state, the sensations on which she acted seemed to her to represent visible, or audible realities. This is no more than what happens to all of us in dreams, and to some who are awake, when afflicted with a temporary disease. The peculiarity in the Maid of Orleans was, that the illusive fancies impressed her during the day, when all her faculties were in wakeful action; and, like a protracted delirium, never left her till she died, tho the general health of her constitution, and vigor of youth, prevented the effects from increasing. Perhaps, if she had survived much longer, the mental malady would have become more pervading, and apparent. But dying before this effect took place, she left it, unintentionally, a question with many, whether she was not inspired by some superhuman influence; celestial, in the opinion of her friends; but most clearly diabolical, in the conviction of the duke of Bedford and his gallant army, of indignant because defeated England, and of vindictive Burgundy.

That skilful artifice may make terrific impressions on the human mind, the ancient Eleusinian mysteries, many contrivances of former priestcraft, the tricks of Rosicrucian adepts and German illuminati, and our popular phantasmagorias, sufficiently evince. But

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all these require appropriate theatres, co-operating agents, adapted seasons, selected times, and peculiar localities. In the case of Joan, none of these assistances occurred ; and if we could allow their probability in her first impressions, the supposition would fail us when she moved into the court, the city, the camp, and hostile prisons, amid all which, her mysterious visitations attended her. The belief of Socrates, that he was frequently directed by a monitory demon,²⁵ comes nearest to the impressions by which this maiden was influenced. The difference between the Athenian sage and the French peasant girl was, that he only pretended to hear, but she declared she also saw, tho she most frequently heard, her supernatural advisers. We will give a concise detail of the mental phenomena that affected her, from her own simple descriptions.

Her account of
her im-
pressions.

“ At the age of thirteen, I had a voice of God, to assist me to govern myself. It came at noon, in summer, in my father’s garden. I had not fasted the day before. I heard it on my right, towards the church. I was greatly frightened. I rarely hear it without seeing a great brilliancy on the side it comes from. I thought it came from heaven. When I had

²⁵ See Xenophon’s *Memorabilia*. The late Dr. Brown, in the preface to his *Philemon, or Progress of Virtue*, a pleasing attempt at a moral, narrative poem, has some remarks which strike me as new, and which may assist us in better understanding Joan’s impressions. They occur in his considerations of the propriety of employing in poetry supernatural machinery. ‘ Poetry is addressed to the imagination and passions ; and these, in their most exalted exertions, raise us above this terrestrial scene, and carry us into the world of spirits. Something preternatural seems to mingle with all our more elevated conceptions ; and the mind delights to range in a sphere magnificent, unexplored and vast. To preternatural agency, the mind, when under the influence of strong feelings, spontaneously recurs ; and the visible world seems to be connected with the celestial, by a strong, tho secret chain.’ p. 14. These observations seem to be very applicable to the Maid of Orleans.

heard it three times, I knew that it was the voice of an angel. It has always kindly guarded me, and I understand very well what it announces. Tho I were in a wood, I still heard it; and usually at noon. When I came into France, I often heard it."²⁶

Being asked what it told her for the benefit of her soul, she added, "It recommended me to behave well, and to frequent the church; and told me that it was necessary that I should come into France."²⁷

She mentioned, that the voice, two or three times a week, ordered her to depart and go into France. At first she refused to tell what figure accompanied the voice.²⁸ This question was put to her at various intervals; she declined answering it, because she was afraid of displeasing the voices;²⁹ but having talked of their appearing, on her fourth interrogation, she at last disclosed the long-withheld secret.

"The voices were those of St. Catherine and St. Margaret. Their forms were crowned with beautiful diadems, very rich and very precious. I knew them, because they named themselves to me, when they saluted me. It is now seven years since they began to guide me."³⁰ She added, that it was St. Michael, accompanied by some angels, who first visited her. "I saw them with my bodily eyes, as I see you. When they left me, I wept, and wished they had taken me with them."³¹

Some days afterwards, a few more particulars were

²⁶ Her answers to the interrogatories of her judges, on 21 Feb. 1430. Des Charm. v. 3. p. 286. He has printed the whole of her examinations. By France she meant the part called L'Isle de France; and as she lived in the district called Champagne, and near Burgundy, she calls her going from them to the contiguous provinces which Charles still held, going into France.

²⁷ V. 3. p. 288.

²⁸ Ib.

²⁹ Ib. p. 305. 307, 308.

³⁰ Inter. 27 Feb. 1430-1, p. 326, 327.

³¹ Ib. p. 328, 9.

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drawn from her. She said she saw faces very richly crowned, but neither arms nor figured limbs, nor garments. They spoke in a sweet, mild and humble voice, but in fine language, in French. *She had heard them near the fountain at the fairy tree*, but did not then understand what they said. She did not see St. Michael often. The female saints visited her most frequently;²² she saluted them with great respect as they approached and retired; and kissed the earth, after they left her, on which they had reposed.²³

On other examinations, she mentioned that she had touched and embraced the female saints, as she knelt to them.²⁴ That St. Michael had first come to her, and told her they would be with her, and that she was to act by their advice, as they were to guide and counsel her. That at first, she greatly doubted whether it was St. Michael, and saw him several times before she was certain of it; but he instructed her so much, that she became convinced of it. That he ordered her to be a good girl, and that God would assist her, and that she must go to the succor of the king of France.²⁵ Being again pressed about his figure and dress, she said he was in the form of a true gentleman;²⁶ and he had wings.²⁷ She men-

²² Inter. 1 March, Charm. 1430-1, p. 351-5. In her fifth examination, being asked if they had natural heads, she exclaimed with some warmth, 'I have seen them with my own eyes, and I believe that they were those beings, as firmly as I believe that God exists.' 367.

²³ Inter. 10 March, p. 403. She was asked if St. Margaret spoke English. Her answer was, 'How should she speak English; she was not on their side.' p. 353.

²⁴ V. 3. p. 453. Her inability and aversion to describe the forms and garments of these apparitions; her intimations that they had no limbs, and the inconsistencies of their reposing on the earth, and of her embracing them, very much resemble the natural confusion and indistinctness of our dreams, and of some of the morbid perceptions of the mind.

²⁵ P. 437. 488.

²⁶ P. 439.

²⁷ P. 366.

tions several times her terror at his first appearance;³⁸ but that his good advice, comfortings and good doctrine, fixed her belief in him;³⁹ and then she felt a great joy at his presence.⁴⁰

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These impressions were not confined to the locality of her native village. In the course of her examinations, she declared that she heard the voices every day,⁴¹ even in the prison, in which they waked her;⁴² that they never contradicted themselves;⁴³ that the light came with them into her prison;⁴⁴ that she had heard them in the hall of her examination; that she had asked their advice how to answer the inquisitorial questions, and they bade her answer boldly;⁴⁵ a brightness always accompanied them.⁴⁶ After the commencement of her martial enterprizes, she declared the saints frequently appeared to her, even in her dungeon,⁴⁷ but that she had not seen St. Michael since she left Crotoy.⁴⁸ As no contrivances of others could at all these times have acted upon her senses, her imaginations must have been either a limited derangement or wilful imposture; but the rectitude, heroism, piety and nobleness of mind and feeling, which all her conduct displayed, have never been found united with fraud and falsehood. Her illusions may therefore be considered as an extraordinary instance of high-souled and generous delirium, co-existing with a glowing heart and vigorous understanding.

In considering the possible origin of these singular

³⁸ Charm. v. 3. p. 437, 438.

³⁹ P. 440.

⁴⁰ P. 359.

⁴¹ 'There is no day in which I do not hear the voice, and I have great need of it.' p. 293.

⁴² P. 302.

⁴³ P. 304.

⁴⁴ P. 307.

⁴⁵ P. 324, 5, 7.

⁴⁶ P. 333.

⁴⁷ P. 351.

⁴⁸ P. 358. She once said, that the figures which appeared to her were very small; as little as the smallest things, v. 4. p. 220; another indication that they were diseased impressions on her mind.

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hallucinations; some other circumstances may be adverted to. It was not till after the English had entered the provinces of Charles, which she called France, that the voices came.⁴⁰ She acknowledged that there were traditions in her country; that from the wood which was visible from her father's house, a maiden was to come who would do wonderful things; but that she did not believe them.⁴¹ Another woman at that period pretended to be visited by a visionary lady, dressed in cloth of gold, whom Joan denounced as a mad woman, who spoke falsehoods.⁴² She confessed that her mother frequently told her, that her father had dreamt that she would go away from him with some of the gens d'armes; that they watched her closely, and kept her in great subjection; and that her father declared to her brothers, that if he thought his dream was to be fulfilled, he should wish them to drown her; and that if they hesitated, he would do it.⁴³ It is also mentioned by a contemporary, and it accounts for her being so good a horse-woman as she suddenly appeared, that she had shewn much courage in riding horses to water, while in her village condition.⁴⁴ Her uncle deposed, that she had mentioned to him, that France had been destroyed by a wife, and was to be re-established by a virgin.⁴⁵ It is still more important to add what is mentioned by a contemporary, that she amused herself with her companions, in running and in fighting with a kind of lance. She even made assaults on trees, as if they had been combatants. At another time she

⁴⁰ Charm. v. 3. p. 312.

⁴¹ P. 315.

⁴² P. 381.

⁴³ P. 405.

⁴⁴ Monst. 6. p. 254. He adds, that she had been for some time hostler and chambermaid at an inn. This seems to have arisen from her assisting the mistress of the house or inn, where she and her family took refuge for a short time, at Neufchateau, when a Burgundian party invaded their hamlet. 1 Charm. 306. Both Pasquier and Monstrelet appear to have mistaken this short residence for a permanent occupation. Ib. 306-309.

⁴⁵ Dep. de Laxart. 1 Charm. 320.

would mount the horse she was leading to his pasture, and manage it like the best squires. Armed with long sticks, she would give the blows of a spear so forcibly, that those who saw, could not but admire her, and took a pleasure to see her at these exercises.⁵⁵ From some of these facts it may be inferred, that a military spirit began early to arise in her mind, amid her more feminine qualities, and gave an amazonian direction to her patriotic enthusiasm; while her morbid fancy borrowed its shapes and sounds from the feelings of her simple, but honest and fervent piety. With this imperfect attempt to account for this intellectual phenomenon, we must leave the curious subject to the reader's own contemplation and judgment. The results are certain, tho the agencies on the maiden's mind be obscure; and these results we shall now proceed to narrate. The maiden was gradually forming for her great destination, in her obscure village, unknown to all the world, which she was soon to astonish, like the jewel, that secretly and silently grows in the dark stony earth. The obscurity, the loneliness, and the neglect, are perhaps essential to the production of that radiance which we admire, and which no art can fabricate. Joan was a creature of providential nature, whom no education or contrivance could have shaped or actuated. These may dress and move the puppet of a Perkin Warbeck, but not a Maid of Orleans.

⁵⁵ It is Phillippe de Bergami who mentions this in his book *De Claris Mulieribus*, c. 157; and he says he had it from a seigneur, whom he names and calls a faithful witness, and who, he says, had seen and learnt all these things when at the court. M. De Charmettes thinks these circumstances exaggerated, but he is rather too much inclined to believe in the Maid's supernatural inspirations. Bergami's facts account for the sudden ability she displayed in the use of armor and weapons.

CHAP. XVIII.

The Maiden's Introduction to CHARLES VII.

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THAT the voices told her she must raise the siege of Orleans, and must apply to Baudricourt, the lord of the village of Vaucouleurs, who would appoint persons to accompany her, was become her fixed belief.¹ She concealed these visions from her priest and from her father, lest her enterprize should be prevented.² But she dropped hints of her object occasionally, among her acquaintance.³ To select the lord of her village, for her first patron, was quite natural to her situation, tho she ascribed it to mysterious impulse.

She visits
the lord
of her
village.

She began to execute her secret intentions, by leaving her father's house without his knowlege, for her uncle's, at a neighboring village, whom she interested to ask her parent's leave for her visiting him. She stayed there eight days, and told him she must go to Vaucouleurs, for she was appointed to crown the dauphin.⁴ The uncle went to the seigneur Baudricourt, who, hearing his account, bade him whip her well, and send her back to her father.⁵ Joan,

¹ Interrog. Charm. vol. 3. p. 288.

² P. 401, 402.

³ Thus one deposed, that she had mentioned several times that she must go into France; another, that she had said, 'If you were not a Burgundian, I could tell you something;' a third swore, that she had declared that there was a girl between Campey and Vaucouleurs, who, within a year, would cause the king to be crowned; and a fourth, that she had asserted to him, that she would deliver France and the blood royal. Ibid. v. 1. 303, 4.

⁴ Her own answers, v. 3. p. 289; and her uncle's deposition, v. 1, p. 320.

⁵ Dep. Laxart. v. 1. p. 321.

stung by this contempt, put on her uncle's clothes, and declared she would go to the wars alone. Seeing her so resolute, he promised to take her to Baudricourt; and in May 1428, introduced her to him in her shabby red gown.⁶ She told him, that her lord had determined to make the dauphin king, and that she was to crown him. He inquired, who was her lord. 'The king of heaven,' was her answer. He refused to listen to her.⁷ Three times she solicited him in vain.

Vexed at her disappointment, she passed her time at Vaucouleurs in religious exercises; in spinning, and in talking on her divine mission with her hostess, and with others who came there. She called to their minds the old prophecy, that France was to be delivered by a virgin from the borders of Lorraine. They remembered it, and began to think, from her perseverance and enthusiasm, that she might be the person.⁸

This popular prediction, which may have suggested, assisted her pretensions. The impression made on others in that fanciful day, at last extended to Baudricourt himself. He came to see her, with the parochial minister, but left her without any further notice; and she returned to her uncle's. She remained there till the Lent of the next year, when she persuaded him to take her again to Vaucouleurs.⁹

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Finding herself disregarded by the feudal lord, she resolved to go on foot to the king, and went a short way; but recollecting, as she told her two rustic

⁶ Dep. of several. Charm. v. 1. p. 321.

⁷ Dep. of Bertrand, a gentleman who was present at the interview. Ibid. 324.

⁸ Dep. of Henry and his wife, with whom she lodged; and of Albert, a knight, who saw her there. Ibid. 327a.

⁹ Ibid. p. 330.

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companions, that it was not respectable to go away so, she returned to Vaucouleurs.

As she got back, she found a gentleman of the district, Jean de Metz, there, who asked her what she was doing. She told him, that she must see the king before Lent was over; and that no one but herself could assist him. There was something about her, which struck his imagination. He took her hand, and promised that he would conduct her; and inquired when she would go. 'Rather to-day than to morrow,' was her answer. But she desired a male dress, and he sent a servant for some apparel of his own.¹⁰

His accrediting her, decided more; and it became a general conviction that she was divinely inspired. Her name began to spread. The duke Charles of Lorraine, weakened by an incurable illness, desired to see and consult her. De Metz escorted her to him; but she told him, she knew nothing about disease.¹¹ This interview must have increased her importance. After quitting him, she at length obtained a recommendation from Baudricourt to the king. He gave her a sword, and paid for her horse; and the people of the place supplied what else she wanted.¹²

Thus far Joan had succeeded, not beyond her own expectations, but much beyond the commencing probabilities of her project. But having once fixed the popular attention, and excited a popular interest in her native province, the powerful waves of public

¹⁰ This gentleman deposed these facts. 1 Charm. 331, 2.

¹¹ Her own account, v. 3. p. 289.

¹² See the depositions cited by Charm. 332, 342. From a MS. which M. de l'Averdy saw, it would seem that Baudricourt had sent to the king on the subject, from whom he had an answer. Notices des Manusc. de la Bibl. de la Roi, v. 3. p. 303. This fact is confirmed by a king's messenger, being one of her escort.

feeling both sustained and carried her to the completion of her wishes. No epidemic spreads more rapidly, or acts more potently, than popular sensibility. Like Virgil's fame, it strengthens in fervor, force and means, as it diffuses. The wisest become infected, and the most adverse subdued. The fever may be temporary, but while it lasts, it is irresistible.

Her escort to the king consisted of seven persons: the gentleman John de Metz; another man of noble birth, Bertrand de Poulengy, who had been with Baudricourt at her first visit; their valets; her third brother Peter, a king's messenger, and an archer. An oath was exacted from these, that they would conduct her safely to the king.¹³

Her journey to the king.

Her village friends crowded around her, as she set off. They reminded her, that the roads were infested by the enemies. "I fear not men at arms. I have God for my lord and guide; I am born for my enterprise," was her ardent reply.¹⁴ At that moment, she thought the voices sounded in her ear, "Go fearlessly, and when you come before the king, he shall have a token to receive and accredit you."¹⁵ Baudricourt dismissed her with this brief address: "Go!—and let come what may."¹⁶

Her companions journeyed with her, with varying feelings. The two gentlemen confessed afterwards, that they had experienced many doubts and fears; and some of the rest declared, that they took her for a mad woman, or a sorceress, and meant to put her in some prison on the way.¹⁷ As they travelled, the

¹³ Depos. of the two gentlemen, who lived to give their evidence about her. 1 Charm. 343, 4; and see her own answers, v. 3, p. 290.

¹⁴ As her host, Henry the cartwright, swore. p. 345.

¹⁵ Her own account, on 10 March, 1431. vol. 3. p. 397.

¹⁶ Her own account, 3. p. 290.

¹⁷ Their Depos. 1 Ch. 347.

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energies of her character prevailed over their prudence; and they felt an increasing disposition to do whatever was most agreeable to her. Her will became irresistible; and such was the respect which her unaffected virtues impressed, that the knight declared he should not have dared to have made her an improper request; and the esquire deposed, that he had experienced no wish to do so, “on account of the great goodness which he saw in her.”¹⁸

As the Burgundians and English were ranging the country, they travelled all the night of the first day, to St. Urban's, a village on the Marne, near Joinville, and rested the next evening at an abbey. They avoided the high roads and larger towns. In their way to Auxerre, besides passing over smaller rivers, they had to cross the Marne, the Aube, the Seine and the Yonne. She expressed a wish to hear mass as often as she could; but from their dread of the hovering enemy, they only twice consented to it.¹⁹

Her confidence and courage never faltered. “Are you sure,” they at times inquired, “of doing what you say?” “Fear nothing,” was her reply; “all this is commanded me.” The deliverance of her country was the fixed object of her enthusiasm; and all her religious superstitions associated themselves with the resolution.²⁰ They attempted to intimidate her, by

¹⁸ Dep. 1 Ch. 348.

¹⁹ She says she heard mass at the principal church of Auxerre; and adds, ‘I was then frequently visited by the voices.’ v. 3. p. 290.

I have seen deranged persons, who have declared that they heard voices, and received information, which, from the other circumstances they mentioned, and from my own knowlege, were clearly imaginary.

²⁰ Her other observations shew the impressions which governed her mind. She declared to them, ‘It is already four or five years since my brothers in Paradise and my Lord, have told me that I must go to war to recover the kingdom.’ At another time her words were, ‘Fear nothing, for when you shall have arrived at Chinon, the noble dauphin will receive you well.’ Deposit. of the gentlemen, p. 354.

a feigned alarm of an hostile attack. "Fly not," she exclaimed, as horsemen seemed advancing against them; "they will do us no injury."²¹

As to her demeanor during the journey, the two gentlemen deposed, that her first actions on waking were to say her prayers, and make the sign of the cross: that she evinced a great desire to attend the public service at church; that she never swore; that they did not observe the smallest thing in her, which they could blame; that she always appeared as good a girl as if she had been a saint; that from their impressions, they gave much belief to her words; that they could not but think she was sent from Heaven; and that they felt themselves at last inflamed by the same love of God, which animated her.²²

From Auxerre they got safely to Gien on the Loire, the first town under the power of Charles, which they had yet entered; she crossed the Loire, and went towards Chinon. She had yet as great a distance to traverse as she had passed. But as it was in the French dominions, she journeyed more securely. She rested at Fierbois, a village in Touraine, about sixteen miles from Chinon; and sent a letter to the king, declaring that she had travelled 150 leagues to come to help him, and had good things for him; and asking permission to enter the city where he was.²³

At noon, of the eleventh day of her travels, at the end of February, she concluded her wintry journey by arriving at Chinon; and lodged herself at an inn kept by a female, near the castle. She was then

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She
reaches
Chinon.
1429,
Feb.

²¹ Dep. Hussan. 1. p. 351.

²² Dep. J. de Metz. and B. de Poulengy, p. 352.

²³ Her account, v. 3. p. 334. According to her own account, she was then about 18. Daulon, the king's maître d'hotel, deposed, that he thought her about 16. Depos. v. 1. p. 107.

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about eighteen, of a middling size, in her male attire; very strong, but well-made and well-proportioned; her neck and shape were deemed beautiful. Her black hair fell round her neck, but not lower than her shoulders. Her countenance was pleasing. She had a sweet voice and an insinuating expression. She rode, and carried a lance, with as much address and grace as the best knight. She expressed herself with great discretion and ease.²⁴

It was sworn, that before Joan had been heard of, a woman, one Marie d'Avignon, had presented herself to the king, pretending a prophetic commission to him; and announcing, that a maiden would come after her, and deliver France.²⁵ This fact, which occasioned her to be asked before the king, if there was in her country a wood called Bois Chesnu, the place from which this deliverer was to come, confirms what we have already mentioned, that notions of this sort had pre-existed in the country; and may have given to Joan, unconsciously to herself, that fixed and personal direction of her patriotic emotions, which realized the anticipation. Her reply at the court was, That she attached no faith to the account. She did not therefore claim the benefit of her predecessor's allusions,²⁶ however they may have contributed to her own hallucinations.

The state of Charles and his portion of France,

²⁴ Various Depos. v. 1. p. 367-9. 2d part.

²⁵ Barbin, the king's advocate, stated this, and that he had it from Maître John Erault, a professor of theology. p. 364, 5.

²⁶ Her answer, v. 3. p. 315. Thibault, of the king's household, deposed, that he had formerly seen a prediction in writing, that a girl would deliver France. One of her judges declared that he had found a prophecy, ascribed to Merlin, that such a person would come from a bois chesnu in Lorraine. The Count Dunois repeated it in four verses; and said that they were shewn to the earl of Suffolk after his capture. Depos. of these persons, vol. 1. p. 361-4.

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HENRY VI.Discus-
sions about
her.

when Joan appeared, may be conceived from the description of the lady of his counsellor and receiver general. "In the districts obeying the king, the misfortunes and want of money were lamentable. The king himself had but four crowns in his house. Both he and his friends had no longer any hope, and were meditating flight. Every thing was desperate, and none expected any relief."²⁷ Empirical remedies are seldom resorted to, but when rational aid fails; but despair rather welcomes the extravagant; and it was this state of things which saved the Maid from being immediately rejected with scorn and disgrace.

When Joan arrived at Chinon, it was earnestly debated in the royal council, whether the king should attend to her or not. It was at last determined, that the prelates should interrogate her. To their first question she answered, That she must speak to their sovereign herself. But being pressed, by an order from him, to disclose the object of her mission, she declared, that she came from the King of heaven, to accomplish two things; to raise the siege of Orleans, and to conduct him to Rheims to be crowned.²⁸

The opinions of the council continued to be divided: some thought that no faith could be given to her; others, that the king should see her. Charles determined that she should be examined again, and he sent to her native village, to inquire into her life and morals.²⁹ In the meantime she was placed in

²⁷ Dep. of the Dame de Bouligney, 1. p. 362. The ancient Olivier de la Marche also mentions, that from this war the king found himself so governed, and under the hand of so many gens d'armes, strangers, and private persons, that there was no captain in France so inconsiderable, that they dared shut the king's door against him, whatever was his business. Mem. p. 21, 2.

²⁸ Dep. of S. Charles, president of account, and of other persons, v. 1. p. 270, 1.

²⁹ Dep. of Barbin and others, 372.

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Intro-
duced to
the king.

a tower in the castle, and a youth of fifteen was appointed to attend her. She was here visited by females, and several men of high rank. She continued her devotional exercises.³⁰

The further investigations discovering nothing in her manners or morals, that impeached her character, the king at last, tho against the advice of some of his courtiers, ordered her to be admitted. The hour appointed was after dinner. Fifty torches³¹ blazed in the apartment, where above 300 knights were assembled. Many lords were present superbly dressed, and more richly than the king, who stepped aside to see if she would not address some other person for him, at the moment of her introduction.

She presented herself, with much humility and simplicity, like a poor shepherdess; but with such presence of mind, that she distinguished the king in the middle of the crowd, advanced towards him, and respectfully saluted him.³² She knelt down, and

³⁰ The youth deposed, that he often saw her humbly kneeling, and addressing God in fervent prayer, and at times weeping as she prayed. Dep. L. de Contes, v. 1. p. 373.

³¹ Her own account, v. 3. p. 333.

³² She said her voices made her to know him. Ans. 3. p. 292. As men have looked for the wonders of Joan's life, and not for the causes of their occurrence, it has been thought miraculous, that she should have known the king; but it must be recollected, that in his adversity he was very unceremoniously visited, and therefore his person was familiarly known to many inferior persons; that Joan, having for some years fixed her imagination upon him, must have eagerly caught and remembered every circumstance that she heard reported concerning him, and have made those inquiries about him, of all who talked of him, which affectionate women usually do of the object of their liking; that he was young, which alone would distinguish him from many; that his lords were more pompously and richly clothed than he was, (which was the very circumstance that Bonaparte chose to mark himself out more conspicuously from his court;) that she entered the apartment, expecting some deception; for a chronicle of the time (1 Ch. 177) notices that as she entered, she desired those who conducted her, not to deceive her, but to shew her the person she ought to speak to. As all her hopes rested on her not failing at this moment, all her recollection and power of discernment must have been strongly excited; and to see a person like what she had

embracing his legs, exclaimed, "Gentle king! God grant you a good life." "I am not the king," said he; "there is the king," pointing to another. "By my God, gentle prince! but you are he, and no other. Most noble lord! I come and am sent by God, to bring aid to you and to your kingdom." She added, that she wished to go and combat the English. He asked her who she was. She replied, "Gentle dauphin, my name is Joan the Maiden, and the King of heaven announces to you by me, that you will be consecrated and crowned in the city of Rheims. You will be the lieutenant of the King of heaven, who is the king of France."³³ The king became affected; he drew her aside, and conversed with her a long time with visible satisfaction. In this colloquy she is stated to have revealed to him, a circumstance which astonished him, by her acquaintance with it; and produced his immediate declaration in her favor. He said, she had told him what was only known to Heaven and himself.³⁴ When

heard described, dressed differently from the rest, retiring from her, and yet most probably with some circumstance of habitual respect shewn him, tho not intentionally, which her quickness of eye immediately caught, may have fixed her judgment. We may also add, that as she was not introduced till the king had been advised, by some of his council, to receive and sanction her, they who wished to make use of her, may have taken care to give her such intimations as prevented her mistaking him.

³³ These facts are taken from the depositions and authorities cited by Charin. v. 1. p. 378, 9.

³⁴ It has been much canvassed what this was; Joan would never explain it, and it was uncertain till the MS. work of N. Sala was found in the royal library. He accounts for his knowlege of it thus: 'About 1480, I was one of the household of Charles VIII. and served the chevalier de Boisi, who, in his youth, had been such a favorite with Charles VII. as to be his bedfellow. Charles told him, that in his distress he had one morning prayed in his heart, without utterance, that if he was indeed descended from the noble house of France, and that the kingdom justly belonged to him, that heaven would defend it for him; or at the worst, would enable him to escape death or imprisonment, and to find a refuge in Spain or Scotland.' Joan reminded the king of this prayer.

Such

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he walked out in the neighboring meadows, she went on horseback there, and ran a course of the lance with so much address and grace, that the duke d'Alençon, after long observing her, presented her with a fine steed.³⁵

She was examined again more strictly than before, by several prelates and others; but her answers continued to be, that she was sent by the King of heaven; and that celestial voices revealed to her habitually, whatever she had to do to execute his orders.³⁶ She was then sent to Poitiers, to be interrogated by the parliament there; and that the king might be informed, whether he could lawfully accept her services. Her answers discovered a great combination of enthusiasm and shrewdness.³⁷ A considerable part of her leisure was, as before, passed in devotion. She

Such an incident leads to a suspicion, that some one very near the king, and acquainted with his private thoughts, was now secretly assisting the Maid. The confessors of royalty have great means of befriending such projects as these.

³⁵ Dep. de duc. d'Alen. v. 1. 390.

³⁶ Ib. 392.

³⁷ The Friar Seguin's deposition states the circumstances. She was there two hours; every one had his turn, and she gave them all answers which astonished them. To the question, What moved her to the undertaking, he says she answered, in a lofty manner, That watching one day her flock in the fields, a voice appeared to her, saying, that God greatly pitied France, and that she must visit it. She began to weep; and the voice then bid her go to Vaucouleurs, where she would find a captain, who should conduct her safely to the king. Another present, remarking to her, that if the Deity wished to deliver France, he did not need men at arms, she promptly answered, 'Men at arms fight; and God gives the victory.' The narrator of the interview, who spoke in Limousin French, asked her, what dialect the voice used, 'A better one than your's,' was her tart reply. 'Do you believe in God?' he rejoined. 'Better than you do.' Calling upon her for a miracle to confirm her mission, in which others joined, she exclaimed with dignity, 'I have not come to Poitiers to work miracles, but conduct me to Orleans, and there I will shew you for what I am sent.' The deposition of another stated, that she said, 'The miracle that is given to me to do, is to raise the siege of Orleans. Give me men at arms, in what number or as few as you please, and I will go there and do it.' Dep. Garmell, 398, 9. She then declared, that the English would be driven from Orleans; that the king would be consecrated at Rheims; that Paris would be subjected to his authority; and that the duke of Orleans would return from England. Dep. Garmell, 399.

was visited by many of all ranks. They went with the belief that her promises were fantastic dreams; but such was the impression she made on them, by the personal interview, that they left her, declaring, and some with tears, that she was a creature of God. She justified her assumption of a male dress, by the necessity of her using armor;³⁸ and when criticised for calling Charles the dauphin only, she answered, "I shall not style him king till he has been crowned at Rheims, whither I shall conduct him."³⁹

The result of this inquiry was, that they found nothing in her but what suited a good christian, and a good catholic; that they thought her answers as prudent as if they had been inspired; and considering her manners, her simplicity, her pious life, her fair reputation, the imminent peril of Orleans, and the pressing necessities of the king and kingdom, that her services should be accepted; and that she should be sent to relieve Orleans.⁴⁰ The king however still hesitated; and further inquiries⁴¹ and examinations ensued, at which his mother, the queen of Sicily, presided.⁴²

³⁸ Chroniq. Dep. Garmell, 400.

³⁹ Dep. Garmell, 401. Thibault states, that by order of the king's confessor, he took two professors of theology to her. As they questioned her again, why she came, and who sent her, she answered, 'Hear me, I am neither A. nor B. I came from the King of heaven, to raise the siege of Orleans, and to convey the king to Rheims to be crowned; but I must first write to the English, and summon them. Have you paper and ink?' As they answered in the affirmative, she added, 'Write then what I dictate:—You, Suffolk, Glacidas and Pole! I summon you, on the part of the King of heaven, that you depart to England.' When they quoted scripture, to prove that she ought not to be believed, she replied, 'There are in my Lord's books, more things than in your's.' Dep. Thibault, Dep. Garmell, Dep. de Bouligny, 402, 403.

⁴⁰ See the Depositions to this effect, cited by Charm. 406, 7. The procès verbal of the decision has not been preserved.

⁴¹ The archbishop of Tours has left a MS. account of the questions to her, and her answers. L. du Fresnoy, v. 1. p. 34. Char. 1. p. 408.

⁴² Depos. of duc d'Alençon, de Pasquerel and d'Aulon. 1 Ch. 412, 13.

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He assents
to her
enterprize.

Three weeks had now elapsed, and Joan complained of the loss of time. Charles at last assented to her enterprize, and the succors were prepared. A suit of armor to fit her body was made for her. Her sword she chose herself. She pretended, that her voices announced to her, that there was one behind the altar of St. Catherine, marked with five fleurs-de-lis, which she was to use. She wrote to the church for it. An armorer found, or declared he found, it buried in the earth. It was rusty. The priest soon made it fit for use. There is an air of contrivance about these circumstances. The ecclesiastics provided a red velvet sheath for it, and the people of Tours one of cloth of gold. She ordered in preference one of strong leather.⁴³

That Joan's first impulses and projects were her own enthusiastic emotions, and self-flattering fancies, we have already suggested; but from the time she arrived at Chinon, other persons may have begun to use some artificial contrivances, to produce useful political results from her agency and popularity. As she did not come there the mere peasant girl, so she was not long in that town before she almost ceased to be such. The increasing disposition of the public to accredit and to trust her; the necessity of some new impulse to revive the decayed loyalty and disheartened nationality of the French people; the possibility, that she might for a time be used advantageously for this purpose; the certainty that no harm could come from the trial; the absence of all other means of adequate exertion, and the despairing hopelessness of Charles and his affairs, were sufficient reasons to incline his best statesmen, to try what

⁴³ Char. 420, 1.

public good could be extracted from her agency. The more they were convinced of the delusion of her mysterious visitations, and that she mistook enthusiasm for inspiration; the more desirous in that day of political artifice, when no minister or ambassador could act without it, they may have been, to have supplied, by their own contrivances, whatever would be most likely to increase her popularity, and give a temporary effect to her asserted mission. Hence many tricks of imposture may have been now appended to her simple and honest pretensions, of which she was unconscious; and of which she may have been made both the instrument and the dupe; the transaction of the sword seems to have been of this description. Like Don Quixote, she converted all things into food for cherishing her pervading illusions; while others schemed and contrived to lead them to certain advantage.

She chose her own standard. On a white ground, stréwed with fleur-de-lis, was figured the Saviour of mankind, as seated on his tribunal in the clouds, and holding the world in his hands, while two angels knelt in adoration before him. The inscription was Jhésus María.⁴⁴ Whenever she could, she carried this herself, declaring that tho she loved her sword, she preferred the standard forty times to it;⁴⁵ the reason she gave was, "I do not mean to use this sword to kill any one."⁴⁶ Before she left the king, she told him she should be wounded at Orleans, but she would not therefore desist.⁴⁷

Her stan-
dard.

⁴⁴ Her own description, v. 3. p. 337. p. 449. p. 373; and Pasquerel, Depos. 1. p. 421. She said the voices directed it. v. 3. 449.

⁴⁵ Her own answer.

⁴⁶ Dep. Seguin, 1. p. 422.

⁴⁷ The exciteability of the French at this time is strongly shewn in the Journal d'un Bourgeois de Paris. A cordelier came there in April 1429, and preached in the church of St. Genevieve nine days successively, from

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The supplies being provided, were assembled at Blois. Joan there first put on her armor. Her firm enthusiasm began to electrify the country; and small bodies of voluntary defenders, at different intervals, introduced themselves into Orleans;⁴⁸ altho the English had surrounded the place with several fortresses and bulwarks.⁴⁹ It is important to notice this fact, as it proves that the effort of Joan to enter and relieve the city, tho a hazardous attempt, was yet practicable without a miracle. Her intended effort was known at Orleans, which was reduced to the last extremity; and from the wonderful reports that had been spread about her, she was impatiently expected there.⁵⁰

Her summons to the English.

Joan sent before her a written summons, addressed to the English commanders, demanding of them in a high tone, to render to her the keys of all the cities they had taken; ordering the besiegers to go home; and declaring, that if they disobeyed, they should be slain, or driven out of France.⁵¹ The king gave her authority to command the army, and ordered that nothing should be done without her.⁵² The marshals St. Severe and de Rayr headed the relieving forces; and, by the directions of Dunois, the celebrated La-

five in the morning to ten or eleven o'clock, from a high scaffold, to five or 6000 auditors. In the middle of his sermon, above 100 fires were seen lighted, into which the men were throwing their gaming tables, cards, and what else he blamed. So the next day the women burnt their head-dresses, horns, tails, and ornaments of pomp. Charm. v. 1. p. 427-9.

⁴⁸ Thus on 24 April, 40 men got in; on 26, 100 entered it; on 27, 60 more; and on 28th, Florent D'Illiers and the brother of La-Hire, with 400 soldiers. Chron. du Siege, 1 Charm. 437.

⁴⁹ See these detailed in Charm. 439-444. Villaret states them to have been six great bastiles or forts, placed against the principal avenues to Orleans, and communicated with sixty redoubts of a smaller size.

⁵⁰ So L'Huilier, bourgeois d'Orleans, deposed. 1 Charm. p. 447.

⁵¹ See it at length in Charm. v. 1. p. 448, taken from the MS. in the royal library.

⁵² N. Sala, and 1 Charm. 433.

Hire eagerly joined them.⁵³ A chronicle of the time mentions their amount to have been 7000 men.⁵⁴ She had the *Veni Creator* sung, and ordered them to confess themselves, and to leave their women and baggage behind, and to trust in God; declaring that their victory would depend on the divine succor.⁵⁵ While this reaction was preparing, the English, ignorant of what the next act in time's great drama was to be, were anticipating plunder, ransoms, and the grandest future successes. But we often mistake darkness for serenity; and are tempted by the radiant and peaceful night, to expect a morning of brilliance and joy, when we wake only to storm, dreariness or disease. The future frequently comes like a mysterious being, unlike all that has preceded, and as tremendous as impenetrable.

⁵³ Dep. Dunois, p. 434.

⁵⁴ Chron. 2 Charm. p. 3.

⁵⁵ Chron. ib. Dep. Sim. Beaucroix, & Dep. Pasquerel, ib. 4-6. The two greatest fighting men in France at this period, were Poton de Saint-railles and La-Hire. Few knights of romance so repeatedly distinguished themselves. Next to them, Dunois the bâtard d'Orleans, and the marshal St. Severe, appeared foremost in the military career. The co-existence of these four truly chivalric warriors, with Joan of Arc, contributed greatly to the results, which her spirit, example and impulse mainly occasioned. La-Hire died at last in a good old age, worn out with heroic exertions. Monstrel. 8. p. 342.

CHAP. XIX.

The Maiden raises the Siege of Orleans.

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1429.

27 April.

WHEN they set out for Orleans, Joan desired them to cross the river at once, and to advance on the right bank of the Loire, on which the city stood. This was the advice of straight-forward common sense and inexperienced courage; but as it would bring them near the largest portion of the English army, and between two of their strongest forts, Dunois, the best judge of the expediency, condemned it as extravagant; and the chief officers, pretending to comply with her wishes, followed this governor's instructions, of proceeding on the other bank, by the road of Sologne.¹

The two first nights, they rested in the fields; and the Maiden, preferring to sleep in her armor, found herself indisposed from it. On the third day, they came in sight of Orleans, with their little fleet of supplies, to the only spot where the height of the river would admit of its unloading. This was so near one of the forts of the English, that she could distinguish their features. Dunois sent the ships that were to receive the relieving cargoes; but the wind setting down the river, it was found impossible for the vessels, against that and the stream, to get back to the city; nor could they cross the river at that point, in sight and defiance of the English forces. No other plan remained, but to return and adopt her first sug-

¹ Charm. v. 2. p. 2.

gestions, which all regretted they had disobeyed. She blamed them for deceiving her; and with high courage recommended an immediate attack on the English fortress, that most commanded this part of the river. This dangerous experiment was declined, and Dunois came to them in a boat to confer. It was determined that it was better for the troops to go back to the route she had advised at her outset; and for the vessels to get lower down, and wait a change of circumstances.² Altho it was the occurrence of the contrary wind, which had defeated Dunois' prudent scheme, yet this accidental failure, and the necessary preference of her first counsel, gave her an aspect of inspiration, which increased every confidence in her mission.

The troops were marched back to Blois, to pass the river by the bridge, and she was persuaded by Dunois to accompany him in his vessel, with La-Hire, and a few selected companions; while the change of the wind facilitated the introduction into the city of the provisioned vessels. A sally of the garrison was made, to occupy the attention of the besiegers; and she sailed up the river to Checy, about six miles from the walls. Disembarking, and waiting there till the shades of evening made the movement less observable, she rode, with few attendants, unmolested because unnoticed, to the eastern gate of the city, which opened to receive her.³ It is obvious, that Suffolk had taken no measures to blockade it by water, nor even to watch the stream with any precautionary force.

Orleans was beginning to suffer the hardships of famine when she entered it, an hour after sunset, in

²Depos. Dunois, Pasquerel, De Contes, Beaucroix, and others; and the Chronique, v. 2. p. 6-13.

³Depos. ib Journal du Siege, 14-20.

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She enters
Orleans,
30 April,
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her armor, on a white horse, with her standard carried floating before her. The citizens of both sexes met her with their flaming torches, and with exulting shouts. One of them waving his light too near her banner, it caught fire. She spurred on her horse immediately, seized it, and extinguished the flames.⁴ She went first to the principal church, to pay her devotions. The applauses of the multitude were answered by her with sweet and gentle exhortations of confidence and hope. She was conducted to the house of the treasurer of the city. His wife joyfully received such a guest. She had been on horseback all day without dismounting or disarming, and without food. She took off her armor, and a splendid supper was provided for her; but pouring some water on a little wine in a silver cup, she contented herself with a few sippets of bread, which she dipped in it, and retired to an early rest with the wife and daughter of her host.⁵

She attended a military counsel the next day, but was opposed in her desire to act before the convoy had arrived. After sending heralds with menaces and defiance in the evening,⁶ she went to a bulwark, so near the English station at the Tournelles, as to be heard from it, and summoned them to raise the siege, or to surrender. Glasdale, who was there, abused her coarsely. She replied, with an indignant declaration of their compulsory retreat; but that he should not live to witness it.⁷ The English reviled and threatened to burn her; but a remark of Dunois

⁴ Journal du Siege, 22.

⁵ Chron. sans titre, p. 24. The Chevalier d'Aulon was appointed by the king to attend specially upon her. His deposition is given at length by Dufresnoy in his Histoire de la Pucelle, v. 1. p. 104-133, 2d part. It will be cited from this work.

⁶ Dep. and Chron. 29-32. " ⁷ Dep. de Contes. Journal, 40, 41.

shews, that their minds already began to be affected by her pretensions, for they kept more than usual within their forts; and when they came out, were easily driven back.⁸ Her claims and prophecies had spread among both armies; and as both sides admitted alike, Angelic and Satanic agency, she was equally formidable to their imaginations, whether Michael or Beelzebub assisted her.

These feelings may account for the easy passage of the convoy to the city. When Dunois went with some of his best warriors to meet it, Joan, with others, placed herself between the walls and the besiegers, to favor its movement.⁹ Such was the effect of her appearance and activity, that when she presented herself at another of the English posts, and commanded them to return to England or to perish; her voice intimidated those whom no sword had hitherto subdued. Instead of attacking, they insulted her, but kept within their lines;¹⁰ as if dreading the power of some infernal witchcraft. When the relieving forces appeared, advancing to the city with a solemn pace, preceded by her banners, and by the priests of St. Blois chanting their hymns, the English looked on with the same awed inactivity; tho a rich booty tempted. None ventured to go out

⁸ Dep. Dun. and L'Huilliers, 41.

⁹ Dep. de Aulon. Dufres. 1. p. 112, 3. She was very zealous to repress the oaths of the soldiery: and La-Hire, to oblige her, agreed in future, as he could not leave off the habit, which was then a general part of all colloquial eloquence, to swear only by his baton. Dep. Seguin, 47.

¹⁰ Journal du Siege, 43. She gave her orders with a great assumption of authority: she told Dunois, when he mentioned that the English expected reinforcements under Falstoffs, 'As soon as you know of his coming, apprise me of it, for if he passes without my knowlege, I promise you that I will take off your head.' Dep. D'Aul. 114.

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to combat Satan or his emissary. All the succors and supplies passed safely into the city.¹¹

She retired to rest with her hostess, while her military conductor, D'Aulon, fatigued with the exertions of the day, laid himself on a little couch in the same chamber to sleep. But in the dead of the night, she started up, with a wild and loud cry, that roused him. He inquired her wishes. "My adviser has told me, that I must attack the English,"¹² exclaimed the Maid, as if waking from a fearful dream. "Where are those that should arm me? The blood of our countrymen is running on the ground. Why was I not sooner awakened? They need help. My arms! bring me my armor! lead my horse hither!"¹³ D'Aulon immediately rose, and armed her and himself. They heard a great clamor. She sprang into the street, and meeting her page, exclaimed to him, "Cruel boy! not to tell me that the blood of France was spilling!" she bade him bring her horse. It was soon before her. As she was mounting it, she remembered that she had left her banner in the room, and ordered him to fetch it. Too ardent to await his descent, she called to him to throw it to her from the window: he obeyed, and spurring her horse to a speed that struck fire from his feet, she reached the gate where the greatest uproar was raging.¹⁴ These emotions resemble a sudden access of delirium, but they coincided with the surrounding circumstances, and were thought to be supernatural.

Her first
efforts.

A part of the garrison, elevated by their enthusiasm, had devoted themselves, without the know-

¹¹ Dep. Pasq. 51, and D'Aulon, 113.

¹² Dep. D'Aulon, 114, 5.

¹³ Dep. Pasq. Colette, and others, 56.

¹⁴ Dep. D'Aul. 115. De Contes the page, and Colette, 57, 8.

lege of the governor, to attack the English bastille St. Loup, that formed one of the most advanced posts of the siege. It had been strongly fortified, and supplied by Talbot with every munition of war. The French, in their impetuosity, had possessed themselves of the redoubt that covered it. But the English, recovering from their panic, drove them back, and pursued them to the city. Here Joan met them running in; and one wounded man being carried near her, she shrunk back, and said, "I have never seen a Frenchman's blood without my hair rising up." Recovering herself, she rushed forwards with her standard flying, and went directly towards the English bastilles.¹⁵

The French rallied on seeing her. Dunois arrived with a reinforcement, and she assaulted the intrenchment with them. During three hours of fierce conflict, she displayed instinctively the talent of an experienced warrior, as well as the bravery of a young enthusiast. Talbot brought troops from his other strong holds, with their English courage reviving by exertion. The loudest bell of the city was twice sounded, to apprise the French of his approach. Six hundred and more enthusiastic fresh combatants, roused by the alarm, with the bravest chiefs, issued to meet him; and the struggle at last ended towards evening in the capture of the English fort.¹⁶ Joan passing over the field, strewed with their bodies, regretted their having died without confession. She spared the lives of the prisoners who were taken, and who had put on eccle-

¹⁵ Dep. of the Page, Pasq. and others, 60; and of D'Aulon, 116.

¹⁶ Several Depositions, and the Journ. and Chron. p. 62, 3. One hundred and forty English were killed, 40 taken prisoners, and 200 escaped by flight. Journ. du Siege, 63.

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siastical habit for their preservation. The captured fortress was rased, and its materials burnt.¹⁷

This signal success, the first triumph of the new-souled French, ensured more. The limbs obey the spirit, and the spirit of the French was now raised to the most determined feats of heroic daring, by the most believing confidence of victory and of heavenly aid. As the next day was Ascension-day, she would neither fight nor arm herself, from respect to its solemnity. A military counsel was held in the city, where it was determined to make a feigned attack on the bastilles or forts, on the side of La Beausse, but to make a real assault, at a different point, on that of St. John, which commanded the passage of the Loire. This resolution was communicated to her. She advised the religious act of confession previous to the attempt; and to satisfy her own aversion to the shedding of blood, she tied another summons to the point of an arrow, and bid an archer shoot it among the English. She saw them stoop, and read it; but was only greeted with abuse as the strumpet of the Armagnacs. At this insulting word, she burst into tears, and appealed to Heaven to testify her innocence.¹⁸

Her next
attack.

The next day they moved to the attack. From the extent of the English works for its defence, they could not reach it by land: and they embarked in different parties to meet on a small island in the river, and placed their boats to serve as bridges.¹⁹

When they reached the fort St. John, they found it abandoned. Glasdale had evacuated it, to centre his forces in the stronger fortification of the Augustins,

¹⁷ Journ. Chron. 65.

¹⁸ Dep. Pasq. 69, 70.

¹⁹ Depos. D'Aulon, 117. This islet is not now visible in the Loire. Charm. 73.

which adjoined it. Mistrusting some snare, and believing themselves to be incompetent to master the stronger work, they prepared to retreat; but while the main body retired, some of the bravest Frenchmen were ordered to remain behind, to keep the English from harassing them.²⁰

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Joan could not submit to this cautious recession; and as they were returning to the island, she crossed the stream with the brave La-Hire in a boat, and immediately mounted her horse on the other side, and advanced. The English were now rushing out to pursue. She and her companions couched their lances, and so vigorously attacked their opponents, that they retired into the fort.²¹

At this period, as her appointed conductor d'Aulon was with a Spaniard guarding the floating bridge, the point of retreat, a large and powerful knight rode by them, whose refusal to stop to assist them, so roused the Spanish pride, that words arose; and the two disputants agreed to rush together upon the enemy, and prove which of them was the bravest. Spurring their steeds, they emulated each other till they had penetrated as far as the English palisades. A strong and sturdy knight of England there checked them. D'Aulon pointed him out to a cannoneer, and bid him fire; he did so, and the defender fell. The two rival knights then gained the passage, and all the rest seeing their entrance, rushed after to follow them. A furious battle ensued. The French party continued to pour to the spot. Joan distinguished herself by her courage and exertions, and to the surprise of all her friends, as evening fell, they became masters of

She takes
a fort.

²⁰ Dep. D'Aul. 118. Chron. 75, 7.

²¹ Dep. D'Aul. 119. Chron. 78.

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the place.²³ It was full of booty ; but fearing, if they plundered it, that the English might rally, she commanded it to be set on fire.²³

Pursuing their victory, they immediately besieged the next English fortification, the Tournelles ; and the inhabitants of Orleans were busily occupied, during the night, in carrying bread, wine and provisions in numerous boats, to their excited and new venturous countrymen. But so perilous did their bravery seem to the elder chiefs of the city, that they sent a knight to inform her, that being so inferior in number to the English army, they had resolved, as the city was now well supplied, not to sally again from it, but to wait the further succors of their king.²⁴

It had been Joan's custom to fast strictly on the Friday ; and she had taken no refreshment during this arduous exploit. It was with difficulty she had been persuaded to return to Orleans. " Shall we leave our friends in danger ? " was her generous observation. But when she had yielded to their intreaties, and, after her repast, had received the message that the troops were not to pursue the meditated attack, she exclaimed, " You have held your counsel ; but the will of my Lord shall be accomplished, while that of man will perish ; " then turning to her chaplain, " Rise you at break of day, and earlier than this morning, for I shall have greater efforts to make. " Then, as if foreseeing the arduous struggle that must ensue, and fixing her own resolution to incur every risk, she added, " that she should be wounded in the approaching conflict. " ²⁵

²³ Dep. D'Aul. 119-121. Journ. Chron. 82.

²³ Chron. 83.

²⁴ Dep. D'Aul. 122. Dep. Pasq. 85. Journal du Siege, 83.

²⁵ Dep. Pasq. 84-6 ; and others.

A confusion of mind, and a dispiriting alarm, appeared now to increase among the English, who had been hitherto so invincible. They burnt, during the night, another of the bulwarks; and crossing the river, concentrated their forces in a more distant one; so that the Tournelles alone remained in their occupation, on the south of the city.²⁶

The Maiden rose from an agitated sleep, and was heading the troops that chose to follow her. A peasant, at that moment, presented her with a fish, which she was desired to stay to eat. "Keep it till night," was her reply; "and I will bring you a Godon to partake of it, after I have taken the Tournelles."²⁷

She found the gate of the city closed against her passage. The Lord of Gaucourt, the grand master of the king's household, had orders to stop her. She insisted on going out, and the populace so furiously echoed her wishes, that resistance was found vain; and at sun-rise, her enthusiastic followers rushed eagerly thro with her, and forced open another small outlet to follow her.²⁸

They crossed the river, and at ten o'clock began a general assault on the strongly defended fort, which

²⁶ Chron. 87.

²⁷ The witness Colette deposed, p. 88, that Godon was a nickname for the English, taken from their common exclamation of 'G—damn it;' so that this vulgarity was a national characteristic in the reign of Henry VI.

²⁸ Dep. of the Page who was present, and of Simon Charles, 89, 90. This is a very important point of the Maiden's history, as it proves that the turning success of the contest was wholly owing to her own energy. S. Charles had his account from Gaucourt, and stated, that Gaucourt kept the gate shut, and at the head of his troops declared that no one should pass. These words excited a general clamor against him. Joan advancing to him, and commanding the populace to silence, exclaimed, 'You are a bad man; but whether you will or no, the men at arms shall go, and shall prevail to-day as they have already done.' She then ordered the gate to be opened. The crowd rushed to execute her orders; and Gaucourt and his men found themselves so surrounded, and endangered by the irritated populace, that they dared not oppose it. Gaucourt declared, that he was in fear of his own life. Dep. S. Charl. 90.

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from its numerous artillery was deemed impregnable. Cannon was used vigorously on both sides. Finding the affair inevitable, all the chiefs in the city joined. The knights sprang into the ditches, and fought hand to hand with the bravest English. These met them with their accustomed heroism. But the spirit of the French had now become as exalted, and as determined, as their own. Tho numbers fell in the onset, others still rushed on, "as if they had been immortal." The Maiden was every where. Her exertions, her skill, her courage, and the fatigue she endured, surprised all. At times she led; at times she rallied; at times she exhorted. "Have good heart and good hope," was her cry. "The hour is coming when the English will give way; all will yet be well." Finding, at last, that they began to despair, she seized a ladder; raised it vigorously; the first that had been tried; and placed it against the bulwark. At that moment an arrow whizzed near her, and fixed itself between her neck and shoulders. She fell instantly. A body of English rushed around her. She half raised herself, and still kept them off with her sword, till De Gamache, who had been her enemy in the council, seeing her danger, sprang on them with his battle-axe, and felled those who endangered her. He placed her on his horse. She was borne off, disarmed, and laid on the grass. The wound was found to be very deep. Her courage for a moment gave way; the woman dissolved the enthusiast and the heroine, and she burst into tears. But her ardent spirit soon conquered her apprehensions, and her delusive impressions returned. She said that her heavenly protectress, at that moment, appeared to her, and consoled her. She plucked out the arrow herself, and as the

blood profusely followed it, she told them, "It is my glory, not my blood, that is flowing from the wound." Some soldiers came to charm the evil. But she repelled them angrily, "I would rather die than do any thing that I know to be a sin, or contrary to the Divine will." She was asked, if she should die from it: "I must die some day; but I know not where, or when, or how. If any one can cure me without a crime, I wish to be relieved." A dressing of lard and olive oil was applied. She begged the crowd to fall back, and confessed herself with much emotion, as if expecting death.²⁹

Her wound had spread consternation thro the French army, and their chiefs recommended them to return. They had fought unavailingly the whole day, and the dimness of evening was beginning. The trumpets sounded a retreat; the artillery was withdrawn; and the troops quitted the foot of the bulwark.³⁰

Thus far the Maiden appeared to have urged the French, against the opinion of their regular leaders, to an enterprize which was found, as had been foreseen, to be beyond their strength. But Joan heard these tidings with poignant anguish. She felt that if she failed now, her reputation and her cause would be extinguished. She implored Dunois to halt. "You shall soon enter it. Do not doubt it; when you see my banner floating on the walls, resume your arms. It shall then be your's. But rest awhile now, and refresh yourselves."³¹

They did so; and her own strength returned. She

²⁹ See the depositions and extracts from the Chronicle, collected by De Charmettes on these facts, 91-98.

³⁰ Dep. Dunois, and Journal du Siege, 98, 9. Dep. D'Aul. 122, 3.

³¹ Journ. du Siege. Dep. of her Page, 99.

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gave her banner to a soldier to hold, near the fort; and mounting her horse, prayed a quarter of an hour apart.²³ Their successful repulse of this assault recalled the English mind to its accustomed bravery.

D'Aulon, her appointed attendant, now from himself began a movement, which renewed the conflict, and led to its important issue. Observing that the bearer of her banner was fatigued, he ordered a stout Basque soldier to uphold it. It then occurred to him, that great disasters would follow their retreat, and the hope of taking the fortress would be abandoned. The flag suggested to him the idea, that if it were carried towards the enemy, the army would not forsake it. He resolved, without further counsel, to try the measure. He asked the soldier, if he had the courage to follow him with it to the foot of the rampart. The man promised; and D'Aulon, covering himself with his target, to keep off stones, they both entered the ditch. The Maiden, seeing her fondly-cherished banner thus moving, and dreading its loss, hastened to the spot, and caught hold of it, exclaiming, "My standard! my standard!" She carried it onward. Roused by her voice, and by seeing her again at the fosse, all the French warriors, recruited by their rest, suddenly rallied, and flew to her succor.²⁴ Again the cannon and cross-bows were plied on both sides with new energies. The English used vehemently their lances, stones and battle-axes; and the struggle was renewed more fiercely than before.²⁵

²³ Dep. Dunois, 18.

²⁴ Dep. D'Aulon, 123, 4. D'Aulon said the Basque wrenched it from her, and brought it to him; but Dunois thought she carried it herself to the fosse, p. 100. These are probably not contradictions, but successive incidents. Joan no doubt followed it, and most likely then took it forwards herself.

²⁵ Dep. Dun. Gauc. and Huillier. and Chron. p. 103, 4.

While the southern bulwark of the Tournelles was thus contended for, the citizens of Orleans attacked its northern rampart; but the arches, that led up to it from the river, were broken. Beams were brought hastily from the city, to make a temporary bridge. The commander of the knights of Rhodes led the attack. The spears crossed, the bucklers clashed; but the impetuosity of the assailants bore down all resistance, and they rushed upon the redoubt.³⁵

Panic, hitherto resisted or forgotten, now unnerved the English mind. Their imaginations, dreading the supernatural, and looking out for it, saw saints and angels fighting for the French; as the Greeks beheld Mars and Venus in the Trojan ranks. Glasdale himself scarcely retained his firmness, when the Maiden rushed on the battlement with her standard, crying out to him, "Surrender! surrender to the King of Heaven! You have called me strumpet, but I pity your soul, and your friends." He meditated a retreat into the main defence, with his host;³⁶ but the bridge on which they stood, that connected the outwork with the fortress, was at that moment struck by a cannon-ball, fired by D'Aulon's orders, which shivered it;³⁷ and all, including Glasdale and lord Moleyns, were precipitated into the mud and water below, where they sank and perished, from the weight of their armor.³⁸ Joan could not restrain her tears at their disaster.³⁹ It was irreparable; and the whole of the fortress became immediately her conquest. The loss of the English, in the capture of the three

³⁵ Journ. du Siege. Chron. 106.

³⁶ Dep. Pasquerel, 108.

³⁷ Dep. S. Beaucroix, 108.

³⁸ Walsingham mentions the death of Glasdale and lord Moleyns, by drowning, in his MS. history. MS. Sloane, 1776. This was a severe loss, says the French Journal of the siege, to the valiant French, because they lost the ransom of the drowned. p. 108.

³⁹ Dep. Pasq. 109.

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bastilles, in which no quarter seems to have been given, was from 7 to 8000 drowned, killed, or prisoners.⁴⁰ Suffolk, Talbot, and the best English generals, witnessed these reverses of fortune, but either could not or did not make any movement to prevent them.⁴¹ They seem to have trusted too much to the strength of the works, and to Glasdale's known resolution. That they made no relieving flank attacks on the assailants, remains an impeachment of their military judgment. They may have dreaded other sallies; but here was obviously a vital point of the whole siege in immediate peril.

Joan entered the city, gratulated by every heart and voice. The more improbable the prospect of the success had been, the greater was the admiration of its achievement. She had conquered the respect, the praise, and the gratitude of all. Every bell rang merrily, in triumph; the people rushed around her, and to the churches; and Te Deums were chanted at every altar. Retiring from the public transport, her wound was again dressed; and a few sippets in wine and water formed the repast that closed her triumphant day.⁴²

It was indeed a day of triumph to her, for it was that which really accomplished her patriotic adventure. The capture of the Tournelles saved Orleans, and rescued France. The English commanders held a council during the night, and resolved to raise the siege; a decision which eventually proved to be an abandonment of the sovereignty of France. Before sun-rise, their troops were seen marching out of their tents, and from the other bastilles, in two divisions:

⁴⁰ Charin. p. 110; and Monstrelet.

⁴¹ Chron. 111.

⁴² Chron. Journ. Dep. Dunois, &c. 110-113.

one spread to the west, under Talbot and Scales; the other northward, under Suffolk. They formed in order of battle; and the French, expecting a general attack, issued from the city to meet them. Joan, hearing of these movements, hastily put on a light military dress; and joining her friends, arranged them also for the conflict, but forbade them to attack. "It is the sacred sabbath, and if they choose to go away, it is the divine will that they should be permitted to depart; but if they assail you, defend yourselves strong and hardily, and fear not, for you shall be their masters."⁴³

She ordered an altar to be raised before the army, upon a table decorated with religious ornaments. She knelt humbly, and fell prostrate; and two masses were sung upon it. The English looked on, but did not stir. Such a novel incident increased their impressions of the supernatural. At the end of the second mass, Joan asked if the countenances of the English were still turned on the French? "They are looking towards Main," was the answer. "They are retiring," she replied; "let them go, and let us thank God. We will not pursue them, as it is Sunday." Talbot marched in complete array, with standards flying, towards Main and Baugence; and Suffolk towards Jargeau. Some of the French, however, could not be restrained by her orders; and following their rear, captured much of their artillery. It is obvious that Suffolk offered battle, and that Joan declined it. This repression of her ardor may have been the effect of her devotion, but no conduct could have been wiser. The population of Orleans rushed out on the abandoned works, feasted on their provi-

8 May.

⁴³ See the Depos. and Chron. in Charm. 114-116.

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sions, levelled the fortifications, and dragged their cannon and mortars into the city.⁴⁴

A deliverance, wonderful in the opinion of every one, had now been achieved; and in the short space of eleven days from the time of Joan's departure from Blois; and with means that, according to human calculation, were inadequate to the attainment of a success so complete, so rapid, and so consequential. The siege had lasted seven months, with advantages that seemed to ensure the capture of the city; when the events of five days, produced by a young peasant girl but eighteen, drove an army, that had never been conquered since Henry the Fifth had entered France, from its endangered walls. It seemed a miracle; but it was the work of her persevering energy, her bravery, her skill, of the enthusiasm she had excited, and of some fortunate accidents to which we have alluded.⁴⁵

That she was the agent of a superhuman power, was now the general conviction. It did not benefit

⁴⁴ Dep. of several; Chron. and Journ. 2 Charm. 115-119. The French seem to have been astonished at their own success. The citizens declared, that if the Maid had not come, they must have surrendered in a few days. The chief captains attributed the event to something more than human; and the duc d'Alençon avowed the same feeling; and thought he could have defended two of the forts, the Tournelles and Augustins, against all the power of man, for at least six or seven days. Dep. D'Aulon, and others, 2 Ch. 124-6. The 8th of May was appointed for an annual festival at Orleans, in commemoration of the deliverance. Ib. 127. She gave them her hat of blue satin, edged with gold, which she had worn in the city. Ib. 132.

⁴⁵ The exploit of Joan was sung by Chapelain. His large poem, which had been eulogized for 20 years before its appearance, sank into irretrievable neglect afterwards, as Scuderi's rival, and not superior, Alaric emerged. They are two of the Blackmores of French epic poetry. One passage of Chapelain's Pucelle is amusing; he composes her of three beings, girl, man, and angel:—

La ciel pour la former fit un rare melange,
Des vertus d'une fille et d'un homme et d'un ange;
D'où vient après au jour, cet astro des François,
Qui ne fut pas un d'eux, et qui fut tous les trois.

the English to believe or to be taught that the Devil was her supernatural friend; his imputed malignancy and admitted power, only made his assumed adherents the more dreadful. Joan, therefore, became more terrible to the English camp, by the calumnies that were unwisely circulated to depreciate her. They could mock the Frenchmen, who declared that St. Michael assisted her; but they trembled at their own fancy, that the King of Hell was her ally.⁴⁶

⁴⁶ The Maiden has found a poet more worthy of her, in Mr. Southey, who has devoted to her his first and one of his best heroic poems. In two passages he expresses so interestingly his conceptions of her peculiar feelings, that the reader may thank me for transcribing them. The first is,

From that night I could feel my burthen'd soul
Heaving beneath incumbent Deity.
I sate in silence, musing on the days
To come, unheeding and unseeing all
Around me, in that dreaminess of thought
When every bodily sense is as it slept,
And mind alone is wakeful: I have heard
Strange voices in the evening wind;—strange forms,
Dimly discover'd, throng'd the twilight air.
The neighbors wonder'd at the sudden change,
And called me craz'd; and my dear uncle too
Would sit and gaze upon me wistfully,
A heaviness upon his aged brow,
And in his eye such trouble, that my heart
Sometimes misgave me. I had told him all
The mighty future laboring in my breast,
But that the hour methought not yet was come.

Vol. i. p. 25.

The other effusion is in a grander style of fancy:

A blessed spot! oh, how my soul enjoy'd
Its holy quietness! with what delight,
Escaping from mankind, I hasten'd there
To solitude and freedom! Thitherward
On a spring eve I had betaken me,
And there I sate, and mark'd the deep red clouds
Gather before the wind—the rising wind,
Whose sudden gusts, each wilder than the last,
Appear'd to rock my senses. Soon the night
Darken'd around, and the large rain drops fell
Heavy; anon tempestuously the gale
Howl'd o'er the wood. Methought the heavy rain
Fell with a grateful coolness on my head,
And the hoarse dash of waters, and the rush
Of winds that mingled with the forest roar,
Made a wild music. On a rock I sat,

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Released from these dreams of superstition, we admit no superhuman agency for that, which natural means were competent to produce. The deliverance of Orleans, however extraordinary, sudden and unexpected, was but a splendid example of what heroic enthusiasm can achieve;⁴⁷ and an illustration of the great results producible in war, by attacking single points with masses of concentrated force. The military judgment of the day, on her own side, opposed, and on the English, ridiculed, her measures; but her determination impetuously pursuing them, all the valor, skill, and troops in Orleans were drawn into her course; and each of the forts was attacked successively, by the whole of this combining energy and strength; and each had to resist the general torrent, by merely its own defensive powers. It was the application of this principle, which gave to Napoleon his first successes in Italy, which for awhile resembled something more than human, when army after army of the Austrians was annihilated by his attacks. The novelty of such efforts ensures their success. Suffolk, fearing simultaneous assaults on other points, and doubtful if this was the real or the feigned one, and not then aware of the now acknowledged principle, that no fortress can be made impregnable against an adequate assailing force; and relying on the strength of his bulwarks, did not call together his

The glory of the tempest fill'd my soul;
And when the thunders pealed, and the long flash
Hung durable in heaven, and on my sight
Spread the grey forest, memory, thought, were gone,
All sense of self annihilate, I seem'd
Diffus'd into the scene.—p. 29.

⁴⁷ I remember hearing the late marquis of Lansdowne, in the House of Lords, mention that he had once asked the celebrated duke of Brunswick, If he would rather command an army of disciplined troops, or of enthusiasts?—‘Of enthusiasts, most unquestionably,’ was the answer.

troops from his surrounding works, and meet the French masses with his own, that must have overpowered them. But thro the whole campaign, Suffolk displayed himself inferior in talent to the lamented Salisbury. If that nobleman had not fallen, the Maiden might have failed; for tho Talbot was so famed as to be a French scarecrow for his bravery, yet it was rather as a valiant Paladin than as a skilful general: while Joan, without pretending to be so, and without knowing it, from the instinctive sagacity of great natural genius, from her happy ignorance of all technical rules, from her soul of fire, her absorbing enthusiasm, and that virtual irresponsibility which hesitated at no difficulties, appeared in her actions, as superior to them all. If we pass beyond these considerations, to the providential dispositions of human events, we must be careful to make the important distinction between an instrument used, and an agent commissioned.⁴⁸

⁴⁸ M. Dufresnoy discusses six different systems, that have been given to explain the phenomenon of the Maiden: 1, magic; 2, a divine mission; 3, intrigue of Baudricourt; 4, politics of the court; 5, a denial of all the facts; 6, a strong persuasion of success. v. 2. p. 201-17.

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Her further Military Exploits, and Capture.

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THE retreat of the English from Orleans, was followed by a succession of greater reverses; but at first it was with some difficulty that the Maid prevailed on the king to pursue vigorously the success that had been obtained. All that she counselled, was against the military judgment of her countrymen. Her enthusiasm, or her genius, gave a new and bolder wing to the tactics of war, which taught future commanders to dare, as well as calculate. Charles hesitated; and it was thought wiser to begin, by re-conquering Normandy;¹ but she insisted that he should advance to Rheims to be crowned. Her energy and popularity, which amounted almost to an adoration, prevailed.² An army was raised under the duc d'Alençon, to accomplish her wishes, which marched towards Jargeau.³ The earl of Suffolk de-

¹ Dep. Dunois, 2 Ch. 147.

² We may perceive how she was estimated at the time by her friends, in the discourse which Gerson, one of the best and most intelligent doctors of the Parisian university, published six days after she had raised the siege of Orleans. In this he says, 'She seeks neither honors nor worldly men. She abhors hatreds, seditions and vanities. She lives in the spirit of mildness and prayers, in sanctity and justice. She employs no means of success, which the church forbids; no surprise; no deceit: and she has no hope of any pecuniary advantage. She is sound in her belief; and exposes her body to wounds, without any extraordinary precaution to secure it. She has not been employed, till all proper inquiries and examinations have been made. The warriors obey her willingly, and expose themselves, under her orders, to all the dangers of war; yet all following the rules of prudence and of the military art.' Charm. 2. 142, 143. M. Averdy, Notices des MSS. 3. p. 110, 111.

³ Dep. D'Alençon. 2 Ch. 164. On the 8th June 1429, Guy the Seigneur de Laval thus describes her, in a letter to his mother: 'She treated my

fended it with a superior garrison. The flower of the French chivalry was with Joan. She directed the artillery, with a correctness of eye and judgment that produced powerful effects, and after many skirmishes, an assault was resolved upon. At the sound of the trumpet to prepare, she put on her helmet, and bade the duke to follow her. He told her, it was not yet time. "It is time," she answered, "when it pleases God. It is time to act when he wishes us to act, and when he is acting himself." Seeing him still hesitate, she added, "Ah, gentle duke! are you afraid? Did I not promise your wife to bring you back sound and safe?"⁴

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9 June
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She advanced herself immediately to the breach, and was eagerly followed. A terrible conflict succeeded. Joan was seen mounting the ladder in the most perilous part. Arrows and stones were thrown at her innumerable. A large mass was hurled, which struck down her standard, and glancing her helmet, felled her upon her knees. The English shouted in triumph. She sprang up with indignant ardor: "French! French! up! up! take courage! our Lord has condemned them. Even now they are ours." Roused by her voice and danger, a new spirit ani-

Her capture of
Jargeau,
14 June.

brother and me very handsomely. She was entirely armed, excepting her head, and she had a lance in her hand. After we reached Selles, I went into her house to see her. She ordered some wine, and told me she would soon give me some to drink at Paris. There seemed something divine in her actions, and in seeing and hearing her. She went to-day, after hearing vespers, to Roromantin, the marshal, and a great number of armed men with her. I saw her trying to mount a large black horse; she was in white armor, except her head, with a little battle-axe in her hand. The steed was restive, and would not let her get on him. She called for the cross from a church near her, and then she mounted, and in a feminine voice bade the priests go in procession. She returned, handling her little battle-axe, and with a pretty page, displaying her standard. Her brother was with her, armed also in white. *Lettre du Guy Sire de Laval. Mem. Fr. v. 7. p. 215-8. and 2 Ch. 155-163.*

⁴ The duke had the candor to state this himself. *Dep. 2 Ch. 174.*

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mated the assailants. They poured to her assistance. The garrison was overwhelmed, and the place was taken.⁵

The duke of Bedford wrote, with alarming earnestness, to the English administration, on these disasters.⁶ But the cardinal Beaufort divided their councils, and the war in France began to lose its popularity. Too many discordant interests were now springing up among the nobles and people of England to admit of a concentrated exertion against a distant enemy. No efforts, as great as the occasion demanded, were made; only a succession of inadequate reinforcements were sent, which were sufficient to protract, but not to prevent, the final disaster.

Meun and
Baugency.

The progress of the Maiden continued victoriously. The bridge of Meun, on the 15th of June, was forced, tho defended by lord Scales;⁷ and Baugency was taken on the 28th of June, while Talbot had left it to get more powerful means of defending it.⁸ He collected afterwards, with Scales and Falstoff, a body of 4000 Englishmen, and with these Joan ventured to fight her first pitched battle. It was her own battle; for when the English were found to be advancing, the duc d'Alençon asked her what was to be done. "Have you good spurs?" she exclaimed, with a loud sonorous voice. "What, then, are we to fly back?" was the reply. "No; it is the English that will be conquered: but you will need your spurs to ride well after them." By her orders, the French were placed in battle-array. La-Hire was with them.

⁵ Dep. Chron. Hist. 2 Ch. 174-7.

⁶ Rym. Fœd. 10. p. 408. In this document she is styled, 'The feende, called the Pucelle, that used fals enchantment and sorcerie.' The journal of a bourgeois of Paris calls her 'a creature in the form of a woman.' 2 Ch. 421.

⁷ 2 Ch. 188.

⁸ Ib. 190-204.

“Strike hardily,” she said to the chiefs; “they will not be long before they give way.”⁹

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Her confidence became theirs. The English lost their courage in their superstition. At the sight of her banner moving towards them, they fled. The presence of Satan could not have had more effect, than their firm belief of his auxiliar agency. They were pursued to Meun. Talbot attempted to rally them, but in vain; and Falstoff thought it best to retreat till they could obtain effectual succors.¹⁰ On his retiring, a feeble combat took place, ending in a disgraceful flight, which is called the battle of Patay. Talbot himself was taken prisoner, with lord Scales. It was the first field battle that the French had gained in the last eight years. Their victory was the more important to them, as the English numbers were nearly equal to their opponents.¹¹ It is clear that Joan's military talent had become as great as her enthusiasm. She had the tack of discerning always the fittest movement, and of inspiring the requisite courage. Her judgment directed her spirit, and her spirit never failed her judgment. The coincidence was deemed inspiration, tho whenever it occurs, with adequate authority aiding, it always works wonders.

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Battle of
Patay

This defeat alarmed the duke of Bedford for the safety of Paris. Applications were again made by him to Burgundy and England, for succors; and one important fact ensued, which shews the extensive consequences that often result from events which seem to be unconnected with them. The little English army that cardinal Beaufort had raised for a

⁹ Dep. Dunois and others, 2 Ch. 205, 6.

¹⁰ Monstrelet, 2 Ch. 219.

¹¹ The greffier of the French parliament thus entered it on the registers: ‘Les ennemis estans en presque pareil nombre.’ 2 Ch. 223.

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crusade against the reformers of Bohemia, was diverted from that cruel object to assist the English interests in France.¹²

Talbot was conducted to the French sovereign, and, at the generous request of the heroic Saintrailles, whose followers had made him prisoner, he was liberated without a ransom.¹³ New troops, excited by the late successes, flocked on all sides to the army which the Maiden accompanied; and measures were prepared to extend its successes to the conquest of Rheims. At that time this city, and all the cities and fortresses of Picardy, Champagne, the Isle of France, Briè, Gartmois, L'Auxerrois, and Burgundy, and all the country between the Loire and the ocean, were in the occupation or at the command of the English.¹⁴

Charles
marches,
29 June
1429;

On the 29th of June, Charles began the expedition that was to seat him securely on his throne. His bravest nobles and knights, with the Maiden, accompanied him. Twelve thousand soldiers formed his army. The deputies of Auxerre met it with the solicitation of a neutrality, which was granted. Troyes resisted, till the wants of the besiegers became so great, that a large part of their army were some days without bread.¹⁵ It was deliberated, whether they should not retreat from it, when Joan assured them, that if they would seriously attack it, she would introduce them into it in three days.

She took her standard, mounted her horse, assembled the troops, and made them place their tents

¹² The engagement with the cardinal for this altered destination of this force, was made so soon after Joan's successes as the 1st July 1429. Rym. Foed. 10. p. 424-6.

¹³ 2 Ch. 243. Talbot had the satisfaction afterwards of making Saintrailles his prisoner, and of giving him liberty with the same disinterestedness and generosity. p. 244.

¹⁴ Chron. sans titre, 2 Ch. 256.

¹⁵ 2 Ch. 267.

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on the brink of the ditches. She ordered the fascines to be prepared; all classes were immediately set to work to bring faggots, doors, tables, windows and rafters, for the purpose; and she passed the night with unwearied activity, in doing as much as two or three of the most experienced veterans could have accomplished.¹⁶

These preparations spread a panic thro the city. As the day opened, the trumpet sounded, at her order, for the assault. The fascines were thrown into the ditches, and the troops were about to rush on, when the cry of capitulation became universal among the citizens, and the place was surrendered.¹⁷

Chalons submitted as Charles approached it. As their march led them near her native village, many of her old neighbors came to see her. To one of their questions, whether she was not afraid of meeting death in so many battles, she answered in these remarkable words; "I fear only treason."¹⁸ An affecting observation; as it leads us to infer, that her penetrating mind had already discerned some indications of its occurrence.

Troyes and
Chalons
surrender,
9 July;

Charles continued his march to Rheims, yet doubting to the last of its successful termination. As they approached it, he said, they had neither cannons nor machines. "Mistrust not," she replied; "advance boldly; fear nothing. Act but the man, and you will obtain your kingdom. The inhabitants will even come out to offer you submission."¹⁹ He reached the castle of Sept-Sault, about twelve miles from Rheims, and there rested his army. Her superior mind, fearless from its enthusiasm, and become sagaciously

¹⁶ Various Dep. 2 Ch. 274, 5.¹⁸ Dep. Conrad. 289.¹⁷ 2 Ch. 276, 7.¹⁹ Dep. Simon Charles, 301.

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venturous from its successes, multiplied their number by not ceasing to pursue them. Pause and hesitation would have dissolved the charm, which she had fixed on the minds both of her friends and enemies.

Consternation at these movements in the meantime agitated Paris. Suspicion succeeding alarm, the magistrates were changed. An activity, which was rather bustle than vigor, ensued. Public addresses were made, to rouse the vindictive feelings of the populace against Charles. The regent collected all his garrisons out of Normandy, and applied to England for new reinforcements. Burgundy assured him of his continual alliance, but retired into Artois; and the duke of Bedford, leaving the command of Paris to one of his officers, proceeded, not to meet and encounter his royal competitor; not to prevent his advance to Rheims; but with a receding and disheartening movement towards Normandy and Picardy,²⁰ either to preserve them, or to ensure a retreat.

Enters
Rheims,
16 July
1429;

As Charles advanced to Rheims, its inhabitants consulted with the English commander on his abilities to defend them. His unsatisfactory answer, joined with their natural inclinations, decided them to invite the descendant of their ancient line into their city; and on the evening of the eighteenth day of his expedition, Charles entered, with great solemnity, the venerated scene of the coronation of the kings of France.²¹

is crowned
there,
17 July.

Joan had then the felicity of accomplishing the great project of her enthusiasm and of her patriotism. The day after his arrival, he was consecrated and crowned. Joan knelt, and embraced his legs with

²⁰ 2 Ch. 291-301.

²¹ Ib. 302-5.

a flood of tears, the tribute of her sensibility and joy: and a new accession of warriors hastened to congratulate Charles, and to assist in producing his final triumphs.²²

The Maiden might have now retired, with glory, to a private and much honored life. Reason, and perhaps virtue, would have thus counselled her. It is intimated that she wished it; but the evidence is not satisfactory. If she had actually resolved upon it, her firmness would have executed her intention. Her soul was, in truth, too great for a private station, and had been too much excited, to be contented with the gentle flow of ordinary life. She preferred the storms of grandeur, and she surrendered herself to the chances of its evils. Fond of activity, and anxious to leave nothing undone that seemed practicable, she wrote to the duke of Burgundy, assuring him, that he would gain nothing by further hostilities, and beseeching him to war with her friends no more.²³ Her father joined her at Rheims, perhaps the happiest spirit of all its brilliant and exulting crowds.²⁴

The king of France now summoned Soissons and Laon, and they surrendered. He proceeded to Chateau Thierry and Provins, while the duke of Bedford, uniting his forces at Melun, marched along the Seine to Montereau, as if to act in his enemy's rear. From thence he sent a herald to Charles, with a letter of defiance.²⁵ But Charles advanced steadily towards

Bedford
challenges
Chas. VII.
7 Aug.

²² 2 Ch. 307, and 317. He describes the ceremony, 310-18.

²³ See the letter in 2 Ch. 308.

²⁴ The archives of Rheims preserved an account of the sums paid him for his expenses there, during the king's coronation; they were 24 Parisian livres. 2 Ch. 322. Charles went afterwards to the bourg de Corbeny, *to get the virtue of touching for the evil.* p. 323.

²⁵ Monstrelet, v. 6. p. 287-291. In this letter he calls Joan 'a woman of a disorderly and infamous life, and dissolute manners, dressed in the clothes of a man.' p. 288. It is dated 7 August 1429.

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Meeting of
the two
armies.

August.

Paris. Bedford hastened thither; but the French army obtained the command and the use of all the adjacent country.

The two armies could not long delay the mutually desired and expected battle. Talbot and Suffolk had joined Bedford, and the bravest warriors on each side collected in the field of conflict; but the English had entrenched themselves with a skill that made their position too dangerous to be attacked. The French dared them to come out to the open plain; and as Bedford would risk nothing, only partial, tho fierce, skirmishes ensued. The loss in these was equal; and the next day both armies fell back, without having gained any decisive advantage to either.²⁶

The French now penetrated into Normandy with their flying parties, and pressed earnestly their negotiations with the duke of Burgundy, to separate him from the English alliance. Bedford quitted Paris, to defend the Norman provinces. Charles moved victoriously over other districts, and again advanced upon Paris. He reached St. Denis, and performed his devotions on the tomb of this saint, which the superstition of the day regarded as the palladium of France.²⁷ About this time, Joan broke her mysterious sword, in the plebeian act of striking a loose woman and her companions with its flat side.²⁸ In the fancies of that age, it was deemed ominous of some disaster; and she bitterly regretted both the loss and the weakness in yielding to the angry excitation that occasioned it. Paris resolved to resist the French king, and the royal army zealously attacked it. Joan again distinguished herself, and was

Charles
advances
to Paris,
25th Aug.²⁶ 2 Ch. 356-375.²⁷ Ib. 397.²⁸ Dep. d'Alenq. Ch. 2. p. 399.

severely wounded. The assault was unsuccessful. It was the first enterprise she had failed to accomplish; and, the 12th of September 1429, Charles returned to the Loire. The disaster greatly disconcerted her, and diminished her reputation; yet some thought, if the attack had been sufficiently persevered in, it would have succeeded.²⁰

Bedford had hastened to Paris, as soon as he heard of its being menaced. He arrived as Charles withdrew. His troops plundered St. Denis, but were repulsed at Lagny-sur-Marne.³⁰

The event of the warfare now rested principally on the conduct of the duke of Burgundy. He began a change of policy, by several truces; but flattering propositions from Bedford kept him a little longer on the English side, and he joined the regent at Paris at the end of September. It was there discussed or arranged, that Burgundy should be the regent of France, and Bedford the governor of Normandy. It is at least certain, that the government of Paris was committed to Burgundy;³¹ and he obtained from Charles a suspension of arms in favor of the capital and its vicinity.

Various skirmishes, and attacks and defences, followed, but without deciding consequences. In December, Charles presented the Maid of Orleans with letters of nobility,³² and directed her to wear its splendid garments.³³ Her manners continued to display the same pious, modest, temperate and compassionate character, which she had always sustained. Greatness and fame diminished none of her virtues. Her military talents are strongly attested in several

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HENRY VI.
compelled
to retire.

The
Maiden is
ennobled.

²⁰ 2 Ch. 403-428.

³⁰ Char. v. 3. p. 11.

³¹ Ch. 3. p. 21, 2.

³² See in Charm. v. 3. p. 47.

³³ Ib. 55.

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depositions.²⁴ She appears to have been one of those self-taught geniuses who are formed to excel in war, and become, when opportunity presents the avenue, the great commanders of their day. She obviously loved heroic deeds, and military celebrity. It is her higher praise, that she added to warfare a probity and a humanity with which it had then been very rarely accompanied.²⁵

But the history of her extraordinary triumphs drew near its close. She had saved her country; she was now to perish, that her mental delusions might not be a permanent and popular superstition. She went from Bourges with the seigneur d'Albret, to St. Pierre le Monstra, and took it by assault. She failed before Charité-sur-Loire. Impressions of approaching evils began to affect her spirits. She prayed that she might not be taken in battle alive. She believed that she received celestial intimations of the misfortunes that was to befall her. She withdrew herself from the military councils, contenting herself with implicitly obeying the dictates of others; and she awaited the issue with all the resignation of visible despondence.²⁶

To counteract the effect of the coronation of Charles at Rheims, Henry VI. was brought to Paris in April 1430, and was crowned king of France; another public instance, that the most valued objects of human grandeur are sometimes nearest their final departure, at the very period when they seem to be most

²⁴ 3 Charn. 63, 64.

²⁵ She declared, that in all her expeditions she had never killed any one. One of her natural answers to the questions of her judges shows the popular feeling towards her. 'Many people came of their own accord to see me; and if they kissed my hands and my clothes, I could not help it. The poor people came to me of their own will, because I never did them any harm, and assisted them as far as was in my power.' 3 Ch. 376.

²⁶ 3 Ch. 98.

completely attained. New efforts were made to reinforce the English army from the parent island ; but the excursions of the troops of Charles repeatedly shook Paris with inquietude and distress.

The Maiden now obtained her last success. She defeated, with considerable difficulty, and after great personal exertions, a body of English or Burgundians, near Lagny. The duke of Burgundy advanced from Noyen, and besieged Choisi, near Compeigne. Joan made an unsuccessful effort to relieve Choisi, and retired to Compeigne. Many of the French chieftains, from want of provisions, had left the army she accompanied, and withdrawn to the Loire. Choisi surrendered, and the allies, proceeding to besiege Compeigne, she threw herself, with heroic imprudence, into the place, and resolved to defend it against the Burgundians, who were now joined by 1500 English, under the earls of Huntingdon, Arundel, and Suffolk.

She attempted a sally, with 600 men, so late as five o'clock in the afternoon. She was dressed, with a conspicuous singularity, in a purple silk or velvet tunic, brodered with gold and silver, which covered her armor. Her steed, neither a war-horse nor a palfrey, assisted to distinguish her. Three times she charged her numerous enemies, but they rallied and repulsed her. The French retreated, and were pursued. The Maiden followed behind them, frequently turning round to check the pursuit. The English made an advance between them and the city, to intercept their entrance. This movement excited a general panic, and all fled confusedly towards the gates. The bells of the city now sounded an alarm at the danger of the Maid. The Burgundians charged

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REIGN OF
HENRY VI.

May
1430.
Her last
victory at
Lagny.

23 May
1430.

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1430.

furiously on the body she headed. She was soon left alone, holding her standard firmly in one hand, while, with her sword in the other, she beat off her assailants. Her steady valor enabled her to reach even the foot of the city bridge; but there, hindered from passing it by the crowd that thronged it, or by the sudden shutting of the barriers, she was, in the terror and confusion of the moment, left to the mercy of her foes. She cut a passage thro them, and attempted to gain the fields towards Picardy; but a soldier following, seized her tunic, and pulled her from her horse. She was soon overpowered and taken by her exulting adversaries. The news of her captivity was eagerly circulated. The Parisians made their bonfires, and sang their Te Deums of rejoicing; and dismay, for a short interval, startled the friends of the French king, who valued Joan;³⁷ yet, as her fame was becoming inconvenient for political gratitude, and her aid was no longer essential to the public safety, the court felt relieved from a debt which they could never pay; and those whom she eclipsed, emerged out of their shade and inferiority, on her downfall.

³⁷ 3 Char. 127-133. Her own account of her capture was, 'I entered Compeigne at a secret hour of the morning, without my enemies knowing of it; and I made the same evening the sally in which I was taken. My voices at Easter had told me, I should be taken before Midsummer. They repeated this almost every day. I begged that I might then die soon, without being long in prison. I asked to know the time of my being captive. They would not tell me. If I had known it, I would not have gone there. In the sally, I passed over the bridge and bulwark, and twice drove back the Luxembourg troops to their quarters, and the third time, half way. The English then intercepted my party. They fled, and I withdrew into the fields, towards Picardy, and was taken near the bulwark. I was on horseback. I asked nothing of my king but good arms, good horses, and money to pay my household; and I have only 10 or 12,000' — the word, whether livres or escus, is here wanting. Her answers on 10 March 1431, 3 Ch. p. 390-395.

CHAP. XXI.

Her Examinations, Trial, and Death.

THE vicar-general of the inquisitor of faith in France, friar Martin, claimed, from the authority committed to him by the Pope, the unfortunate prisoner, that she might be proceeded against as a vehemently suspected heretic.¹ But the Burgundians sent her to the castle of Beaulieu. She attempted to escape, by forcing her slender body between two pieces of wood, thro which she had made an opening; and was locking her guards in the tower from which she meant to reach the fields, when the porter by chance came near her. He raised an alarm, and compelled her to re-enter her prison. She was removed to Beauvoir, by John of Luxembourg, the duke of Burgundy's kinsman, where his wife and her sister treated her with a kindness that announced a noble sensibility; yet she was kept in the donjon, but not chained, four months. She declined the ladies' offer of female garments.²

Her attempts to escape.

The university of Paris disgraced itself by urging her trial before an ecclesiastical tribunal, as one suspected of magic and witchcraft; and that she should be delivered up to the bishop of Beauvais and the inquisitors.³ The bishop also required her to be given

¹ See his letter, 3 Charm. 144.

² Monstrel. v. 6. p. 348. Her answers, 3 Ch. 384 and 370.

³ See their letters, 3 Ch. 150, 1. This prelate 'qui hassoit mortellement le parti Français, parceque Charles VII. retenait ses revenus; et la pucelle, parcequ'il la regardoit comme la première cause de son bannissement, se pretendit juge naturel de la pucelle, qui avoit été arrêtée dans le territoire de son diocese.' 3 Char. 148.

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up to the church ; and, as she was taken in his diocese, that he should be her judge ; and that pecuniary remunerations should be given to her captors, that she might not be considered a prisoner of war :⁴ an abominable subtlety, to procure her murder. The payment of the money was to ransom her from captivity, that she might then be seized by the cruel emissaries of the papal church.

It was October before these sanguinary negotiations took effect. But Joan's mind, obeying the impulses of nature, and forgetting her sacred pretensions, had become so alarmed at the reports which reached her, that she attempted to liberate herself, by a desperate leap from the top of the lofty tower in which she was confined. She fell senseless at the foot of the rampart, but was not killed. She was taken up nearly lifeless, and carried back to her prison. For two or three days she neither eat nor drank, but gradually recovered to be taken to Arras, and from thence to Crotoy.⁶

In the meantime Compeigne, after a valorous resistance of six months, in which the abbot of St. Faro distinguished himself by his sword, was about to surrender, when a vigorous effort, under Saintrailles,

⁴ L'Averdy Notice des MSS. v. 3. and Char. 3. p. 153-155. Monstrelet charges her with having caused Franquet d'Arras, whom she had taken in battle, to be beheaded, v. 6. p. 343. When she was questioned on this act, she answered, 'I consented to his being put to death, if he deserved it, because he confessed that he was a murderer, a robber, and a traitor. His process lasted 15 days. I desired him to be exchanged for a person at Paris ; but when I found that this person was dead, and the bailiff of Senlis told me that I should do a great offence to justice to deliver Franquet, I said, Do to him, then, as you ought in justice to do.' 3 Ch 425, 6. This deed presses most on the Maiden's memory. He was a prisoner of war, as she was, and she directed or permitted him to be put to death !

⁶ Charm. 160-3. The castle of Crotoy is now destroyed, and sands, from the mouth of the Somme, have long covered its foundations. Charm. 163.

was made to relieve it, and succeeded. The besiegers were compelled to abandon their attempt; and this disappointment was followed by a severe defeat, which the English and Burgundians sustained in December.⁶ These victories of the French contributed to insure their independence; but filled the minds of her opponents with an exasperation, which fell heavily on the poor Maiden, who had begun these unexpected reverses.

The English government now degraded itself by commanding her legal prosecution. Yet not on that alone, must the shame of this cruel measure descend. The English soldiery, smarting under their disappointments and disasters, hated her cordially, and wished her death. The absurd conviction which pervaded their party, that she was the agent of devils, and had wrought her great achievements by their instrumentality, whose effects could only end with her life, hardened every heart against her; and they expected no military success till she was destroyed.⁷

She was carried to the prison of the great tower at Rouen; her feet and legs were fettered to a strong chain, which traversed the end of her bed, and was locked to a large piece of wood, five feet long. Another chain was fastened around the middle of her thin and spare body, so that she could not move from her place. A cage of iron was sworn to have been made for her, in which she was fastened by the neck, feet, and hands, from the time of her arrival at Rouen, to the first day of her trial.⁸ Three Englishmen passed the night in her chamber, and two more watched on the outside. It is with pain we remark,

She is
taken to
Rouen.

⁶ 3 Charm. 165-175.

⁷ Several Depositions, 3 Ch. 177, 8.

⁸ 3 Ch. 182. Dep. 4 Ch. 148.

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and sen-
tence,
January
1431.

that they behaved to her with great brutality; but the imputation of witchcraft had made her an outcast from human nature.

The bishop of Beauvais, and the deputy of the grand inquisitor, consulted on the form of the process; and what was called her trial, was arranged according to the forms of the inquisition, in the following January, and actually began in the next month. These men seem to have been her presiding judges.⁹ Depositions were taken as to the circumstances of her life and actions. Her person was examined by the duchess of Bedford, and some matrons; and she was fifteen times brought before her judges, and very minutely interrogated, between the 21st of February and the 17th of March. But the event depended neither on her answers, nor on the evidence. Her answers clearly shewed that she had been guilty of no crime, but patriotism and enthusiasm, mingled with impressions, which her personal manner and countenance must have satisfied her examiners were mental hallucinations, not impious impostures. The unprejudiced and the humane would have admired and pitied her; but policy and bigotry condemned her; and to a cruel death. The English bravery was seduced from its habitual generosity by the mistaken hope, that her disgraceful execution would destroy the talisman which had reversed their successes; and it stooped to avail itself of the credulity, trick, injustice, and cruel prejudice, which doomed a prisoner of war to be burnt for sorcery and witchcraft. The name of England was too much implicated in this foul transaction, to

⁹ See the list of all the members and officers of the tribunal, in 3 Char. 232-240.

be now cleared from inciting and enforcing it. But our present feelings of regret and resentment at the misconduct of our ancestors, are evidences that our hearts are uncorrupted, and our national character unchanged. Yet such incidents cannot but make us feel with awe, alarm, and self-distrust, that the most reputable individuals may countenance actions the most unworthy, without being sensible, at the time, either of the crime or the disgrace. What can protect us from such delusions, when passion or self-interest tempts, but a steady conviction, that no motive can justify a wrong action at any time, under any circumstances, or for any end.

The sequel is painful to read and narrate. She became ill, and the earl of Warwick sent physicians to her, with this injunction: "The king would not have her by any means die a natural death. He has bought her dear, and is desirous that she should die by justice, and be burnt. Visit her, therefore, and cure her." They found her in a fever, and told him they must bleed her. "Beware of that," the earl replied; "she is cunning, and may kill herself."¹⁰ She recovered. Her sentence was read to her. She refused to lay aside her male attire, except to take the sacrament.¹¹ She was at one time threatened with torture; but she calmly braved it. "If pain should draw from me false confessions, it will be your violence that will force them from me."¹² It was not inflicted. The duchess of Bedford kindly brought her female clothes, to lessen the irritation against her; she declined them; and when the tailor put his hand

Efforts to
make her
abjure.

¹⁰ One of the physicians swore to these circumstances. 4 Ch. 68.

¹¹ 4 Ch. 83.

¹² 4 Ch. 89.

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1431.

on her neck, to take off her dress, she struck him with indignation at the affront.¹³ New efforts were made to induce her to appear in the garments of her sex, to confess the crimes imputed to her, and to abjure them. She exclaimed, "All that I have done, and all that I do, I have done well, and am doing well to act so." They promised her liberty; she was shaken for a moment, but at last said, "You will have a great deal of trouble to seduce me."¹⁴ On further urgency, she agreed to sign the abjuration they brought, if the clergy and the church advised it. "Sign now," said Erard, a doctor of theology, "or you will finish your life to-day in the flames." She told him, she would rather sign than be burnt. The English secretary put a paper into her hands. She said, she could neither read nor write. They gave her a pen, and made her repeat the abjuration after them. She did so, and smiled, and drew a circle at the bottom of the paper. The secretary took her hand, and made her mark a cross.¹⁵ She consented afterwards to put on female attire;¹⁶ but she soon repented of her acquiescence, and resumed her male dress. This change of mind, obviously the vacillations of its unsoundness, defeated the hopes of the humane persons who were trying to save her life. The earl of Warwick is mentioned as rejoicing in her obstinacy, and exclaimed, "She is taken."¹⁷ Others were greatly grieved. She was asked why she would persist in wearing a man's attire; she merely answered,

¹³ 4 Ch. 9.

¹⁴ Depositions of several, 4 Ch. 125, 6. Her inflexibility about her dress is not unlike the tenacity of derangement to its favorite ideas.

¹⁵ Depositions of several, 4 Ch. 130-4. Charnette adds a copy of the alleged abjuration, 135, 6.

¹⁶ 4 Ch. 147.

¹⁷ So Isembard deposed, 4 Ch. 160.

that she preferred it to the dress of her sex. Being further urged, she said that it was more suitable to her, while she was guarded by men.¹⁸

The day at length arrived on which she was to suffer. It was announced to her in the morning, that she was to be burnt that day. She cried out most piteously on hearing it, wrung her hands, and tore her hair. "Am I to be treated so horribly and so cruelly? Must my body, which has always been wholly pure, be consumed to-day to ashes? I would rather be beheaded seven times than be burnt! O, I appeal to God, the Great Judge, for all the wrongs and injuries they have done to me!"¹⁹ But recovering herself, she resumed her usual piety and resignation, and made her confession. She received the sacrament very devoutly, shedding tears profusely, and with inexpressible humility. When the prelate of Beauvais, one of her severest enemies, entered, she said to him, "Bishop! I die thro you; and I appeal against you before God." Seeing Peter Morice, an ecclesiastic, who had befriended her, she exclaimed, "Ah, monk Peter! where shall I be to-day?" "Have you not good hope in the Lord?" he answered. "Yes," was her reply; "If God help me, I shall be in Paradise."²⁰

She was dressed in female habiliments, and at nine in the morning was taken on a car with her confessor, and, guarded by 800 men, armed with axes, swords, and lances, was carried to the market place of Rouen. Her tears, and lamentations, and prayers, all the way, melted the spectators. Arrived at the fatal spot, she

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REIGN OF
HENRY VI.

Her cruel
execution.
30 May.

¹⁸ 4 Ch. 161.

¹⁹ Dep. du frère Toutmouille, 4 Ch. 180, 1.

²⁰ Several Depositions, 183-5.

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cried out, "Rouen! Rouen! must I die here?" She was placed on a scaffold, with the wood that was to consume her. A vast multitude filled the place. The cardinal bishop of Winchester was one of the prelates that attended. A doctor in theology made a sermon to her and the people; she heard him patiently. When he had done, she fell on her knees and uttered such fervent prayers to God and her saints, and asked for those of the spectators so earnestly, that the English themselves, and the cardinal, wept profusely, and pitied her; but none stepped forward to release her. A vindictive and defamatory address was read to her, that could only embitter her last moments. She asked, in return, but for a cross. An Englishman present immediately made one from the end of a stick, and gave it to her. She took it, kissed, and put it into her bosom, and petitioned to have one from the church, that she might look on it till she expired. It was brought, and she eagerly and long embraced it; but her persecutors became impatient, and exclaimed, "Do you mean, priest! to make us dine here?" The clergy had before given her up to the secular power, and the fire was now ordered to be applied. "Execute your office," was the last command; but two serjeants approached to draw her from the scaffold. She saluted them, and came down. Men-at-arms then seized her, and dragged her back with great fury to the stake. She made piteous outcries; invoked her Saviour, and moaned, "Rouen! Rouen! will you be my last abode?" Several persons, unable to support the sight, quitted the place. The degrading mitre of the inquisition was placed on her head, having the conspicuous words "Heretic; Relapse;

Apostate ; Idolater.”²¹ She was tied to a stake ; the faggots were set on fire ; she cried with a loud voice, as she felt the flames, “ O Jesus ! ” Seeing her friendly friar in danger from the heat, she bade him retire, but to hold up the cross to her till she was dead. She refused to deny the revelations she believed she had received. She declared her conviction that she had done nothing but by the divine orders, and that her voices were not illusions. The scaffold being plastered, the flames advanced slowly, tho the executioner, in pity, wished to hasten their operation, that he might shorten her sufferings. As the fire and smoke distressed her, she called out for holy water. She implored fervently the divine assistance ; calling on her saints ; at times shrieking ; at times groaning and praying. At last her head was seen to fall on one side ; and the name of her Saviour, pronounced with the loud voice of agony, was the last word she was heard to utter.²²

So perished, after a year’s imprisonment, and by this inhuman death, this patriotic and heroic woman, or rather girl ; for she was scarcely twenty when she expired. No deliverer of a country has appeared, who has merited a more liberal fame, or achieved the great enterprise amid difficulties more arduous, or with a purer disinterestedness, than this noble-

²¹ On a board, facing the scaffold, were these words : ‘ Joan, who calls herself La Pucelle ; mischievous liar ; abuser of the people ; witch ; superstitious ; blasphemer ; miscreant ; boaster ; idolater ; cruel ; profligate ; invoker of devils ; schismatic, and heretic.’ *Regist. du Parlement*, v. 15.

²² All these facts are taken from the depositions of the witnesses, collected by M. de Charmettes, v. 4. p. 187–207. Her ashes, and the bones which the fire had not consumed of her body, cardinal Beaufort had thrown into the Seine, to prevent superstitious uses of them. *Ib.* 209. Several Englishmen, who witnessed her end, declared she must have been a good woman. The emotions of those that were more friendly to her were very great. It was a favorite belief, that she went straight to Paradise. *Ib.* 210–3.

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mined female. We cannot but regret that Winchester, and other nobles and gentlemen of England, could have witnessed her execution.²³ The belief that she was a devilish agent, may account for, but cannot justify, the inhumanity. Her sanction of Franquet's death may have also hardened the hearts of many against her; and as the administration and church establishment of England could, in the same reign, burn at home, so unpityingly, priests and tradesmen, for their religious tenets, it is not likely that they would be more compassionate to an enemy, who had produced to them such disasters.²⁴ The English government issued two papers, to justify what it had done;²⁵ but they could not abate the general sympathy for her. Wherever the judges,

²³ One person deposed, that some Englishmen laughed as she was burning. v. 3. p. 205. We will hope that this was the calumny of anger. An English man-at-arms, who had greatly hated her, and had sworn to put a faggot on her pile, was so affected at hearing her last cry, that he fainted, and was carried away to a tavern. Afterwards he expressed strongly his regret for what he had done, and even fancied that, as she died, he saw a white dove issuing from the flames. p. 206. The feelings of many were so excited, as to have had strange imaginations.

²⁴ Her death and behaviour at the stake dispossessed many of their prejudices against her. The king of England's secretary returned from it sad and mourning. He lamented greatly what he had seen done to her, and said, 'We are all lost. A holy person has been burnt; but her soul is in the hands of God.' One of her prosecutors felt such compunction, that for a month he was always weeping and stupified. Charm. 4. p. 111. One of the judge assessors declared the whole proceedings to be unjust; and that those who had deemed her an heretic for wearing men's clothes, ought to be punished as she was. From him we also learn, that many of those who had been present at her trial were very indignant at it, and thought the execution both rigorous and wicked; and that the common opinion was, that she had been badly judged. Ib. 215. No unprejudiced person could have thought otherwise.

²⁵ The first, in Latin, dated Rouen, 8 June 1431, is a declamation against false prophets; and a colored statement of her conduct, and of the proceedings against her. The second, in French, and meant for general circulation, issued 20 days afterwards, contains an elaborate recapitulation of the principal facts concerning her, so selected and expressed, as to excite the public feeling as far as possible against her. It is ably, but not faithfully done, some things are mistated in order to prejudice her. See it in Des Charm. v. 4. p. 226-235.

and they who took part in her death, were seen, the people pointed them out with their fingers, and loaded them with execrations.²⁶ It is easy to commit crime; its disgrace is indelible.

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That Joan was an extraordinary phenomenon of human nature, is palpable to every one. But it is in the course of things, that in uncommon emergencies, uncommon agents should arise. The human mind, possessing powers which, as yet, seem unlimited, is capable of being excited to a degree, and to an elevation, at present indefinite. The soul being alike in all, high birth or education is not essential to its susceptibilities. The greatest intellects have frequently emerged from the peasant's hut. Every station is capable of being acted upon by the powerful impulses, which, at intervals, affect society, and to incalculable consequences. We cannot beforehand conceive the direction an impressed mind may take, nor the exertions to which it may be stimulated. From the most exalted disdain of self-considerations, to the keenest sensibility and endurance in behalf of another; from the slenderest touch of human sympathy, to the sublimest wing of godlike aspiration; the soul may be influenced to achieve or attempt all that is possible on earth, and to aim at all that is accessible in heaven. Nothing is too immense for its desire, too lofty for its hope, or too remote for its pursuit. What it has attained, bears no proportion to what is

²⁶ The notary Boys Guillaume, thus deposed. *Ib.* p. 237. The bishop of Beauvais, thought it necessary to procure letters of protection and indemnity from Henry, dated 12 June, forbidding all persons to sue or molest him. *Ib.* p. 238. Charles VII. deposed him. Henry then made him bishop of Lineux. He died suddenly, as his barber was cutting his beard, in 1442. *Ib.* p. 241. Des Charmettes notices the peculiar deaths of others, who had assisted to produce her execution, p. 241-4. Her father and eldest brother died of grief at hearing of it. *Rich. Hist. Man. du Pucelle.*

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attainable, and to what it feels to be so, and to what it will therefore be ever striving to possess. Hence human wonders may always be expected in wonderful conjunctures. Exigencies have repeatedly set the inflammable soul of genius on fire; and the world has been astonished by its blaze. The comets of life have been as numerous as those of the atmosphere; but the memory of many has perished, for want of the record; or has vanished among the nebulosities of ancient mythology. As one of the greatest of these temporary phenomena, Joan will never be forgotten, even by ourselves; for tho she rescued and exalted France to our humiliation, yet she did nothing to diminish the solid greatness of our country. This has advanced with steady progress ever since; and we may therefore give her, liberally, the acclamation and the tear which our alarmed forefathers, in the irritation of immediate hostility, too harshly denied her.²⁷

²⁷ M. L'Averdy, has made an extensive 'revision du procès de Jeanne d'Arc,' in the *Notices des MSS. de la Bibliothèque du Roi*, v. 3. p. 247. M. des Charmettes has inserted a copious extract from it, with his own remarks, in his 15th book, v. 4. p. 327-411; and closes his work with his considerations on the different systems that have been framed to account for her. *Ib.* 411-466. He ends with saying, that if he be asked for his own opinion, he will only answer, 'Je suis Français; je suis chrétien.' p. 466. This is rather oracular, than intelligible.

A case of mental affection has been lately described in a respectable periodical publication, which bears so great an analogy in its symptoms with those which characterized the Maid of Orleans, that I think the reader will thank me for selecting the circumstances which strongly illustrate the nature of her peculiarities.

'X. Y. about two years since, became the subject of moral causes, which harassed him exceedingly. He wanted peace of spirit, and his health was undermined. One night, after retiring to rest, with these disturbing causes weighing on his mind, and also not well, he was awakened by the impression of hearing a conversation in the next house, which related to himself and to the peculiar object of his lengthened solicitude. He endeavored, by getting up, to ascertain the truth of the impression; but all was quiet in the next house. He returned to bed, and again heard the same voices; in the morning he went to his duties.

'As the day wore away, and he was about to return to his abode, the

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voices became loud, and threatening destruction to himself; so that he was afraid of returning home, lest he should be torn to pieces. *His head felt as if on fire*; and to escape from these supposed enemies, he fled into the country, and wandered the whole night thro the fields. He returned to the town where he dwelt, the next or the following day, but not to his own home. He obtained a lodging for the night elsewhere. Before the usual hour of rising in the morning, *these voices* informed him that the house of a friend was to be burned down; and he hastened to acquaint him with the event. Here he was kindly taken care of, and the attack subsided in a few days.

'At this time he was *not* under the influence of religious impressions. A little afterwards, when again conscious of being unwell, he took a walk, and was hurried into the fields by an impulse he knew not how to control. Here *a voice* proclaimed to him, as from the clouds, that the millennial reign had commenced; at the same time he *saw the forms* of many, whom he believed to be the happy spirits of the dead. He was *directed* to kneel down and say his prayers, which he did. He was *told* to be charitable, and he indiscriminately gave away the money in his pocket to the persons on the road, whom his extraordinary manner had gathered round him. He was *directed* to repair to a heath at some distance, to meet the spirit of his father at eleven o'clock that night. He went, but when there, began to consider the lateness of the hour, and that he must pass the night upon the heath. *The voice* then told him it was enough, and that he might return home. He often *hears the voices* of deceased relatives and friends, and recognizes them by the sound. He constantly hears his own thoughts repeated *by voices in the air*. These voices sometimes proceed from the air; sometimes from one part of the room, sometimes from another; and sometimes from his own body.

'Moreover, he often *sees* an appearance in the air as of a great number of *eyes*, and evidently contemplates these as *ministering* spirits.' Essay on Superstition, in Christian Observer, No. 333, p. 530, 1. In this case the sufferer thought that *voices* were in the habit of speaking to him both by day and night, and directing his conduct, and he saw forms of spirits and eyes, which he considered to be supernatural beings waiting on him.

The phenomena attending Joan were so analogous to those of this individual's malady, that we are justified in referring both to a similar cause,—the occasional or frequent recurrence of some functional disease affecting the organs of visual and auditory sense.

END OF VOL. II.

James & Luke G. Hansard & Sons,
near Lincoln's-Inn Fields, London.

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